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THE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY.

MEMOIR

OF

THE REV. ROBERT HALL, A.M.

BY

OLINTHUS GREGORY, LL.D., F.R.A.S.,

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY.

[We are aware that some who may become patrons of the Christian Library may hereafter possess the following Memoir in connexion with the collected works of Mr Hall; but as we suppose there are many who desire to have the life of that eminent man whose purposes it may not suit to become purchasers of his writings, we have concluded to devote the first number of our work to its separate republication. We desire to guard against the impression that we intend to publish portions of works which it would be desirable to possess entire. Such is not our intention The circumstances in the present case are peculiar, and such as will not probably again occur in the course of our labours.

The following Memoir forms a part of the sixth volume of the English edition of Mr Hall's works. The statement of this fact will explain some expressions in which allusion is made to preceding volumes.

It was expected that the biography of Mr H. would have been written by Sir James Mackintosh, his early fellow student and friend; but his sudden and lamented death caused the task to devolve on Dr Gregory, who has executed it with ability and candour.—Ed. Ch. Lib.]

Robert Hall, whose works are collected in the volumes now published, was born at Arnsby, a village about eight miles from Leicester, on the 2d of May 1764. His father was descended from a respectable family of yeomanry in Northumberland, whence he removed to Arnsby in 1753, on being chosen the pastor of a Baptist congregation in that place. He was not a man of learning, but a man of correct judgment and solid piety, an eloquent and successful preacher of the gospel, and one of the first among the modern Baptists in our villages who aimed to bring them down from the heights of ultra-Calvinism to those views of religious truth which are sound, devotional and practical. He was the author of several useful publications, of which one, the "Help to Zion's Travellers," has gone through several editions, and is still much and beneficially read, on account of its tendency to remove various often urged objections against some momentous points of evangelical truth. He was often appointed to draw up the "Circular Letters" from the ministers and messengers of the Northampton Association. One of these letters, published in 1776, presents, in small compass, so able a defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, that it might be advantageously republished for more general circulation. This excellent man died in March 1791. His character has been beautifully sketched by his son, who, in one sentence, while portraying his father, with equal accuracy depicted himself:—"He appeared to the "greatest advantage upon subjects where the faculties of most men fail them; for the natural element of his mind was greatness."

The wife of this valuable individual was a woman of sterling sense and distinguished piety. She died in December 1776.

Robert was the youngest of fourteen children, six of whom survived their parents. Four of these were daughters, of whom three are still living; the other son, John, settled as a farmer at Arnsby, and died in 1806.

Robert, while an infant, was so delicate and feeble, that it was scarcely expected he would reach maturity. Until he was two years of age he could neither walk nor talk. He was carried about in the arms of a nurse, who was kept for him alone, and who was directed to take him close after the plough in the field, and at other times to the sheep-pen, from a persuasion, very prevalent in the midland counties, that the exhalations from newly ploughed land, and from sheep in the fold, are salubrious and strengthening. Adjacent to his father's dwelling-house was a burial ground; and the nurse, a woman of integrity and intelligence, judging from his actions that he was desirous to learn the meaning of the inscriptions on the grave-stones, and of the various figures carved upon them, managed, by the aid of those inscriptions, to teach him the letters of the alphabet, then to group them into syllables and words, and thus, at length, to read and speak. No sooner was his tongue loosed by this unusual but efficient process, than his advance became constantly marked. Having acquired the ability to speak, his constitutional ardour at once appeared. He was incessantly asking questions, and became a great and a *rapid* talker. One day, when he was about three years old, on his expressing disapprobation of some person who spoke quickly, his mother reminded him that *he* spoke very fast; "*No*," said he, "*I only keep at it.*"

Like many others who were born in villages, he received his first regular instructions (after he left his nurse's arms) at a dame's school. Dame Scotton had the honour of being his first professional instructor. From her he was transferred to a Mrs Lyley, in the same village. While under their care he evinced an extraordinary thirst for knowledge, and became a collector of books. In the summer season, after the school-hours were over, he would put his richly prized library, among which was an Entick's Dictionary, into his pinafore, steal into the graveyard, (which, from an early and fixed association, he regarded as his study, lie down upon the grass, spread his books around him, and there remain until the deepening shades of evening compelled him to retire into the house.

At about six years of age he was placed, as a day-scholar, under the charge of a Mr Simmons, of Wigston, a village about four miles from Arnsby. At first, he walked to school in the mornings and home again in the evenings. But the severe pain in his back, from which he suffered so much through life, had even then begun to distress him; so that he was often obliged to lie down upon the road, and sometimes his brother John and his other school-fellows carried him, in turn, he repaying them during their labour by relating some amusing story, or detailing some of the interesting results of his reading. On his father's ascertaining his inability to walk so far daily, he took lodgings for him and his brother at the house of a friend in the village: after this arrangement was made they went to Wigston on the Monday mornings, and returned to Arnsby on the Saturday afternoons.

The course of instruction at Mr Simmons's school was not very extensive; and Robert was not likely to restrict himself, as a student, to its limits. On starting from home on the Monday, it was his practice to take with him two or three books from his father's library, that he might read them in the intervals between the school hours. The books he selected were not those of mere amusement, but such as required deep and serious thought. The works of Jonathan Edwards, for example, were among his favourites; and it is an ascertained fact, that before he was nine years of age, he had perused and reperused, with intense interest, the treatises of that profound and extraordinary thinker, on the "Affections," and on the "Will." About the same time he read, with a like interest, "Butler's Analogy." He used to ascribe his early predilection for this class of studies, in great measure, to his intimate association, in mere childhood, with a tailor, one of his father's congregation, a very shrewd, well-informed man, and an acute metaphysician. Before he was ten years old, he had written many essays, principally on religious subjects; and often invited his brother and sisters to hear him preach. About this time, too, in one of those anticipatory distributions of a father's property, which I apprehend, are not unusual with boys, he proposed that his brother should have the cows, sheep and pigs, on their father's death, and leave him "all the books." These juvenile "dividers of the inheritance" seem to have overlooked their sisters; unless, indeed, they assigned them the furniture. The incident, however, is mentioned simply to show what it was that Robert even then most prized.

He remained at Mr Simmons's school until he was eleven years of age, when this conscientious master informed the father that he was quite unable to keep pace with his pupil, declaring that he had been often obliged to sit up all night to prepare the lessons for the morning; a practice he could no longer continue, and must therefore relinquish his favourite scholar.

The proofs of extraordinary talent and of devotional feeling, which Robert had now for some time exhibited, not only gratified his excellent parents, but seemed to mark the expediency and propriety of devoting him to the sacred office; but the delicate health of the son, and the narrow means of the father, occasioned some perplexity. Mr Hall, therefore, took his son to Kettering, in order that he might avail himself of the advice of an influential and valued friend residing there, Mr Beeby Wallis. Their interview soon led to the choice of a suitable boarding school; but the pallid and sickly appearance of the boy exciting Mr Wallis's sympathy, he prevailed upon his father to leave him at his house for a few weeks, in the hope that change of air would improve his health. This gentleman was so greatly astonished at the precocity of talent of his youthful visitor, that he several times requested him to deliver a short address to a select auditory invited for the purpose. The juvenile orator often afterwards adverted to the injury done him by the incongruous elevation to which he was thus raised. "Mr Wallis," said he, "was one whom every body loved. He belonged to a family in which probity, candour and benevolence, constituted the general likeness; but conceive, sir, if you can, the egregious impropriety of setting a boy of eleven to preach to a company of grave gentlemen, full half of whom wore wigs. I never call the circumstance to mind but with grief at the vanity it inspired; nor, when I think of such mistakes of good men, am I inclined to question the correctness of Baxter's language, strong as it is, where he says, 'Nor should men turn preachers as the river Nilus breeds frogs (saith Herodotus), when one half *moveth* before the other is *made*, and while it is yet *but plain mud!*'"*

Robert's health appearing much improved from his short residence at Kettering, he was placed by his father as a boarder, at the school of the Rev John Ryland, in the neighbouring town of Northampton. Mr Ryland was a very extraordinary man, whose excellencies and eccentricities were strangely balanced. In him were blended the ardour and vehemence of Whitefield, with the intrepidity of Luther. His pulpit oratory was of the boldest character, and singularly impressive, when he did not overstep the proprieties of the ministerial function. In his school he was both loved and feared; his prevailing kindness and benevolence exciting affection, while his stern determination to *do* what was right, as well as to *require* what he *thought* right, too often kept alive among his pupils a sentiment of apprehension and alarm. So far as I can learn, from several who had been under his care, he taught Greek better than Latin, and the rudiments of mathematical science with more success than those of grammar and the languages. His pupils never forgot his manner of explaining the doctrine and application of ratios and proportions; and they who had ever formed a part of his "living orrery," by which he incorporated the elements of the solar system among the amusements of the play-ground, obtained a knowledge of that class of facts which they seldom, if ever, lost.

Our youthful student remained under Mr Ryland's care but little more than a year and a half; during which, however, according to his father's testimony, "he made great progress in Latin and Greek;" while, in his own judgment, the principle of emulation was called into full activity, the habit of composition was brought into useful exercise, the leading principles of abstract science were collected, and a thirst for knowledge of every kind acquired. It should also be mentioned here, that it was during the time Robert was Mr Ryland's pupil, that he heard a sermon preached at Northampton, by Mr *Robins*, of Daventry, whose religious instruction, conveyed "in language of the most classic purity," at once "impressive and delightful," excited his early relish for chaste and elegant composition.

From the time he quitted Northampton, until he entered the "Bristol Education Society," or academy, for the instruction of young men preparing for the ministerial office among the Baptists, he studied divinity and some collateral subjects, principally under the guidance of his father, with occasional hints from his acute metaphysical friend, still residing in the same village. Having, in this interval, given satisfactory proofs of his piety, and of a strong predilection for the pastoral office, he was placed at the Bristol Institution, upon Dr Ward's foundation, in October 1778, being then in his fifteenth year. He remained there until the autumn of 1781, when the president of the institution reported to the general meeting of subscribers and friends, that "two pupils, Messrs Stennett and Hall, had been continued upon Dr Ward's exhibition, but were now preparing to set out for Scotland, according to the Doctor's will."

The Bristol Academy, when Mr Hall first joined it, was under the superintendence of the Rev. Hugh Evans, who was shortly afterwards succeeded by his son, Dr Caleb Evans, both as president of the institution, and as pastor of the Baptist church in Broadmead. The Rev. James Newton was the classical tutor. Under these able men he pursued his studies with great ardour and perseverance. He became an early riser; and it was remarked in consequence, that he was often ready to attend the tutor for the morning lessons, before some of his fellow-students had commenced their preparation.

His sentiments at this time respecting his theological tutor, and the importance of his studies in general, may be gathered from the subjoined extracts from two letters to his father, both written before July 1780.

"Dr Evans is a most amiable person in every respect: as a man, generous and open-hearted; as a Christian, lively and spiritual; as a preacher, pathetic and fervent; and as a tutor, gentle, meek and condescending. I can truly say that he has, on all occasions, behaved to me with the tenderness and affection of a parent, whom I am bound by the most endearing ties to hold in everlasting honour and esteem.

"Through the goodness of God, of whom in all things I desire to be continually mindful, my pursuits of knowledge afford me increasing pleasure, and lay open fresh sources of improvement and entertainment. That branch of wisdom in which, above all others, I wish and crave your assistance, is *divinity*, of all others the most interesting and important. It is the height of my ambition, that in some happy period of my life, my lot may be cast near you, when I may have the unspeakable pleasure of consulting, on different subjects, you, whose judgment I esteem not less than an oracle.

"We, poor, short-sighted creatures, are ready to apprehend that we know all things, before we know any thing; whereas it is a great part of knowledge to know that we know nothing. Could we behold the vast depths of unfathomed science, or glance into the dark recesses of hidden knowledge, we should be ready to tremble at the precipice, and cry out—'Who is sufficient for these things?'"

The system of instruction at Bristol, comprehended not merely the learned languages and the rudiments of science, but a specific course of preparation for the ministerial office, including the habit of public speaking. Essays and theses on appropriate topics, were written and delivered, under the direction of the tutors: religious exercises were carefully attended to; and the students were appointed, in turn, to speak or preach upon subjects selected by the president. Among the books first put into Mr Hall's hands to prepare him for these exercises, was Gibbons's Rhetoric, which he read with the utmost avidity, and often mentioned in after life, as rekindling the emotion excited by Mr Robins's preaching, improving his sensibility to the utility as well as beauty of fine writing, and creating an intense solicitude to acquire an elegant as well as a perspicuous style. He was, therefore, more active in this department of academical labour than many of his compeers. Usually, however, after his written compositions had answered the purpose for which they were prepared, he made no effort to preserve them; but either carelessly threw them aside, or distributed them among his associates, if they expressed any desire to possess them. Some of these early productions, therefore, have escaped the corrosions of time. The only one which I have been able to obtain is an essay on "Ambition," in which there is more of the tumultuary flourish of the orator, than he would ever have approved after he reached his twentieth year. Nor was it correct in sentiment. The sole species of excellence recommended to be pursued was superiority of intellect; all moral qualities, as well as actions directed to the promotion of human welfare, being entirely overlooked.

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* Saint's Rest, Preface to part II., original edition.

Indeed, there is reason to apprehend that at this period of his life, Mr Hall, notwithstanding the correctness and excellence of his general principles, and the regularity of his devotional habits, had set too high an estimate on merely intellectual attainments, and valued himself, not more perhaps than was natural to youth, yet too much, on the extent of his mental possessions. No wonder, then, that he should experience salutary mortification. And thus it happened. He was appointed, agreeably to the arrangement already mentioned, to deliver an address in the vestry of Broadmead chapel, on 1 Tim. iv. 10. "Therefore, we both labour and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men; specially of those that believe." After proceeding, for a short time, much to the gratification of his auditory, he suddenly paused, covered his face with his hands, exclaimed, "Oh! I have lost all my ideas," and sat down, his hands still hiding his face. The failure, however, painful as it was to his tutors, and humiliating to himself, was such as rather augmented than diminished their persuasion of what he could accomplish, if once he acquired self-possession. He was, therefore, appointed to speak again, on the same subject, at the same place, the ensuing week. This second attempt was accompanied by a second failure, still more painful to witness, and still more grievous to bear. He hastened from the vestry, and on retiring to his room, exclaimed, "If *this* does not humble me, the devil *must* have me!" Such were the early efforts of him whose humility afterwards became as conspicuous as his talents, and who, for nearly half a century, excited universal attention and admiration by the splendour of his pulpit eloquence.

Our student spent the first summer vacation after his entering the Bristol institution, under the paternal roof at Arnsby; and, in the course of that residence at home, accompanied his father to some public religious service at Clipstone, a village in Northamptonshire. Mr Hall, senior, and Mr Beddome of Bourton, well known by his Hymns, and his truly valuable Sermons, were both engaged to preach. But, the latter, being much struck with the appearance, and some of the remarks, of the son of his friend, was exceedingly anxious that *he* should preach in the evening, and proposed to relinquish his own engagement, rather than be disappointed. To this injudicious proposal, after resisting every importunity for some time, he at length yielded; and entered the pulpit to address an auditory of *ministers*, many of whom he had been accustomed from his infancy to regard with the utmost reverence. He selected for his text, I John i. 5, "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all;" and, it is affirmed, treated this mysterious and awful subject with such metaphysical acumen, and drew from it such an impressive application, as excited the deepest interest.

On the arrival of the summer vacation, in 1780, he again visited Arnsby; and during the period he then remained at home, his father became fully satisfied that his piety was genuine, as well as that his qualifications for the office of a preacher were of a high order. He therefore expressed to many of his friends his desire that he should be "set apart to the sacred work." Solicitous not to be led aside from a correct judgment by the partiality of a father, he resolved that the church over which he was pastor, should judge of his son's fitness, and recognize their conviction by a solemn act. The members of the church, after cautious and deliberate inquiry, ratified the decision of the anxious parent, and earnestly and unanimously requested "that Robert Hall, Jr. might be set apart to public employ."

"Accordingly," as the following extract from 'the Church-book' testifies, on the 13th of August 1780, "he was examined by his father before the church, respecting his inclination, motives and end, in reference to the ministry, and was likewise desired to make a declaration of his religious sentiments. All which being done to the entire satisfaction of the church, they therefore set him apart by lifting up their right hands, and by solemn prayer.

"His father then delivered a discourse to him from 2 Tim. ii. 1. *Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus.* Being thus sent forth, he preached in the afternoon from 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. *The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*—May the Lord bless him, and grant him great success!"

It is worthy of observation that, on this solemn occasion, as well as when he preached at Clipstone, Mr Hall selected texts of the class most calculated to elicit those peculiar powers for which he was through life distinguished.

In little more than a year after Mr Hall had been thus publicly designated a preacher of the gospel, having pursued his studies at Bristol with great assiduity and corresponding success, he was, as already hinted, appointed to King's College, Aberdeen, on Dr Ward's foundation. In his journey thither he was accompanied by Mr Joseph Stennett, the son of the late Rev. Dr Stennett, and another student, Mr John Pownall, still living. The two former of these had letters to the venerable Dr Erskine of Edinburgh; and he again supplied them with introductions to two eminent individuals at Aberdeen. This appears from a letter sent by the doctor, 2d Nov. 1781, to Mr Ryland, of Northampton; from which, as it exhibits his view of the state of things at Aberdeen, at that period, I present a brief extract.

"I had the pleasure of your letter by Messrs Stennett and Hall last week. They appear to me pleasant young men, and I should have been happy to have had further opportunities of showing my regard to the children of so worthy parents, than their short stay here allowed. Though there are many excellent teachers at Aberdeen, and both they and the ministers are remarkable for purity of morals, I have some fears, from different accounts, that the general strain of preaching there is less evangelical than in several pulpits in Glasgow or Edinburgh. Principal Campbell and Dr Beattie are, in my opinion, able and worthy men; and my difference with the first, as to the American war and the Popish Bill, has not impaired our mutual esteem. I wrote letters to introduce the young gentlemen to both."

Mr Hall, for many years afterwards, used often to speak of the affectionate attentions of Dr Erskine, on this occasion; and of his own feelings when, on taking leave, the venerable man of God exhorted him to self-vigilance, kissed him, laid his hand upon his head, blessing him, and commending him to the watchful care of the great Head of the Church.

At the time when he went to Aberdeen, the reputation of the two colleges, King's and Marischal College, was almost equally balanced. At the latter, Principal Campbell and Dr Beattie, professor of moral philosophy, had attained a high and merited celebrity, both on account of their lectures and their writings; while at King's College the divinity lectures of Dr Gerard were much and greatly esteemed; and some of the other professors were men of eminence. Many, therefore, especially of the divinity students, attended the appropriate lectures at the two colleges*.

Mr Hall, in a letter addressed to his deservedly prized friend, the late Dr Ryland, towards the end of this first session at college, speaks thus of his studies and of two of the professors:—

"We entered the Greek class under Mr Leslie, who, though a man of no apparent brightness of parts, is, notwithstanding, well fitted for his office, being a good grammarian, and attentive to the interests of his pupils. We have been employed in the class in going over, more accurately, the principles of the Greek language, and reading select passages in Xenophon and Homer: and I have privately read through Xenophon's Anabasis, and Memorabilia of Socrates, several books of Homer, and some of the Greek Testament; and am now reading *Longini de Sublimitate liber*, which I hope to finish next week."

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* At King's College, during Mr Hall's studies there, Mr John Leslie was professor of Greek; Mr Roderick Macleod professor of Philosophy, including Mathematics; Mr W. Ogilvie professor of Humanity; Mr James Dunbar professor of Moral Philosophy; and Dr Alexander Gerard professor of Divinity. Though some of these were highly distinguished men, Dr Gerard was most known to the world of English literature. Among his works are, "An Essay on Genius," "An Essay on Taste," two volumes of valuable Sermons, and his "Lectures on the Pastoral Care," published in 1799, by his son, Dr Gilbert Gerard.

In the same letter he mentions his reading with Professor Ogilvie, whose versions of the Latin poets he characterizes as "extremely elegant." He laments the want of religious advantages in this seat of learning, and deplores the profanity and profligacy of many of the students; one of whom, he assures his friend, affirmed that he knew no use even in the word "God," except to give point to an oath! To make up for this sad deficiency, he adds, "we have found some agreeable acquaintances in the New Town, and among them the sister of Mr Cruden, the author of the Concordance."

The same letter contains evidence that he did not confine his attention solely to classical and mathematical studies. After expressing his admiration of the devotional as well as rational spirit, that "lives and breathes in every page of Edwards," he adds:—

"My thoughts are at present too much immersed in literary exercises to admit of long or close application of thought to any thing else. I have, however, been thinking a little on the distinction of *natural* and *moral ability* and have in my mind an objection upon which I should be glad to have your thoughts. It is, briefly, this: If, according to Edwards, the will always follows the last dictate of the understanding, and if it be determined, directed and biassed by the view of the understanding, what room, then, is left for any notion of moral ability as distinct from natural? Or how can there, in this case, be any depravity of the will, without supposing a prior defect in the understanding? Since the will, if it be wrong in its bias, is first led to that bias by the understanding; and where then the possibility of a *moral inability* consisting with a *natural ability!* This I hope to have some conversation with you upon, when I have the happiness of seeing you. I have with me Edwards on the Will, and have lately perused it often; and the more I read it the more I admire."

The lamented death of Sir James Mackintosh has left a blank which none can adequately fill, with regard to Mr Hall's character, habits, and the development of his intellectual powers at this period. On application, however, to an esteemed friend, Professor Paul, he has kindly communicated a few particulars, which I shall give in his own language.

"What I now transmit is drawn from the college records, from the recollection of Dr Jack, principal of King's College, and formerly for three years a class-fellow of Mr Hall, and from my own knowledge; for I, also, was a cotemporary of Mr Hall, having commenced my first year's studies when he commenced his fourth. It appears from the album that Mr Hall entered college in the beginning of November 1781. His first year was spent principally under the tuition of Mr Professor Leslie, in the acquisition of the Greek language; his second, third and fourth years under that of Mr Professor Macleod, when he studied mathematics, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy. He took his degree in arts (i. e. A. M. degree) on the 30th of March 1785. Principal Jack says that he attended the professor of humanity, Mr Ogilvie, during the four years he was at college, both for Latin and natural history; but, as there is no record of the students of of the humanity and natural history classes, this fact depends wholly on the principal's recollection. I learn from the same source that Sir James Mackintosh and Mr Hall, while at college, read a great deal of Greek in private, and that their reputation was high among their fellow-students for their attainments in that language. Principal Jack also bears testimony to Mr Hall's great success in his mathematical and philosophical studies, and affirms that he was the first scholar of his class, in the various branches of education taught at college. During one of the sessions the principal was member of a select literary society, consisting of only eight or ten students, of which society Sir James and Mr Hall were the distinguished ornaments. None of Mr Hall's college exercises are now to be found in this place; but my impressions correspond with those of the principal, that his acquirements were of the first order; and as Sir James had left college before I entered, having received his A. M. degree 30th March 1784, there was no one at college in my time who could be at all put in competition with Mr Hall. But, it was not as a scholar alone that Mr Hall's reputation was great at college. He was considered by all the students as a model of correct and regular deportment, of religious and moral habits, of friendly and benevolent affections."

To this concise summary I subjoin the few particulars which I gathered from Sir James Mackintosh himself.

When these two eminent men first became acquainted, Sir James was in his eighteenth year, Mr Hall about a year older. Sir James described Mr Hall as attracting notice by a most ingenuous and intelligent countenance, by the liveliness of his manner, and by such indications of mental activity as could not be misinterpreted. His appearance was that of health, yet not of robust health; and he often suffered from paroxysms of pain, during which he would roll about on the carpet, in the utmost agony; but no sooner had the pain subsided than he would resume his part in conversation with as much cheerfulness and vivacity as before he had been thus interrupted. Sir James said he became attached to Mr Hall, "because he could not help it." There wanted many of the supposed constituents of friendship. Their tastes, at the commencement of their intercourse, were widely different; and upon most of the important topics of inquiry, there was no congeniality of sentiment: yet notwithstanding this, the *substratum* of their minds seemed of the same cast, and upon this, Sir James thought, the edifice of their mutual regard first rested. Yet he, ere long, became fascinated by his brilliancy and acumen, in love with his cordiality and ardour, and "awe-struck" (I think that was the term employed) by the transparency of his conduct and the purity of his principles. They read together; they sat together at lecture, if possible; they walked together. In their joint studies they read much of Xenophon and Herodotus, and more of Plato; and so well was all this known, exciting admiration in some, in others envy, that it was not unusual, as they went along, for their class-fellows to point at them and say, "*there go Plato and Herodotus.*" But the arena in which they met most frequently was that of morals and metaphysics; furnishing topics of incessant disputation. After having sharpened their weapons by reading, they often repaired to the spacious sands upon the sea shore, and still more frequently to the picturesque scenery on the banks of the Don, above the old town, to discuss with eagerness the various subjects to which their attention had been directed. There was scarcely an important position in Berkeley's Minute Philosopher, in Butler's Analogy, or in Edwards on the Will, over which they had not thus debated with the utmost intensity. Night after night, nay, month after month, for two sessions, they met only to study or to dispute; yet no unkindly feeling ensued. The process seemed rather, like blows in that of welding iron, to knit them closer together. Sir James said, that his companion as well as himself often contended for victory, yet never, so far as he could then judge, did either make a voluntary sacrifice of truth, or stoop to draw to and fro the *serra λογομαχιας*, as is too often the case with ordinary controvertists. From these discussions, and from subsequent meditation upon them, Sir James learnt more *as to principles*, (such, at least, he assured me, was his deliberate conviction) than from all the books he ever read. On the other hand, Mr Hall through life reiterated his persuasion, that his friend possessed an intellect more analagous to that of Bacon, than any person of modern times; and that if he had devoted his powerful understanding to metaphysics, instead of law and politics, he would have thrown an unusual light upon that intricate but valuable region of inquiry. Such was the cordial, reciprocal testimony of these two distinguished men. And, in many respects—latterly, I hope and believe, in *all* the most essential—it might be truly said of both, "as face answereth to face in a glass, so does the heart of a man to his friend."

It will be seen from the first of the series of letters inserted in the fifth volume, that, shortly after Mr Hall's return to Aberdeen in November 1783, he received an invitation from the church at Broadmead, to associate himself with Dr Caleb Evans, as the assistant pastor; an invitation which he accepted with much doubt and diffidence. After some correspondence it was arranged that Mr Hall should reside at Bristol, in the interval (of nearly six months) between the college sessions of 1784 and 1785, and then return to Aberdeen to complete his course. In this important session, from the beginning of November 1784 to May 1785, he seems to have devoted himself most sedulously to his studies; especially the Greek language, with moral and intellectual philosophy, and those other departments of inquiry which are most intimately related to theology. During this session, too, he attended Dr Campbell's lectures at Marischal college, and frequently profited by the doctor's expository discourses, delivered once each fortnight; while he generally attended public worship at the church where Mr Abercromby and Mr Peters, both regarded as holding correct sentiments, were the alternate preachers. He had now lost his chosen companion, the sharpener of his faculties by animated yet friendly debate; and he sought for no substitute in society, but resolved to turn the deprivation into a benefit, by a more arduous application to his literary pursuits, and by cultivating habits of meditation. "I now," said he, in a letter to his father, "find retirement prodigiously sweet, and here I am entirely uninterrupted and left to my own thoughts." In this disposition he commenced and concluded the session.

By the time Mr Hall had thus completed his academical course, his mental powers, originally strong, had attained an extraordinary vigour; and, with the exception of the Hebrew language, of which he then knew nothing, he had become rich in literary, intellectual, and biblical acquisition. On resuming his labours at Broadmead, in conjunction with Dr Evans, his preaching excited an unusual attention, the place of worship was often crowded to excess, and many of the most distinguished men in Bristol, including several clergymen, were among his occasional auditors.

This popularity not only continued, but increased, until he removed to another sphere of action. The brilliancy and force of his eloquence were universally acknowledged, while, in private life, his instructive and fascinating conversation drew equal admiration. Yet it ought not to be concealed (for I simply announce his own deliberate conviction, frequently expressed in after life) that at this time he was very inadequately qualified for the duties of a minister of the gospel. He had, it is true, firmly embraced and cordially relied upon those fundamental truths which are comprehended in the declaration,—"He that cometh unto God must believe that He *is*, and that He is the *rewarder* of them that diligently seek him: and he often expatiated, with much originality and beauty, upon the divine attributes, and constantly exhorted men to adhere closely to the path of duty; yet, not often from the higher, namely, the evangelical motives, to pure, and benevolent, and holy conduct. His knowledge of Christianity, as a system of restoration and reconciliation, was comparatively defective and obscure; and he felt but little alive to those peculiarities of the new dispensation, upon which, in maturer life, he loved to dwell. In his preaching he dealt too much in generalities, or enlarged upon topics which, though in a certain sense noble and inspiring, and thus calculated to elevate the mind, did not immediately flow from the great scheme of redemption, which it was his especial office to disclose. The extent of God's matchless love and mercy—the depth of the mystery of his designs—the inexhaustible treasury of his blessings and graces—the wonderful benefits flowing from the incarnation, humiliation, and sacrifice of the Son of God—the delightful privileges of the saints—were themes to which he recurred far less frequently than in later days; and he persuaded himself that this was not *very* wrong, because his colleague, Dr Evans, who had "the care of the church," adverted so incessantly to the doctrines of our Lord's divinity and atonement, of spiritual influence and regeneration, as to leave room for *him* to explore other regions of instruction and interest.

It is possible that Mr Hall, from his habit of self-depreciation, may have a little overcharged this picture: yet the notes of several of his sermons, preached from 1785 to 1789, taken down by one of the congregation, and which are now in my possession, confirm, to a considerable extent, the existence of the serious defect which he subsequently so much deplored.

Considering his early age, twenty-one, it was manifestly unfavourable to the correct development of his character *as a preacher*, that in August 1785, only three months after his quitting Aberdeen, he was appointed classical tutor in the Bristol Academy, on the resignation of Mr Newton. That additional appointment he held for more than five years, and discharged its duties with marked zeal and activity, and with commensurate success. At this period of his life he was celebrated as a satirist, and would overwhelm such of his associates as tempted him to the use of those formidable weapons, with wit and raillery, not always playful. Aware, however, that this propensity was calculated to render him unamiable, and to give permanent pain to others, (a result which the generosity of his disposition made him anxious to avoid), he endeavoured to impose a restraint upon himself, by writing the essay on the "Character of Cleander," in which he exposes, with just severity, that species of sarcasm to which he believed himself most prone; and thus, by its publication, gave to others the opportunity, when he slid into this practice, of reproving him in his own language.

It seems to have been remarkably, and doubtless mercifully, overruled, that, during this period of Mr Hall's history, though his more judicious and wise friends were often grieved by the free and daring speculations which he advanced in private, he never promulgated direct and positive error from the pulpit. And thus they who were filled with apprehension on account of sallies in conversation, would listen with delight to his public addresses. This will be evinced by a few extracts from the journals of two of his constant friends.

Mr *Fuller* writes. "1784, May 7. Heard Mr Robert Hall, Jun., from 'He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.' Felt very solemn in hearing some parts.—The Lord keep that young man!"

Again, "1785, June 14. Taken up with the company of Mr Robert Hall, Jun.; feel much pain for him. The Lord, in mercy to him and his churches in this country, keep him in the path of truth and righteousness."

In like manner, Dr *Ryland*. "June 8, 1785. Robert Hall, Jun., preached wonderfully from Rom. viii. 18, 'For I reckon that the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us.' I admire many things in this young man exceedingly, though there are others that make me fear for him. O that the Lord may keep him humble, and make him prudent!"

Again, "June 15. Rode to Clipston to attend the ministers' meeting. R. Hall, Jun., preached a glorious sermon, on the immutability of God, from James i. 17, 'The father of lights, with whom is no variableness, nor shadow of turning.'"

Again, "1786, June 13. Sent off a letter to Robert Hall, Jun., which I wrote chiefly in answer to one of his some months ago, wherein he replied to mine concerning some disagreeable reports from Birmingham: added some new hints respecting another matter lately reported. O that God may keep that young man in the way of truth and holiness."

It hence appears that Dr Ryland, who was nearly twelve years older than Mr Hall, and had known him from his childhood, did not rest satisfied with silent lamentations. This excellent man, fearing that his young friend was about to precipitate himself into a very dangerous course, sought by kind but strong expostulation to rescue him from the peril; and thus addressed him.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

"The fullest consciousness that I have a right to call you so, as really feeling an earnest and tender concern for your welfare, and the recollection that you apparently allowed it when I last saw you, encourages me to write to you; though I may as well tell you at once that I am going to write to you in the same strain of complaint and censure which I have been constrained to use before. And indeed my fears and grief were never excited to such a degree concerning you as they now are. I still hope, however, you have much love to God; and I trust so much conviction of my sincere friendship, that you will not say of me as one said of Micaiah, 'I hate him, for he is always saying evil of me.' Indeed, the things that grieve me I shall industriously conceal from every body as long as I can; but I fear they will spread fast enough: for if you openly utter all your mind, there are not many who will mourn in secret over the report.

"It gave me extreme uneasiness to hear, this week, of the general disgust you had given to your former friends at Birmingham, on your last visit. Verily I wish that neither you, nor I, nor others, may fight for the truth with infernal weapons. I would wish to feel in my inmost soul the tenderest pity for the most erroneous men in the world, and to show all proper respect to men of science, and men who are regular in their outward conduct. Nor should I at all approve of violent or harsh language, or like to speak my opinion of the state of individuals. But at the same time I cannot but think, that the lusts of the *mind* may as effectually ruin a man as 'the lusts of the *flesh*.' And I must get a good way towards Socinianism myself before I have any strong hope that a Socinian, living and dying such, will see the kingdom of God. When the merciful Jesus declared, 'He that believeth shall be saved,' &c. I cannot believe that he meant simply, that he shall be saved who believes *that Jesus was not an impostor*, and who believes the *Doctrine of the Resurrection*. But these two articles are, I believe, the whole of Dr Priestley's Christianity, and if once I were to think this Christianity enough to carry a man to heaven, I should not, I fear, be very strenuous in my endeavours to convince men of the danger of self-righteousness, and the necessity of a reliance on the Atonement. Oh! my dear friend, can I conceive that your mind was deeply impressed with a sense of the divine purity and the justice of God's law, when you could utter so vain and vile a speech as this?"

The Doctor then cites the language imputed to Mr Hall. It implied that if he were the Judge of all, he could not condemn Dr Priestley. After animadverting strongly upon the phrase which he understood was actually employed, he proceeds thus:

"It is, I am sure, not malevolence, but sincere love that makes me jealous of you. May the Lord keep you! I wish you would look over afresh the Epistle to the Galatians, and examine whether your charity is as chaste as Paul's. I allude to a proverb you have doubtless heard—'Charity is an angel, while she rejoiceth in the truth, a harlot when she rejoiceth in iniquity;'—embracing those whom she should rather pity and weep over.

"Study to enter into the very spirit of Paul's discourse, 1 Cor. i. 18—31, or Gal. ii. 15—21; and if this is consistent with supposing it would be unfair for God to punish any man for rejecting the Gospel, who understood chemistry and philosophy, why, then retain your favourable opinion of the safety of Socinians.

"Receive this as a proof of the affection with which I am
"Your faithful friend,
"J. Ryland."

Many high-spirited young men, we can readily imagine, would have treated such a letter as this with contempt; while others would have replied to it in a lofty tone of surprise and indignation. But Dr Ryland's young friend, notwithstanding the errors into which his impetuosity had hurried him, had too much generosity to regard as insulting what he knew was dictated by affection; and therefore, anxious to show that he could bear reproof, and be thankful for it, he promptly replied:

"My dear Friend,

"I have just received your letter, and think it of so much importance as to deserve an immediate answer. Accordingly, without the least delay, I have set myself to reply to it. I am exceedingly obliged to you for your friendly expostulation, because I know it is the effusion of a pious and benevolent heart that wishes me well. With respect to the conversation at Birmingham, to which you allude, I shall conceal nothing."

He then, at the same time that he denies the precise language that was imputed to him, states what he did really say: and aims to justify the sentiment which he had maintained: disclaiming, however, any approximation to Socinian doctrine.

"You seem to suspect that I am far gone in Socinianism; but, in this, my dear friend, give me leave to say, you are utterly mistaken. Since I first began to reflect, I do not recollect a time when I was less inclined to Socinianism than at present. I can truly say, it would remove from me all my salvation and all my desire."

Again, reverting to the expression employed, he adds:—"Allowing it to be improper or too strong, I can only say, it does not belong to all to speak equally temperately; that the crime of expression can only be judged from the feelings, and that I am certain I did not *utter* it with any lightness of heart, but with deep feelings of earnestness and sincerity. Your charge of imprudence I cordially admit; and now see, with more clearness than I formerly did, that the imprudent should never come into company with the malicious.

"I had more to say; but have no room. I sincerely thank you for your letter, and shall always be extremely grateful for your correspondence, your good wishes, and your prayers.

"Believe me, as ever, affectionately yours,
"R. Hall, junior."

These letters would not have been inserted after the lapse of fifty years, but for the salutary lesson which they supply. If christian friendship always manifested itself in such fidelity as is here evinced, and uniformly experienced so kind and ingenuous a reception, what a different aspect, in a few years, would the Christian world assume!

When Mr Hall was about twenty-three years of age, he had an opportunity of hearing Mr Robinson, his predecessor at Cambridge, preach; and was so fascinated with his manner, as to resolve to *imitate* it. But, after a few trials, he relinquished the attempt. The circumstance being afterwards alluded to, he observed, "Why, sir, I was too proud to *remain* an imitator. After my second trial, as I was walking home, I heard one of the congregation say to another, 'Really, Mr Hall *did remind* us of Mr Robinson!' That, sir, was a knock-down-blow to my vanity; and I at once resolved that if ever I *did* acquire reputation, it should be my own reputation, belong to my own character, and not be that of a *likeness*. Besides, sir[*], if I had not been a foolish young man, I should have seen how ridiculous it was to imitate such a preacher as Mr Robinson. He had a musical voice, and was master of all its intonations; he had wonderful self-possession, and could say *what* he pleased, *when* he pleased, and *how* he pleased; while my voice and manner were naturally bad; and far from having self-command, I never entered the pulpit, without omitting to say something that I wished to say, and saying something that I wished unsaid: and, beside all this, I ought to have known that, for me *to speak slow was ruin.*" "Why so?" "I wonder that you, a student of philosophy, should ask such a question. You know, sir, that force, or momentum, is conjointly as the body and velocity; therefore, as my voice is feeble, what is wanted in body must be made up in velocity, or there will not be, cannot be, any impression."

This remark, though thrown off hastily, in unreserved conversation, presents the theory of *one* important cause of the success of his rapid eloquence.

Shortly after this, Mr Hall was, for the first time, in Mr Robinson's society: I believe in London. Mr Robinson was affluent in flatteries for those who worshipped him, while Mr Hall neither courted flattery, nor scattered its incense upon others. In speaking of the Socinian controversy, the elder indulged in sarcasm upon "juvenile defenders of the faith," and made various efforts "to set the young man down," which tempted Mr Hall to reply that "if *he* ever rode into the field of public controversy, he should not borrow Dr Abbadie's *boots*." This enigmatical retort[†] Mr Robinson understood, and probably *felt* more than Mr Hall had anticipated; for he had about that time quitted the field, put off "the boots," and passed to the verge of Socinianism. In the course of some discussions that followed, Mr Hall, as most of those who were present thought, completely exposed the dangerous sophistry by which Mr Robinson endeavoured to explain away some very momentous truths. Mr Robinson, perceiving that the stream of opinion fell in with the arguments of his young opponent, and vexed at being thus foiled, lost his usual placidity and courtesy, and suddenly changed the topic of conversation, saying, "the company may be much better employed than by listening to a raw school-boy, whose head is crammed with Scotch metaphysics." Nothing but a consciousness that the "raw school-boy" had defeated him, would have thus thrown him off his guard.

In 1788, Mr Hall, weary of the solitude to which he was often subjected, as a mere lodger, and anticipating marriage in the course of a few months (an anticipation, however, which was not realized), hired a house; his sister Mary, afterwards Mrs James, kindly consenting to superintend his domestic concerns. From a letter which he then wrote to his father, I extract a few passages.

"*Feb.* 10, 1788.

"We have a great deal of talk here about the slave-trade; as I understand from your letter, you have had too. A petition has been sent from hence to parliament for the abolishing it; and a committee is formed to co-operate with that in London, in any measures that may be taken to promote their purpose. At Bristol much opposition is made by the merchants and their dependants, who are many, perhaps most of them engaged in it. Our petition was signed by eight hundred, or upwards; which, considering that *no application has been made to any*, we think a great number. Many things have been written in the papers on both sides: some pieces I have written myself, under the signature *Britannicus*[‡], which I purpose to get printed in a few pamphlets, and shall send one of them to you. The injustice and inhumanity of the trade are glaring, and upon this ground I mainly proceed: upon the *policy* of abolishing it I treat lightly, because I am dubious about it; nor can it be of great consequence to the question in hand; for, if it be proved cruel and unjust, it is impious to defend it." . . . . .

"I am afraid the abolition will not take place speedily, if at all. The trading and mercantile interest will make great outcry; the scheme will be thought chimerical, and after producing a few warm speeches, will, I fear, die away."

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[*] Mr Hall very frequently repeated the word, *Sir*, in his conversation; especially if he became animated.

[†] The allusion was to the defence of the divinity of our Lord, published in French, by Dr Abbadie, in his "Vindication of the Truth of the Christian Religion;" a work from which Mr Robinson was thought to have borrowed many of the arguments in his "Plea for the Divinity," &c. without acknowledgement.

[‡] These I have not been able to procure.

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"My own temper, I know needs some correction, and it will be my daily endeavour to mend it: it wants *gentleness.* Mr M——— has done me much good by convincing me, from his own example, to what perfection a temper naturally keen and lofty may be carried."

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"So far, I am happy that my duty and my gratification lie in the same direction; so that every step I take towards improvement may be a step towards real pleasure. One inconvenience, indeed, I labour under with respect to my temper, by being connected with my sister; and that is, *she never tries it.*"

A serious trial of another kind, now, however, awaited Mr Hall—a painful misunderstanding between him and his friend and colleague Dr Evans. It continued not only to disturb the minds of both, but, as might be expected, to create partisans among their respective friends, and indeed to endanger the peace of the church at Broadmead, for more than two years. I have read various written papers, and some pamphlets, which relate to this painful affair; and cannot but conclude that, like many others, it originated in such trifling misconceptions, as, in more felicitous circumstances, neither party would have suffered to disturb his thoughts for an hour. A few hasty expressions, retorted by others both hasty and strong, tempted the doctor and his friends to accuse Mr Hall of ingratitude, and a want of deference to his superior in age and station; he, in his turn, repelled the accusation, in language too natural to a young man glowing with a lofty spirit of independence; and thus, new charges and fresh recriminations arose. The interposition of friends availed but little; for their unhallowed passions became ignited too. After many months spent in this unseemly strife, a meeting between the belligerent parties was held, in the presence of two friends of each, at the Mansion House, the Mayor of Bristol being one of the persons chosen by Dr Evans. No beneficial effects resulted from this meeting; the individuals, who hoped by their interposition to ensure the restoration of amity, having long before ceased to be impartial judges in the affair. The parties on both sides, who were convened on this occasion, published their respective statements; from which it appears that one of them thought Mr Hall justifiable, and censured Dr Evans; while the other approved of the doctor's conduct, and condemned that of Mr Hall.

It will not, then, be expected, that I should draw from the obscurity which time has cast over them, more particulars relating to this unhappy collision. Nor, indeed, should I have adverted to it, had it not operated strongly in preparing Mr Hall for his removal from Bristol. Whatever regret it might occasion him, on subsequent meditation, it excited no self-reproach, nor left any malevolent feeling. On the decease of Dr Evans, which took place in 1791, his former colleague prepared an inscription for his monument; and he wrote the following letter to his brother-in-law, Mr Isaac James, in reply to that which announced the doctor's death.

"*Cambridge, Aug.* 12, 1791.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"The contents of your letter received this day have affected me more than almost any thing of thekind I ever met with in my life. It is in all points of view a most solemn event; but, from obvious circumstances, to *me* it cannot fail of being peculiarly so. It is truly affecting to recollect the friendship that so long subsisted betwixt us, and that it should end so unhappily in a breach that admits of no repair, no remedy!! Yet, though I feel most pungently upon this occasion, I am happy to be able to join with you in declaring that my conscience is not loaded with guilt. Abating too much of an unhappy violence, I have the *mens conscia recti.* Were the circumstances to occur again, a breach would, as before, be inevitable. But though, in justice to myself, I say thus much, there is no one more disposed to lament the deceased than myself, or who has a truer sensibility of the real virtues of his character. I have written to Mr Higgs, and therefore I need say the less to you upon these melancholy topics. The chief purpose, indeed, of my troubling *you* at present, is to request you will be so kind as to give me the earliest and most particular account of every thing that passes at his funeral; the persons present, the sermon, the impression of the event, deep no doubt and awful, the whole state of things at Bristol, their future prospects and intentions, every thing relating to these matters that you know. The situation of the family and the church, though I doubt not I am the object of their joint abhorrence, I most sincerely compassionate. May God guide and comfort them. I think you and all my friends ought now to bury all that is past, and renew a connexion with the church, if their temper will permit you. My friends will *most oblige me* by carrying it respectfully to the doctor's family and memory. 'Anger may glance into the bosom of a wise man, but it rests only in the bosom of fools;' and our best improvement of the death of this useful servant of God, will be to imitate his excellencies and forget his errors. Pray write as soon as possible. I shall be extremely impatient till I hear. I am, dear brother,

"Your affectionate brother,
"*To Mr Isaac James.*" "R. HALL."

Before this time it was generally apprehended that Mr Hall's sentiments had, on some momentous points, deviated considerably from the accredited standards of even moderate orthodoxy; and he had given much pain to some of his baptist friends on account of his views with regard to re-baptizing. Some correspondence took place between him and the Broadmead Church, on these subjects: and, as well that the sentiments he then really held may be known, as that the extent of his declension into positive error, may be judged of from his own language, I shall here insert the frank exposition of his opinions, which he addressed to the church when he was on the eve of dissolving his connexion with it.

"*Thursday, Dec.* 9, 1790.

"MY DEAR BRETHREN,

"Every token of your respect and attachment sensibly affects me; and, as you have requested me to explain myself on those sentiments to which I alluded as reasons of separation, I think it a duty I owe to myself and to you to give you all the satisfaction in my power.

"1st. In the first place, I am a firm believer in the proper divinity of Jesus Christ; in the merits of Christ as the sole ground of acceptance in the sight of God, without admitting works to have any share in the great business of justification; and in the necessity of divine influence to regenerate and sanctify the mind of every man, in order to his becoming a real Christian. Thus far in the affirmative.

"2dly. In the second place, I am not a Calvanist, in the strict and proper sense of that term. I do not maintain the federal headship of Adam, as it is called, or the imputation of his sin to his posterity; and this doctrine I have always considered, and do still consider, as the foundation of that system. I believe we have received from our first parents, together with various outward ills, a corrupt and irregular bias of mind; but, at the same time, it is my firm opinion, that we are liable to condemnation *only* for our own actions, and that *guilt* is a personal and individual thing. I believe in the doctrine of the Divine Decrees, and of course in the predestination of all events, of which the number of the finally saved is one. But this appears to me a different thing from the doctrine of absolute election and reprobation, as it has ever been explained by Calvinists, which does not meet my approbation. Without going into a large field of metaphysical discussion, this is all I think it requisite to say respecting my orthodoxy; but there are two other points which have occasioned a good deal of conversation, and from some quarters a good deal of censure; upon which I shall therefore beg leave to explain myself in a few words.

"3dly. I am, and have been for a long time, a materialist, though I have never drawn your attention to this subject in my preaching: because I have always considered it myself, and wished you to consider it, as *a mere metaphysical speculation.* My opinion, however, upon this head is, that the nature of man is simple and uniform; that the thinking powers and faculties are the result of a certain organization of matter; and that after death he ceases to be conscious *until the resurrection.*"

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"Much has been said upon my opinions respecting Baptism, and I am happy to have this opportunity of explaining my sentiments on that subject in particular, as it affects not only the propriety of my former relation to this church, but of any future connexion I may form with any other Christian society. On this point much mistake, much representation, I hope not voluntarily, has taken place; and on this account I trust you will excuse my dwelling upon it a little more particularly than its importance in other respects might seem to justify. It has been held out to the world by some, that I am *not a Baptist.* I am, both in respect to the subject and to the mode of this institution, a Baptist. To apply this ordinance to infants appears to me a perversion of the intention of the sacred institution; and the primitive, the regular, and proper mode of administration, I take to be *immersion*. Still it appears to me that sprinkling, though an innovation, does not deprive Baptism of its essential validity, so as to put the person that has been sprinkled *in adult age* upon a footing with the unbaptized. The whole of my sentiments amounts to this,—I would not myself baptize in any other manner than by immersion, because I look upon immersion as the ancient mode, that it best represents the meaning of the original term employed, and the substantial import of this institution; and because I should think it right to guard against the spirit of innovation, which in positive rites is always dangerous and progressive: but I should not think myself authorized to rebaptize any one who has been sprinkled in adult age. I shall only remark, in addition to what I have already said upon this point, that if it be a sufficient objection to my union with a Baptist congregation; then, as all Christendom is composed of Baptists or Pædobaptists, it amounts to my exclusion, as a minister, from every Christian society throughout the whole earth: an interdict equally absurd and inhuman, founded upon a conduct merely negative in chimerical situations seldom or never likely to occur.

"I have thus, in compliance with your wishes, and with all the perspicuity in my power, in a few words explained to you my religious opinions, with a more particular view to the subjects on which I may be supposed most to err: and this avowal I have made, partly as a testimony of the respect I bear you, and partly to vindicate my character from any suspicion of ambiguity or reserve; but not at all with the remotest wish to win popularity or to court your suffrages; for at present it is as little in my power to accept any invitation to continue, as it may be in your inclination to give it, as I hold myself engaged in honour as a probationer for six months to a respectable society at Cambridge. May peace and prosperity attend you. I am, your friend and brother,

"With the greatest respect,
"R. HALL."

The vexations and perplexities in which Mr Hall has been for some time involved, doubtless facilitated his removal to another sphere of action. And he who duly meditates upon the way in which the great Head of the Church renders the movements of his providence subservient to his merciful purposes in redemption, will, I am persuaded, trace the superintending hand on this occassion.

Mr Robinson, the pastor of the church at Cambridge, with which Mr Hall was now about to be connected, was a man of extensive powers, of some genius, and of considerable industry and research. Fascinating as a preacher, delightful as a companion, perseveringly skilful in the insinuation of his sentiments, his influence could not but be great. From the profession of orthodox opinions, he had passed by a rather rapid transition, not to Socinianism, but far beyound, to the very borders of infidelity; such, at least, was the substance of his declaration to Dr Priestley, whom he *thanked* for preserving him from that awful gulf. Vain speculation was substituted for knowledge, faith and experience; confession, and prayer, but seldom made a part of the public worship which he conducted, his effusions before sermon consisting almost altogether of ascriptions of praise; and the congregation became so transformed and deteriorated, in consequence, that, among the more intelligent classes, with only two or three exceptions, "he was esteemed the best Christian who was most skilled in disputation," not he who evinced most of "the spirit of Christ." The majority of the poorer members, however, escaped the contagion, and were ready to co-operate with the late Mr Foster, who was then the senior deacon, and another of the deacons, who equally deplored the evils which had fallen upon them. Cordially attached to those doctrines which they regarded as fundamental, and therefore as constituting the basis of church union, they were preparing to call upon the whole body to consider the expediency of requesting Mr Robinson to resign, when his sudden death at Birmingham, just after he had been preaching in Dr Priestley's pulpit, rendered such a measure unnecessary. On the news of this event reaching Cambridge, Mr Foster, who was then on his death-bed, made it his last request to some of the most influential men in the church, that they would never consent to the appointment of a Socinian as Mr Robinson's successor.

From this account of the state of the church at Mr Robinson's decease, it will appear how difficult it was to select a successor who would be approved by all; how difficult, also, for that successor to walk steadily in the path of duty.

Mr Hall, who by this time had attained a high reputation as a preacher, was invited, in June or July 1790, to preach at Cambridge for one month; after which the invitation was renewed for a longer term. In July the following year, he was invited to take the pastoral charge: the letter, announcing his acceptance of the important trust, is already before the public.

In these transactions and their consequences *still* unfolding, the wisdom and mercy of God are strikingly manifested. There was at that time no man of eminence among the Baptists, besides Mr Hall, who could for a moment have been thought of by the church at Cambridge as a fit successor to Mr Robinson; nor was there any Baptist church and congregation with which *he* could become connected, with the same prospect of being useful and happy, according to the views he then entertained. Had Mr Hall's religious principles and feelings been such in 1790 and 1791, as they became a few years afterwards, not even *his* talents would have made them palateable; and a connexion, had it been formed, would soon have been dissolved: on the other hand, had the church been decidedly and entirely socinianized, he could not conscientiously have become its pastor. The providential correlation soon began to show itself. *Their* looseness of sentiments on many points, which even then he thought momentous, led him to enforce them frequently with the utmost energy; while *his* known freedom of opinion on other points, which they also had been led to canvass freely, preserved him from the odium of orthodoxy. Thinking themselves liberal, and unshackled, they could not but congratulate one another that their new pastor, a man of splendid talents, was *almost* as liberal and unshackled as they were. Then again, their want of devotional seriousness, by the force of contrast, heightened his estimate of the value of true piety; and this produced an augmented earnestness and fidelity, which they first learnt to tolerate, and afterwards to admire. Thus, by the operation of an incessant action and re-action, continued for years, each party exerted a salutary influence on the other; and at length both church and pastor became so distinguished for piety, harmony and affection, that they, who had known and lamented their former state, were compelled to exclaim, "This hath God wrought."

The death of Mr Hall's father, which occurred in March 1791, had indeed tended greatly to bring his mind to the state of serious thought with which he entered upon the pastoral office. Meditating with the deepest veneration upon the unusual excellencies of a parent now for ever lost to him, he was led to investigate, with renewed earnestness, the truth as well as value of those high and sacred principles, from which his eminent piety and admirable consistency, so evidently flowed. He called to mind, too, several occasions on which his father, partly by the force of reason, partly by that of tender expostulation, had exhorted him to abandon the vague and dangerous speculations to which he was prone. Some important changes in Mr Hall's sentiments resulted from an inquiry conducted under such solemn impressions; and among these may be mentioned his renunciation of *materialism*, which he often declared he "buried in his father's grave."

Attentive to the voice of heavenly admonition, thus addressing him from various quarters, he entered upon his new duties with earnest desires that he might be able "to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God." Feeling that to him was consigned the charge of transforming, with God's assistance, a cold and sterile soil into a fruitful field, he determined not to satisfy himself with half measures, but proceeded to expose error, and defend what he regarded as essential truth. The first sermon, therefore, which he delivered at Cambridge, after he had assumed the office of pastor, was on the doctrine of the atonement, and its practical tendencies. Immediately after the conclusion of the service, one of the congregation, who had followed poor Mr Robinson through all his changes of sentiment, went into the vestry, and said, "Mr Hall, this preaching won't do for us: it will only suit a congregation of old women." "Do you mean my sermon, sir, or the doctrine?" "Your *doctrine*." "Why is it that the *doctrine* is fit only for old women?" "Because it may suit the musings of people tottering upon the brink of the grave, and who are eagerly seeking comfort." "Thank you, sir, for your concession. The doctrine will not *suit* people of *any* age, unless it be true; and if it *be true*, it is not fitted for old women alone, but is equally important at *every* age."

This individual, and three or four other men of influence, with about twenty from the poorer classes, shortly afterwards withdrew from the congregation, and met together on the Sunday evenings at a private house. The then Rev. William Frend, fellow and tutor of Jesus College, an avowed Socinian, became their religious instructor. This separate assembly, however, did not continue many months; for the person at whose house they met, was, ere long, taken up and tried for sedition, and convicted; and the proceedings against Mr Frend, on account of his pamphlet entitled, "Peace and Union," which for so long a time kept the University of Cambridge in a state of great agitation, and which ended in his expulsion from it, drew away his attention from the little band of seceders.

Mr Hall's ministerial labours, at this interesting period of his life, were blessed with the happiest results, when the benefit seemed likely to be for a while suspended by the intrusion of *violent* political discussion. The impression made throughout Europe by the French revolution of 1789, was such, that not merely here and there an individual indulged in political speculation, but almost every man threw himself into the vortex of controversy. The clergy of every order and station, the laity of every rank and class, yielded alike to the impulsion; and he who did not declare his decided and cordial adhesion to one or other of the contending parties, might expect the censure of both for his want of spirit or of principle. Cambridge, hitherto characterized as the whig university, was, at this epoch, split into the most violent party divisions, and the public was deluged with sermons from the pulpit, and pamphlets from the press, in which the respective advocates of "things as they are," and of "things as they should be," defended their opposite views with the utmost zeal, and too often with the most unbecoming rancour.

At such a season Mr Hall, then under thirty years of age, was not likely to maintain an entire silence. When a man's quiescence was sufficient to render his principles equivocal, *he* was certainly not one who would make a secret of his opinions. He thought that political ethics had almost ceased to be referable to any principle of pure ethics. He hesitated not to avow that the grand object of all good government must be to promote the happiness of the governed, to assist every individual in its attainment and security. He regarded a government chiefly anxious about the emoluments of office, or aiming to consolidate its own power at home, and to aid the efforts of despots abroad, while it neglected the comfort and welfare of individuals in middle or lower life, whose burdens it augmented by a mistaken course, as a government that should be *constitutionally* opposed by every lawful means.

He gave to such subjects, also, more than political considerations. He looked upon those European governments which were founded on oppression, and trampled on the natural rights of man, as operating most fatally in the extinction of light and virtue. He regarded the conditions of those who tyrannize, and of those who are the objects of tyranny, as each productive of a numerous and distinct class of vices; and thought that the consequent darkness, ignorance and criminality of the general mass under despotic governments, in great measure, if not entirely, incapacitated them for the pure and elevated enjoyments of heaven. It was hence a permanent conviction of his mind, "that he who is instrumental in perpetuating a corrupt and wicked government, is also instrumental in unfitting his fellow-men for the felicity of the celestial mansions." Could it then be matter of surprise that, believing and feeling all this, he should exult when "the empire of darkness and of despotism had been smitten with a stroke which sounded through the universe;" or, when other ministers of the gospel were signalizing themselves by opposing this view of things, that he should, for a short interval, be drawn aside from pursuits more congenial with his prevailing tastes, and, in some important respects, I think, more compatible with his holy calling, and at once endeavour to prove that "Christianity is consistent with a love of freedom," and that true Christianity will prevail most where genuine freedom is most diffused and best understood?

Cordial, however, as was Mr. Hall's attachment to a cause in which he conceived man's best interests to be closely interwoven, and strong as was his hatred of despotic measures, or what he regarded as such, either at home or abroad, I do not think that even their joint operation would have overcome his repugnance to writing, had it not been for skilful *abettors*, who first worked upon his feelings, and then extorted from him the promise of preparing a work for the public. Such, if I have not been misinformed, was the origin of his first political pamphlet; and such, I know, from his own declaration, often repeated, was the origin of the eloquent and powerful "Apology for the Freedom of the Press." The evening after the event occurred, to which he alludes in the "Apology," he attended a periodical meeting of a book society, constituted principally of members of his own congregation, and of Mr Simeon's, and usually denominated *Alderman Ind's Club*, that distinguished ornament of Mr Simeon's congregation being the treasurer. Every person present expressed himself in terms of the strongest indignation at the insult offered to Mr Musgrave; every one thought it highly desirable that some man of talent *at Cambridge* should advocate the principles maintained by the friends of liberty, especially of those who avowed evangelical sentiments, and the necessity for their united activity, in the present state of the country and of Europe. Mr Hall spoke as decidedly as any of them with regard to the urgent necessities of the case; when they all, having brought him precisely into the position at which they were aiming, exclaimed, that it was he to whom alone they could look in this exigency. "Alderman Ind, you know, sir, (said he) was an excellent man; pure as a seraph, and gentle as a lamb. I thought that if *he* felt roused, if *he* could join with the rest in urging me, I might bring all hesitation to a truce; and so, in an evil hour, I yielded to their entreaties. I went home to my lodgings and began to write immediately; sat up all night; and, wonderful for me, kept up the intellectual ferment for almost a month; and then the thing was done. I revised it a little as it went through the press; but I have ever since regretted that I wrote so hastily and superficially upon some subjects brought forward, which required touching with a master-hand, and exploring to their very foundations. So far as I understand the purely political principles which are advanced in that pamphlet, they are, I believe, correct: at all events, they are mine still. But, I repeat it, I yielded in an evil hour; especially if I had any wish to obtain permanent reputation as a political writer. Perhaps, however, the pamphlet had its use in those perilous times." Such was Mr Hall's account of this publication. How far it indicates the spirit of self-depreciation, in which, almost through life, he characterized his own productions, they who are best acquainted with the "Apology" will be most competent to decide; unless, indeed, their prepossessions and prejudices should disqualify them for deciding aright.

But, whatever might be Mr Hall's opinion of this work, it does not seem to have been regarded by the public as of little value. Three editions were called for, I believe, within less than six months; and then, the author not sanctioning a republication, various editions were printed and circulated surreptitiously. Its more splendid and impressive passages were repeatedly quoted in the periodicals of the day, and many of its arguments were cited as perfectly conclusive. It was also widely circulated in America; and is there still regarded as having been powerfully influential in diffusing those liberal political principles, which, of late, have acquired so marked an ascendancy in Britain.

Mr Hall, however, experienced such inconveniences from his political celebrity, as induced him to recede, not from his principles, or from the avowal of them in private, but from the farther advocacy of them in public. It forced upon him the society of men whose conduct and character he could not approve; it tended to draw him, much more than he could conscientiously justify, from retirement and study; and thus, ere long, he became of opinion, to adopt his own words, "that the Christian ministry is in danger of losing something of its energy and sanctity, by embarking on the stormy element of political debate." His elegant eulogium on Dr Priestly, in his first pamphlet, and the warm terms of admiration in which he used to speak of him in private, tempted many to fancy and to say that he, also, was a Socinian in heart; and although his preaching became more and more distinguished by the introduction and energetic application of evangelical truth, he still found himself often so equivocally placed, as to render his denial of Socinianism quite imperative. On one of these occasions, Mr Hall having, in his usual terms, panegyrized Dr Priestly, a gentleman who held the doctor's theological opinions, tapping Mr Hall upon the shoulder with an indelicate freedom from which he recoiled, said, "Ah! sir, we shall have *you* among us soon, I see." Mr Hall, startled and offended by the rude tone of exultation in which this was uttered, hastily replied, "*Me* amongst *you*, sir! *me* amongst *you!* Why if that were ever the case, I should deserve to be tied to the tail of the great red dragon, and whipped round the nethermost regions to all eternity!"

Notwithstanding the reasons Mr Hall thus had for some degree of reserve, yet in this, as in every period of his life, he displayed a remarkable relish for social intercourse. He did not court the society of literary men; indeed, he rather shrunk from it, because he felt the risk of having his thoughts too much engrossed by mere matters of language or of science: he had acquired enough of both to value them greatly; yet he desired to regard them principally as subservient to the higher purposes of his profession. Besides this, the philosophy of mind, in which he took extreme interest, was then but little cultivated at Cambridge. Happily, however, the leading individuals in his congregation were very intelligent and well-informed, able to appreciate his talents justly, and skilful in bringing his conversational powers into full action. With one or other of these he usually spent his evenings, selecting most frequently those who possessed the enjoyments of domestic life, and often stealing in earlier than he was expected, that he might for an hour, share in the gambols and gaiety of the children.

He was, but only for a short time, an imitator of Dr Johnson. Some years afterwards, when reminded of this, he replied—"Yes, sir, I aped Johnson, and I preached Johnson; and I am afraid with little more of evangelical sentiment than is to be found in his Essays: but it was youthful folly, and it was very great folly. I might as well have attempted to dance a hornpipe in the cumbrous costume of Gog and Magog. My puny thoughts could not sustain the load of the words in which I tried to clothe them."

There needed not, in truth, the principle of imitation, to produce great similiarity in some important respects between these two extraordinary men. They manifested the physical difference between a melancholic and a cheerful temperament; in consequence of which, the one was slow and measured in utterance, the other rapid and urgent. But, in conversation, both evinced a ready comprehension of the whole subject, a quick and decisive accuracy in answering, and a perfect self-dependence. They both disliked a protracted debate, and would sometimes terminate a discussion, when it was growing tiresome, by a strong and pointed observation which it was difficult to encounter. Both were alike in exhibiting a rather more than ordinary degree of faith in things of a preternatural or mysterious description. In both, too, there were the similarities of acute intellect united with splendid imagination; and of a natural majesty of mental and moral genius which commanded veneration. But, in the correction of his faults, and the improvement of his virtues, Mr Hall possessed, in his superior piety, an immense advantage over Dr Johnson.

In argument he was impetuous, and sometimes overbearing; but if he lost his temper he was deeply humbled, and would often acknowledge himself to blame. On one of these occasions, when a discussion had become warm, and he had evinced unusual agitation, he suddenly closed the debate, quitted his seat, and retiring to a remote part of the room, was overheard by a lady who was just entering, to ejaculate with deep feeling, "Lamb of God! Lamb of God! calm my perturbed spirit!"

Mr Hall's personal habits, not only at the time of which I am now speaking, but in a certain degree through life, though not precisely those of an absent man, were those of one whose mental occupations kept his thoughts at a distance from various matters of ordinary observance, and made him regardless of a thousand things which most persons never forget. Thus on his return from an evening visit, if not watched, he would take a wrong hat or great coat;—if not sought after by some of the congregation, he would mistake the proper evening of a week-day service, having in such cases been so absorbed in study, as to lose a day in his reckoning;—for the same reason, he often mistook the day or the hour of an appointment;—when on any of his journeys to London he engaged to take up the letters of his friends, it was not unusual, after his return, to find them all in his portmanteau, or in his great-coat pocket. These, or similar instances of forgetfulness, occurred daily; but, exciting the attention of his affectionate and watchful friends, they seldom exposed him to serious inconvenience.

None of these peculiarities sprung from an affectation of singularity; they simply marked an inattention to things of minor importance. Nor was there united with them a regardlessness of the proprieties of society, a disdain of such civilities and attentions as were usual in the classes with whom he most associated. He had never aimed to acquire a facility in the manners and habits of genteel life; but he had a native ease and grace, which was obviously distinguishable from any acquired habit. It was a grace that could neither be bought nor borrowed; on all proper occasions heightened by the dignity which naturally comported with his character and office; and uniformly blended with that genuine simplicity which often accompanies intellectual greatness, and is always, if I mistake not, an attribute of moral greatness.

Several particulars in the preceding account of Mr Hall's first years at Cambridge, will be illustrated by the following brief sketch, which I have received from a gentleman who had the most favourable opportunities, as well as the requisite taste and discrimination, for correctly estimating his character.

"I had but a slight acquaintance with Robert Hall from 1790 to 1793: from thence to the end of 1796 I knew him intimately. At that period his creed was imperfect, wanting the personality of the Holy Spirit, and wavering between the terrors of Calvin and the plausibilities of Baxter. His infirmities, which were increasing, he concealed with dexterity, opposed with vigour, and sustained with uncommon patience. In his ministerial situation he was far from easy; and he was vehemently severe upon Robinson for leaving his church a wilderness, and bequeathing his successor a bed of thorns.

"His religious conversation in company was not frequent, and for the most part doctrinal; but, in private, his experimental communications were in beauty, elevation, and compass, beyond all I ever heard. The memory of a man of seventy-three will not afford particulars; and the general impression can neither be obliterated nor expressed.

"In his manners he was a close imitator of Dr Johnson; fond of tea-table talk, and of the society of cultivated females, who had the taste to lend him an ear, and the ability requisite to make attention a favour. He has confessed to me the taking of thirty cups of tea in an afternoon, and told me his method was to visit four families and drink seven or eight cups at each.

"He knew, as well as any man, what bad men were, and what good men should be; yet he was often wrong in his judgment of individuals. From this deficiency in the knowledge of mankind, he sometimes trusted his false, and abused his true friends: when he perceived his error he changed his conduct, but, I suspect, very seldom confessed his mistake.

"He did not, then, read much; but was probably more hindered by pain than by indolence. A page, indeed, was to him more serviceable than a volume to many. Hints from reading or discourse, passing through his great mind, expanded into treatises and systems, until the adopted was lost in the begotten; so much so, that the whole appeared original. I am persuaded, however, that when I knew him he had not, by many degrees, attained his meridian. I should regret my incapacity to do him justice, and give you assistance, were I not persuaded that only the bud was exhibited to me, while the bloom and the fruit were reserved for those more deserving to be happy."

I had the privilege of becoming first known to Mr Hall in January 1797. During that year we dined daily at the same table: the next year we met almost every morning to read together: and for some years afterwards scarcely a week passed in which I was not three or four times in his society. When I first became acquainted with him I was young, and ignorant of nearly every thing but the most rudimental knowledge of language and science; of which I possessed just enough to employ as instruments of inquiry. I was eager to acquire information; but ran some risk of turning my mind to that which was useless, or merely showy, instead of directing its best energy to that which was truly valuable. In such circumstances to be allowed the friendship, and enjoy the advice and assistance of such a man, was among my richest blessings. Scarcely a thought worth preserving, scarcely a principle of action worth reducing to practice, scarcely a source of true enjoyment, but I derived from him, or I was led to receive, or to appreciate more correctly through his agency. If then, for some pages, my name should occur more often in immediate association with that of my beloved and revered friend, than may seem consistent with ordinary rules, may I be freed from the charge of egotism? especially, if I assure the reader, that while nothing affords me more pleasure, nothing awakens more gratitude to the Father of Mercies, than the retrospect of the intellectual and higher than intellectual delights which were then mine, few things more humble me than the conviction that though I enjoyed them so long, I suffered them to pass away without commensurate improvement.

Mr Hall kindly admitted me to the privacy of his study, in addition to the advantage of frequent intercourse with him in the society of his friends. Desirous to assist others in forming their estimate of this extraordinary individual, I shall not merely speak of his character, habits and pursuits, but occasionally introduce some of his conversational remarks; confining myself, however, to such as from their brevity always occur to my thoughts in the *ipsissima verba* originally employed. If I do not succeed in depicting the man, which, indeed, I feel conscious is far beyond my powers, I may at least attempt to describe him as he then appeared to me.

When I first saw Mr Hall I was struck with his well-proportioned athletic figure, the unassuming dignity of his deportment, the winning frankness which marked all that he uttered, and the peculiarities of the most speaking countenance I ever contemplated, animated by eyes radiating with the brilliancy imparted to them by benevolence, wit and intellectual energy. When he spoke, except in the most ordinary chit-chat, to which, however, he seldom descended, he seemed not merely to communicate his words, but himself: and I then first learnt the difference between one who feels while he is speaking, and whose communicative features tell you that he does, and one who after he has spoken long, and with apparent earnestness, still does not feel. I then learnt, also, that, though talents may convey their results to others, and activity may carry on others in its stream; yet there is something distinct in the structure of a great mind which never can be so transferred to another as to become its native characteristic. Mr Hall had a buoyancy and playfulness when among his select friends, which were remarkably captivating. Among strangers there was a reserve for a short time, but it was soon shaken off, especially if he found that they were pious or intelligent. The presence of a man who gave himself airs of condescension, usually induced him to remain silent or to retire. He could enjoy the society of men of moderate information; and it was interesting to observe, how by a few apt questions he would ascertain in what direction their pursuits lay, and then so draw them out as to give them the pleasure of feeling that they were contributing to *his* stock of that knowledge which they could not but think useful. He was eminently alive to the emotions of pity, an affection always calculated to inspire attachment, but which in a man of abstract habits is, I fear, very unusual. He was generous by nature, as well as upon principle, and in seasons of affliction would remarkably identify himself with those who most needed sympathy. He rather avoided than sought expressions of thankfulness; and sometimes when he became oppressed by them, would hastily say, "Thank you, thank you; you have said more than enough: remember, God has sent into the world a more powerful, a more noble sentiment, than even gratitude."

For some years he made it a rule to pay a pastoral visit to every member of his church, once each quarter. He did the same, also, with regard to such of his ordinary hearers as he thought willing to receive him as a minister of religion. These were not calls, but *visits*, and usually paid on evenings, that he might meet the whole assembled family. Among the lower classes, to make them quite at their ease, he would sit down with them at supper; and, that this might involve them in no extra expense, he took care that they should all know that he preferred a bason of milk[*].

He persuaded the poorer members of his church to form little meetings, for reading, religious conversation, and prayer, going "from house to house." These were held once a fortnight, I think, in the summer time; once a week during the winter. He made it a point of official duty to attend them frequently; and regarded them, with the weekly meetings in the vestry, as the best thermometer for ascertaining the religious state of his people.

Proceeding thus, it was not surprising that he conciliated the affections of his friends, and secured the veneration of the pious; that he extended around him a growing conviction of his excellency, and carried on many in the stream of his mental and moral power.

In him all was at the utmost remove from gloom or moroseness. Even the raillery in which he indulged, showed his good nature, and was exceedingly playful; and, notwithstanding the avowed and lamented impetuosity in argument to which he was prone, nothing, so far as I ever saw, but conceit, engrafted upon stupidity, provoked his impatience, and called forth a severity which he scarcely knew how to restrain[†]. With regard to disposition, the predominant features were kindness and cheerfulness. He never deliberately gave pain to any one, except in those few extreme cases where there appeared a moral necessity of "rebuking sharply," for the good of the offender. His kindness to children, to servants, to the indigent, nay, to animals, was uniformly manifest. And such was his prevailing cheerfulness that he seemed to move and breathe in an atmosphere of hilarity, which, indeed, his countenance always indicated, except when the pain in his back affected his spirits, and caused his imagination to dwell upon the evils of Cambridgeshire scenery.

This was, in his case, far from a hypothetical grievance. It seriously diminished his happiness at Cambridge, and, at length, was the main cause of his quitting it. In one of my early interviews with him, before I had been a month at that place, he said to me, "What do you think of Cambridge, sir?" "It is a very interesting place." "Yes, the place where Bacon, and Barrow, and Newton studied, and where Jeremy Taylor was born, cannot but be *interesting*. But that is not what I mean; what do you say to the scenery, sir?" "Some of the public buildings are very striking, and the college walks very pleasing; but—" and there I hesitated: he immediately added—"but there is nothing else to be said. What do you think of the surrounding country, sir? Does not it strike you as very insipid?" "No, not precisely so." "Aye, aye: I had forgotten; you come from a flat country; yet you *must* love hills; there are no hills here." I replied, "Yes there are; there are Madingley hill, and the Castle hill, and Gogmagog hill." This amused him exceedingly,—and he said, "Why, as to Madingley, there is something in that; it reminds you of the Cottons, and the Cottonian Library; but that is not because Madingley is a high hill, but because Sir Robert Cotton was a great man; and even he was not born *there*. Then, as to your second example, do you know that the Castle hill is the place of the public executions? that is no very pleasant association, sir; and as to your last example, Gogmagog hill is five miles off, and many who go there are puzzled to say whether it is natural or artificial. 'Tis a dismally flat country, sir; dismally flat[*]. Ely is twelve miles distant, but the road from Cambridge thither scarcely deviates twelve inches from the same level; and *that's* not very interesting. Before I came to Cambridge, I had read in the prize poems, and in some other works of fancy, of 'the banks of the Cam,' of 'the sweetly flowing stream,' and so on; but when I arrived here, I was sadly disappointed. When I first saw the river as I passed over King's College Bridge, I could not help exclaiming, Why, the stream is standing still to see people drown themselves! and that, I am sorry to say, is a permanent feeling with me." I questioned the correctness of this impression, but he immediately rejoined, "Shocking place for the spirits, sir; I wish you may not find it so; it must be the very focus of suicides. Were you ever at Bristol, sir? there is scenery, scenery worth looking upon, and worth thinking of: and so there is even at Aberdeen, with all its surrounding barrenness. The trees on the banks of the Don are as fine as those on the banks of the Cam; and the river is alive, sir; it falls over precipices, and foams and dashes, so as to invigorate and inspire those who witness it. The Don is *a river*, sir, and the Severn is *a river*; but not even a poet would so designate *the Cam*, unless by an obvious figure he termed it the *sleeping* river."

The semi-playful and rapid manner in which he uttered things of this kind, did not always conceal the deep feeling of incurable and growing dislike with which he was struggling.

When I first became known to Mr Hall, he had recently determined to revise and extend his knowledge in every department, "to re-arrange the whole furniture of his mind, and the economy of his habits," and to become a thorough student. He proposed devoting six hours a day to reading; but these unless his friends sought after him, were often extended to eight or nine. He thought himself especially defective in a tasteful and critical acquaintance with the Greek poets; and said he should "once more begin at the beginning." He set to work, therefore, upon the best treatises on the Greek metres then extant. He next read the Iliad and Odyssey twice over, critically; proceeded with equal care through nearly all the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides; and thence extended his classical reading in all directions. To the Latin and Greek poets, orators, historians and philosophers, he devoted a part of every day, for three or four years. He studied them as a scholar, but he studied them also as a moralist and a philosopher; so that while he appreciated their peculiarities and beauties with his wonted taste, and carefully improved his style of writing and his tone of thinking, by the best models which they present, he suffered them not to deteriorate the accuracy of his judgment in comparing their value with that of the moderns. Perhaps, however, this assertion should be a little qualified: for not only at the period of which I am now speaking, but, in great measure, through life, while he spoke of the Greek and Latin poetry, in accordance with the sentiments and feelings of every competent classical scholar, he, with very few exceptions, unduly depreciated the poetry of the present times.

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[*] The poorer widows of his flock were not forgotten in these periodical visits. To them, he said, he repaired for religious instruction, and was seldom disappointed. On such occasions he selected his ever favourite repast of tea. It was his practice to carry tea and sugar with him, taking especial care that there should be more than could possibly be needed, and asking permission to leave the remainder behind him.

[†] The following is an instance of his checking inordinate vanity. A preacher of this character having delivered a sermon in Mr Hall's hearing, pressed him, with a disgusting union of self-complacency and indelicacy, to state what he thought of the sermon. Mr Hall remained silent for some time, hoping that his silence would be rightly interpreted; but this only caused the question to be pressed with greater earnestness. Mr Hall at length said, "There was one very fine passage, sir." "I am rejoiced to hear you say so. Pray, sir, which was it?" "Why, sir, it was the passage from the pulpit into the vestry."

[*] On Mr Hall's visit to Cambridge, one of his friends took him out for a morning's ride, and showed him the improvements as to cultivation, by means of new enclosures, &c. "True," said he, "but still there is that odious flatness, that insipid sameness of scenery all around." Then, with a tone of great seriousness, he added, "I always say of my Cambridge friends, when I witness their contentedness in such a country, 'herein is the faith and patience of the saints!' *My* faith and patience could not sustain me under it, with the unvarying kindness of my friends in addition."

On another morning ride, his companion said, "Look at these fields, with the crops of corn so smooth and so abundant; are not *they* pleasant? And do they not excite the idea of plenty?" He rejoined with his usual promptness, "Oh! yes: and so does a large meal-tub, filled to the brim. But I was not thinking of *plenty*, but of *beauty*."

Much as he delighted in classical literature, he was by no means inclined, nor could he have reconciled it with his notions of duty, to circumscribe his reading within its limits. The early Christian fathers, the fathers of the Reformation, the theological writers, both puritan and episcopalian, of the seventeenth century, the most valuable authors on all similar topics down to the present time, including the most esteemed French preachers, were all perused with his characteristic avidity: what was most valuable in them became fixed in his unusually retentive memory; and numerous marginal and other references in the most valuable of his books, prove at once the minuteness and closeness of his attention, and his desire to direct his memory to the substances of thought, and not unnecessarily to load it with mere apparatus.

Like many other men of letters, Mr Hall, at this period, found the advantage of passing from one subjet to another at short intervals, generally of about two hours: thus casting off the mental fatigue that one subject had occasioned by directing his attention to another, and thereby preserving the intellect in a state of elastic energy from the beginning to the end of the time devoted daily to study.

Not long after he had entered upon this steady course of reading, he commenced the study of Hebrew, under Mr Lyons, who then taught that language in the university. He soon became a thorough proficient in it; and, finding it greatly to increase his knowledge of the Old Testament, as well as of its relation to the New, and considerably to improve and enlarge the power of Scripture interpretation, he, from thence to the close of life, suffered scarcely a day to pass without reading a portion of the Old Testament in the original. This practice flowed naturally from one of his principles of action, namely, to go to the fountain-head for information, rather than to derive it from the streams; and from the continued application of that principle, it was found that his habit of reading originals often impaired the accuracy of his quotation of passages from our authorized version, having, in fact, become more familiar with the Hebrew and Greek texts than with any translation. This, which was often conjectured by some of his hearers at Cambridge, was amply confirmed by the subsequent observation of his intimate and much esteemed friend Mr Ryley, at Leicester.

It would be useless to record, even briefly, Mr Hall's opinions of the numerous authors, ancient and modern, which he read at this period with such close attention, since they accord generally with those of all men of correct taste and sound judgment. Yet, perhaps, I may state, with regard to his chief uninspired favourite among the Greek writers, that to none of the ornaments of pagan antiquity did he refer in such terms of fervid eulogy as to Plato. Not Cudworth himself could appreciate him more highly. He often expressed his astonishment at the neglect into which he apprehended the writings of Plato were sinking; and said, that an entire disregard of them would be an irrefragable proof of a shallow age. Milton, he remarked, gave the noblest proofs, in his prose writings, of a knowledge and love of Plato; and he expressed a surprise, almost bordering upon contempt, in reference to those who classed this wonderful man with the schoolmen. It was his frequent remark, that even when Plato wrote upon the most abstract subjects, whether moral, metaphysical, or mathematical, his style was as clear as the purest stream, and that his diction was deeply imbued with the poetic spirit. On ocasions when he ran no risk of the charge of pedantry, he would by appropriate quotations, confirm these views. He delighted to expatiate upon this philosophers's notions of vice and virtue, of idleness and industry; and often adduced the platonic definition, as "that which qualifies men to be good citizens, and renders them fit to govern or to obey." On one occasion he pointed to a passage, in the first Republic, I think, from which it appeared that Plato perceived the advantages resulting from *the subdivision of labour*, and suggested the natural progress of such subdivision in proportion to the advance of civilization.

In speaking of this philosopher, Mr Hall illustrated his view of the evil of studying a Greek author, with the aid of a Latin version, by a reference to *Serranus's* magnificent edition of his works, in the Latin version, of which he said he had often detected errors. He also mentioned a ridiculous blunder of one of the English translators, who had, it seems, availed himself of a Latin version, in which, as was customary two or three hundred years ago, the omission of an *m* or an *n* was indicated by a bar placed over the preceding letter. Disregarding this superposed bar the translator had read *hirudo* instead of *hirundo*, and thus, upon Plato's authority, declared the *horse-leech* instead of the *swallow* to be the harbinger of the spring!

I have dwelt rather longer upon these topics than would be at all necessary, were it not to correct the notion which some persons have entertained, that Mr Hall was indolent, and that though when stimulated to the effort, he would exert himself as a profound thinker, yet he was not a man of research, or, in the ordinary acceptation, a good scholar.

When Mr Hall proposed that we should devote an hour every morning to reading together, he asked me to assist him in his mathematical studies; adding, that as a matter of mutual advantage, it might be well that, on alternate mornings, I should be his mathematical tutor, and he my instructor in metaphysics. To this proposal I gladly assented; and it has long been my persuasion that the scheme flowed in great measure from his desire to call my attention to general literature, and especially to the science of mind.

At that period, though he was strong and active, he often suffered extremely from the pain, to which I have before adverted, and which was his sad companion through life. On entering his room to commence our reading, I could at once tell whether or not his night had been refreshing; for if it had, I found him at the table, the books to be studied ready, and a vacant chair set for me. If his night had been restless, and the pain still continued, I found him lying on the sofa, or more frequently, upon three chairs, on which he could obtain an easier position. At such seasons, scarcely ever did a complaint issue from his lips; but inviting me to take the sofa, our reading commenced. They, however, who knew Mr Hall, can conjecture how often, if he became interested, he would raise himself from the chairs, uttter a few animated expressions, and then resume the favourite reclining posture. Sometimes, when he was suffering more than usual, he proposed a walk in the fields, where, with the appropriate book, as our companion, we could pursue the subject. If *he* was the preceptor, as was commonly the case in these peripatetic lectures he soon lost the sense of pain, and nearly as soon escaped from our author, whoever he might be, and expatiated at large upon some train of inquiry or explication, which our course of reading had suggested. As his thoughts enkindled, both his steps and his words became quicker, until, ere long, it was difficult to say, whether the body or the mind were brought most upon the stretch in keeping up with him. This peculiarity I have noticed in a few other men of vigorous intellect and lively imagination.

Mr Hall's avowed object in recurring at all to his mathematical studies was, the acquisition of so much geometry, trigonometry, and conic-sections, as would enable him thoroughly to comprehend the entire scope of the reasoning in Maclaurin's "Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries." For this indeed, his college studies had in great measure prepared him; and there would have been but little to learn, could he have been satisfied to proceed as students often do. But it was not in his nature to advance, unless he ascertained the firmness of the ground at every step. He reasoned philosophically, for instance, upon the nature of ratios and proportions; so that we had to clear our way through tho recondite lectures of Barrow relative to those points, before we could advance to trigonometry. His logical habits, also, made him very reluctant to pass over any geometrical proposition, in which he could not trace the analysis as well as the synthesis. In this manner, and with such views, wo went through the proposed course. Of what utility all this was ultimately to Mr Hall, I cannot precisely say; but I can testify that it was of permanent advantage to his mathematical preceptor, who had not previously formed the habit of tracing apparent results to their foundations; but who, from that period, pursued science with a new interest, kept his eye more steadily upon ultimate principles, and learnt to value such researches quite as much for their intellectual discipline as for their practical benefit*.

In reference to the philosophy of mind, after we had gone slightly over Locke's Essay, his Conduct of the Understanding, and Watts' Ontology, which I had read before, we studied Berkeley, Wollaston, Hartley, Andrew Baxter, Reid, some portions of Bacon's Essays, and of his Treatise on the Advancement of Learning; or rather, I should say, I had the advantage of learning what was most or least valuable in each and all of these, from this admirable living commentator. We were about to proceed to Search's (Abraham Tucker's) "Light of Nature," when some circumstances, which I cannot recall to mind, rendered it inconvenient for us thus to meet, and brought these delightful readings and commentaries to a close. We did not then go through any of Dugald Stewart's works, Mr Hall regarding him as an elegant expositor of Reid, but greatly inferior in originality. From Bacon's Essays he used to read passages aloud, with the warmest expressions of commendation.

I must not omit to specify, as a peculiarity in the structure of Mr Hall's mind, that although in every important case he detected and placed in the utmost prominence, an essential defect in the reasoning, a too rapid generalization, or any other unwarrantable deduction, that occurred in Berkeley, or Watts, or Hartley, he was very slow to perceive, very reluctant to admit, any such in the writings of Andrew Baxter. The reader who is conversant with such speculations, will recollect, that in the second volume of Baxter's book on "the Soul," he affirms that our dreams are prompted by separate immaterial beings, and defends his theory with much ingenuity. As we advanced in Baxter's arguments, Mr Hall exclaimed, "this is very beautiful, sir; yet, I apprehend there must be some flaw in the reasoning." I suggested one or two objections; he showed immediately that they could not apply. On our next meeting, he accosted me with, "Well, sir, have you detected any fallacy in Baxter's Theory? "Yes, I think I have." This, however, was soon disposed of, and then another, and another. I at length referred to Dugald Stewart's Theory, after examining which, he said, "I do not think this is tenable; but I suppose it must be admitted that Baxter does not *quite* make out his case. Yet he was a man of great acumen—why did the Scotch philosophers run him down so!"

Still farther to illustrate Mr Hall's character, his turn of thought and expression, I will now bring together a few such incidents and short remarks, occurring between 1796 and 1803, as present themselves most vividly to my mind.

It will already have appeared that benevolence was a prevailing characteristic. When he had aided a poor man to the full extent of his own pecuniary means, he would sometimes apply to one of his affluent friends. "Poor ——— is in great distress: some of his family are ill, and he cannot supply the proper necessaries. Lend me five shillings for the poor fellow: I will pay you again in a fortnight, unless in the mean time you find that the case deserves your help, and then the donation shall become yours."

His disapprobation of avarice bore a natural relation to his own benevolence. Being informed that a rich man in the neighbourhood, who was by no means celebrated for his liberality, had attended to a tale of distress without relieving it, he said—"Yes, yes: he would listen, but without inclining his head. He may lend a distant ear to the murmurings from the vale beneath, but he remains like a mountain covered with perpetual snow."

On another occasion, a person talking to him of one whom they both knew, and who was very penurious, said—"Poor wretch! you might put his soul into a nut-shell." "Yes, sir, (Mr Hall replied) and even then it would creep out at a maggot hole."

His love of sincerity in words and actions was constantly apparent. Once, while he was spending an evening at the house of a friend, a lady who was there on a visit, retired, that her little girl, of four years old, might go to bed. She returned in about half an hour, and said to a lady near her—"She is gone to sleep. I put on my night-cap, and lay down by her, and she soon dropped off." Mr Hall, who overheard this, said—"Excuse me, Madam: do you wish your child to grow up a liar?" "Oh dear no, sir; I should be shocked at such a thing." "Then bear with me while I say, you must never *act* a lie before her: children are very quick observers, and soon learn that that which assumes to be what it is not, is a lie, whether acted or spoken." This was uttered with a kindness which precluded offence, yet with a seriousness that could not be forgotten.

His dislike to compliments was thus expressed:—"In compliments two and two *do not* make four; and twenty and twenty fall very far short of forty. Deal not, then, in that deceitful arithmetic."

It was said in Mr Hall's hearing that "compliments were pleasing truths, and flatteries pleasing untruths." He remarked—"Neither of them are *pleasing* to a man of reflection, for the falsehoods in this case so nearly assume the semblance of truth that one is perplexed to tell which is actually given; and no man is pleased with perplexity."

"You remember Mr ———, sir." "Yes, very well." "Were you aware of his fondness for brandy-and-water?" "No." "It was a sad habit; but it grew out of his love of story-telling; and that, also is a bad habit, a very bad habit, for a minister of the gospel. As he grew old, his animal spirits flagged, and his stories became defective in vivacity: he, therefore, took to brandy-and-water; weak enough, it is true, at first, but soon nearly 'half-and-half.' Ere long he indulged the habit in a morning; and when he came to Cambridge he would call upon me, and, before he had been with me five minutes, ask for a little brandy-and-water, which was, of course, to give him artificial spirits to render him agreeable in his visits to others. I felt great difficulty; for he, you know, sir, was much older than I was; yet, being persuaded that the ruin of his character, if not of his peace, was inevitable, unless something was done, I resolved upon one strong effort for his rescue. So the next time that he called, and, as usual, said—'Friend Hall, I will thank you for a glass of brandy-and-water,' I replied—'Call things by their right names, and you shall have as much as you please.' 'Why, don't I employ the right name? I ask for a glass of brandy-and-water.' 'That is the current, but not the appropriate name; ask for *a glass of liquid fire and distilled damnation*, and you shall have a gallon.' Poor man! he turned pale, and for a moment seemed struggling with anger. But, knowing that I did not mean to insult him, he stretched out his hand, and said—'Brother Hall, I thank you from the bottom of my heart.' From that time he ceased to take brandy-and-water."

In one of my early interviews with Mr Hall, I used the word felicity three or four times in rather quick succession. He asked—"Why do you say felicity, sir? Happiness is a better word, more musical and genuine English, coming from the Saxon." "Not more musical I think, sir." "Yes, more musical, and so are words derived from the Saxon generally. Listen, sir: 'My heart is smitten, and withered like grass;'—there's plaintive music. Listen again, sir: 'Under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice;'—there's cheerful music." "Yes, but *rejoice* is French." "True, but all the rest is Saxon, and rejoice is almost out of tune with the other words. Listen again: 'Thou hast delivered my eyes from tears, my soul from death, and my feet from falling:' all Saxon, sir, except *delivered*. I could think of the word *tear*, sir, till I wept. Then again, for another noble specimen, and almost all good old Saxon-English: 'Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.'"

Shortly after this I was reading the original edition of Doddridge's Pneumatology, and asked Mr Hall to lend me Kippis's edition, in which the reference to other authorities, on the various topics discussed, are greatly increased. He told me that he did not possess Kippis's edition, in a tone which *then* surprised me a little, as it showed that he did not highly estimate Kippis's authority. I therefore asked, "Was not Dr Kippis a clever man?" "He might be a very clever man, by nature, for aught I know, but he laid so many books upon his head that his brains could not move." This was to me, who, at that period, devoted much more time to reading than to thinking, an admirable lesson.

On being asked whether he was an Arminian or a Calvinist, he said—"Neither, sir, but I believe I recede farther from Arminianism than from Calvinism. If a man profess himself a decided Arminian, I infer from it that he is not a good logician; but, sir, it does not interfere with his personal piety: look at good Mr Benson, for example. I regard the question more as metaphysical than religious."

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* Shortly after my removal to Woolwich, I invited my late valued friend, Dr Hutton, to dine with Mr Hall, at my house. Mr Hall, for the purpose of drawing the Doctor into conversation, asked him a few questions suggested by some of Barrow's Disquisitions in reference to mathematical measure, and its application to force, momentum, &c. They essentially involved the metaphysics of the subjects of inquiry. He also expatiated upon the imaginative, as well as the rational process, involved in the genesis of curves by motion, as taught by Barrow and Newton. The next day Dr Hutton said to me, "What an extraordinary man that friend of yours is! Why, he was born to be a mathematician. If you could persuade him to give himself up to the sciences, as Priestley did, he would teach us all something."

A lady who had been speaking of the Supreme Being with great familiarity, but in religious phraseology, having retired, he said—"I wish I knew how to cure that good lady of her bad habit. I have tried, but as yet, in vain. It is a great mistake to affect this kind of familiarity with the King of kings, and speak of him as though he were a next-door neighbour, from the pretence of love. Mr Boyle's well known habit was infinitely to be commended. And one of our old divines, I forget which, well remarks, that—'Nothing but ignorance can be guilty of this boldness; that there is no divinity but in a humble fear, no philosophy but shows itself in silent admiration.'"

When two or three gentlemen were discussing the question, whether a man of no religion can be a successful minister of the gospel, surprise was expressed that Mr Hall remained silent—"Sir, (said he, in reply), I would not deny that a sermon from a bad man may sometimes do good; but the general question does not admit of an argument. Is it at all probable, that one who is a willing servant of Satan, (and that, you know, sir, is the hypothesis you assume), will fight *against* him with all his might, and if not, what *success* can be rationally expected*?"

Mr Hall did not permit his sedulous cultivation of the mind to draw him aside from the cultivation of the heart. The evidences were, indeed, very strong, that his preparation for ministerial duty was devotional as well as intellectual. Thus, his public services, by a striking gradation, for months and years, evinced an obvious growth, in mental power, in literary acquisition, and in the seriousness, affection and ardour of a man of piety. His usefulness and his popularity increased; the church and congregation became considerably augmented; and in 1798 it was found necessary to enlarge the place of worship to accommodate about two hundred more persons.

Early in the year 1799, a severe fever, which brought him, in his own apprehension, and that of his friends, to the brink of the grave, gave him an opportunity of experiencing the support yielded by the doctrines of the cross "in the near views of death and judgment." He "never before felt his mind so calm and happy." The impression was not only salutary, but abiding; and it again prompted him to the investigation of one or two points, with regard to which he had long felt himself floating in uncertainty. Although he had for some years steadily and earnestly enforced the necessity of divine influence in the transformation of character, and in perseverance in the course of consistent, holy obedience, yet he spoke of it as "the influence of the spirit of God," and never in express terms, as "the influence of the Holy Spirit." The reason was, that though he fully believed the necessity of spiritual agency in commencing and continuing the spiritual life, he doubted the doctrine of the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit. But about this time he was struck with the fact that, whenever in private prayer he was in the most deeply devotional frame, "most overwhelmed with the sense that he was nothing, and God was all in all," he always felt himself inclined to adopt a trinitarian doxology. This circumstance, occurring frequently, and more frequently meditated upon in a tone of honest and anxious inquiry, issued at length in a persuasion that the Holy Spirit is really and truly God, and not an emanation. It was not, however, until 1800, that he publicly included the personality of the Holy Spirit in his statements of the doctrine of spiritual influence.

In attempting to give some idea of the general character and style of Mr Hall's public services, while I had the privilege of hearing him at Cambridge, I feel that I shall neither adequately describe what his preaching really was, nor even do justice to my own conceptions of it.

His manner of reading the Scriptures at the beginning of the service, was not generally interesting; nor did the portion read always bear an obvious reference to the text or subject afterwards brought forward. But when passages of Scripture were quoted in the sermon, they were so delivered as to give to their true meaning the most intelligible prominence and force.

His prayers were remarkable for their simplicity and their devotional feeling. No person could listen to them without being persuaded that he who uttered them was really engaged in prayer, was holding communion with his God and Father in Christ Jesus. His tones and his countenance throughout these exercises were those of one most deeply imbued with a sense of his unworthiness, and throwing himself at the feet of the Great Eternal, conscious that he could present no claim for a single blessing, but the blood of atonement, yet animated by the cheering hope that the voice of that blood would prevail. The structure of these prayers never indicated any preconceived plan. They were the genuine effusions of a truly devotional spirit, animated by a vivid recollection of what in his own state, in that of the congregation, of the town and vicinity, needed most ardently to be laid before the Father of Mercies. Thus, they were remarkably comprehensive, and furnished a far greater variety on the successive occasions of public worship, than those of any other minister whom I have ever known. The portions which were devoted to intercession operated most happily in drawing the affections of his people towards himself; since they showed how completely his Christian sympathy had prepared him to make their respective cases his own.

The commencement of his sermons did not excite much expectation in strangers, except they were such as recollected how the mental agitation, produced by diffidence, characterized the fisrt sentences of some of the orators of antiquity. He began with hesitation, and often in a very low and feeble tone, coughing frequently, as though he were oppressed by asthmatic obstructions. As he proceeded, his manner became easy, graceful, and at length highly impassioned; his voice also acquired more flexibility, body and sweetness, and in all his happier and more successful efforts, swelled into a stream of the most touching and impressive melody. The farther he advanced, the more spontaneous, natural, and free from labour, seemed the progression of thought. He announced the results of the most extensive reading, of the most patient investigation, or of the profoundest thinking, with such unassuming simplicity, yet set them in such a position of obvious and lucid reality, that the auditors wondered how things so simple and manifest should have escaped them. Throughout his sermons he kept his subject thoroughly in view, and so incessantly brought forward new arguments, or new illustrations, to confirm or to explain it, that with him amplification was almost invariably accumulative in its tendency. One thought was succeeded by another, and that by another and another, each more weighty than the preceding, each more calculated to deepen and render permanent the ultimate impression. He could at pleasure adopt the unadorned, the ornamental, or the energetic; and indeed combine them in every diversity of modulation.

In his higher flights, what he said of Burke might, with the slightest deduction, be applied to himself, "that his imperial fancy laid all nature under tribute, and collected riches from every scene of the creation, and every walk of art;" and at the same time, that could be affirmed of Mr Hall which could *not* be affirmed of Mr Burke, that he never fatigued and oppressed by gaudy and superfluous imagery. Whenever the subject obviously justified it, he would yield the reins to an eloquence more diffusive and magnificent than the ordinary course of pulpit instruction seemed to require; yet so exquisite was his perception of beauty, and so sound his judgment, that not the coldest taste, provided it were real taste, could ever wish an image omitted which Mr Hall had introduced. His inexhaustible variety augmented the general effect. The same images, the same illustrations, scarcely ever recurred. So ample were his stores, that repetition of every kind was usually avoided; while in his illustrations he would connect and contrast what was disjointed and opposed, or distinctly unfold what was abstracted or obscure, in such terms as were generally intelligible, not only to the well-informed, but to the meanest capacity. As he advanced to his practical applications, all his mental powers were shown in the most palpable but finely balanced exercise. His mind would, if I may so speak, collect itself and come forth with a luminous activity, proving, as he advanced, how vast, and, in some important senses, how next to irresistible, those powers were. In such seasons his preaching communicated universal animation: his congregation would seem to partake of his spirit, to think and feel as he did, to be fully influenced by the presence of the objects which he had placed before them, fully actuated by the motives which he had enforced with such energy and pathos.

All was doubtless heightened by his singular rapidity of utterance,—by the rhythmical structure of his sentences, calculated at once for the transmission of the most momentous truths, for the powers of his voice, and for the convenience of breathing freely at measured intervals,—and, more than all, by the unequivocal earnestness and sincerity which pervaded the whole, and by the eloquence of his most speaking countenance and penetrating eye. In his sublimer strains, not only was every faculty of the soul enkindled and in entire operation, but his very features seemed fully to sympathize with the spirit, and to give out, nay, to *throw* out, thought and sentiment, and feeling.

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* A few more miscellaneous gleanings from Mr Hall's remarks in conversation are inserted in Appendix, note A.

From the commencement of his discourse an almost breathless silence prevailed, deeply impressive and solemnizing from its singular intenseness. Not a sound was heard but that of the preacher's voice—scarcely an eye but was fixed upon him—not a countenance that he did not watch, and read and interpret, as he surveyed them again and again with his rapid, ever-excursive glance. As he advanced and increased in animation, five or six of the auditors would be seen to rise and lean forward over the front of their pews, still keeping their eyes upon him. Some new or striking sentiment or expression would, in a few minutes cause others to rise in like manner: shortly afterwards still more, and so on, until, long before the close of the sermon, it often happened that a considerable portion of the congregation were seen standing,—every eye directed to the preacher, yet now and then for a moment glancing from one to another, thus transmitting and reciprocating thought and feeling:—Mr Hall himself, though manifestly absorbed in his subject, conscious of the whole, receiving new animation from what he thus witnessed, reflecting it back upon those who were already alive to the inspiration, until all that were susceptible of thought and emotion seemed wound up to the utmost limit of elevation *on earth*,—when he would close, and they reluctantly and slowly resume their seats*.

Scenes like this I have witnessed repeatedly, so productive of intense and hallowed feeling, that, after an interval of more than thirty years, they present themselves to my mind with a more vivid influence than many of the transactions of the last month.

And surely the delightful retrospection may be safely indulged, when it is considered that these sublime exertions were made for the promotion of man's best interests—to warn the impenitent—to show to the sinner the fatal error of his way—to invite the self-condemned to the only, the all-effectual remedy—to console and encourage the faithful—to distribute the bread of life among those who must otherwise perish—to "build up the church in her most holy faith;" when it is known, also, that, while men of taste and intellect were both gratified and instructed, the uncultivated rustic heard, and understood, and received the Word of Life, and went on his way rejoicing.

Numerous and diversified as were the feelings excited by this extraordinary preacher, none were more prevailing than surprise that one so richly endowed should seem so utterly unconscious of it, and gratidude that the Great Head of the church should have called such a man to his service, and placed him in so important a station as Cambridge, when his intellectual powers were in their full maturity and vigour.

I must not, I perceive, allow myself to sketch the difference between his sermons and his expositions, or between his preaching at Cambridge and in the neighbouring villages: nor must I dwell upon the weekly evening services, when he met a few of his people, chiefly of the poorer classes, in the vestry of his place of worship, and, in a strain of the most chaste and simple eloquence, comforted and instructed them in the "things pertaining to the kingdom of God"*. The diversity of his powers, the sincerity of his character, the warmth of his love to God and man, were in all alike apparent: and no one that was not the victim of prejudice, or the slave of sin, could have seen him engaged in the service of God, without being ready to testify, "this man must have read much, thought much, and prayed much," to be thus admirably furnished for his great work.

It would be highly instructive and gratifying to know by what process so finished a preacher, so exquisite and tasteful a writer, as Mr Hall, prepared his respective compositions for the pulpit and the press. But the reluctance with which he spoke either of himself or of his occupations, deprives us of much of this desirable information. At the time when our intercourse was most frequent and unrestrained, I have often been with him while he was preparing for the pulpit, and have occasionly ventured to ask him a few questions; his answers, always frank and elucidatory, however concise, enabled me, by means, also, of frequent reference to his notes on different sermons which I heard delivered, to form tolerably satisfactory conjectures as to the course pursued. He then stated, as he since has to different friends, that he never proceeded even to think of adopting a specific text, as fitted for a sermon, until the matter it presented stood out in the form of a particular, distinct, and precise topic; he could then take it up and lay it down as he pleased. Of his extraordinary power of abstraction I have already spoken. By its means he could, at pleasure, insulate, nay in a manner enclose himself, from every thing around him; and thus pursue his mental operations. It was usual with him to have five or six subjects under simultaneous training; to either of which he could direct his attention as inclination or necessity required. The grand divisions of thought, the heads of a sermon, for example, he would trace out with the most prominent lines of demarcation; and these for some years supplied all the hints that he needed in the pulpit, except on extraordinary occasions. To these grand divisions he referred, and upon them suspended all the subordinate trains of thought.

The latter, again, appear to have been of two classes altogether distinct; outline trains of thought, and trains into which much of the detail was interwoven. In the outline train, the whole plan was carried out and completed as to the argument: in that of detail, the illustrations, images, and subordinate proofs, were selected and classified; and in those instances where the force of an argument, or the probable success of a general application, would mainly depend upon the language, even that was selected and appropriated, sometimes to the precise collocation of the words. Of some sermons, no portions whatever were wrought out thus minutely; the language employed in preaching being that which spontaneously occurred at the time: of others, this minute attention was paid to the verbal structure of nearly half: of *a few*, the entire train of preparation, almost from the beginning to the end, extended to the very sentences. Yet the marked peculiarity consisted in this, that the process, even when thus directed to minutiæ in his more elaborate efforts, did not require the use of the pen; at least at the time to which these remarks principally apply†. For, Mr Hall had a singular faculty for continuous mental composition, apart from the aid which writing supplies. Words were so disciplined to his use, that the more he thought on any subject, the more closely were the topics of thought associated with appropriate terms and phrases; and it was manifest that he had carefully disciplined his mind to this as an independent exercise, probably to avoid the pain and fatigue which always attended the process of writing. Whenever he pleased he could thus pursue the consecution to a great extent, in sentences, many of them perfectly formed and elaborately finished, as he went along, and easily called up again by memory, as occasion required; not, however, in their separate character, as elements of language, but because of their being fully worked into the substance of thought. It hence happened that the excellence which other persons often attain as to style, from the use of the pen, in written, visible composition (employing the eye upon words, instead of fixing the memory upon substantial mental product, and, it may be, diminishing the intellectual power by substituting for one of its faculties a mechanical result), he more successfully and uniformly attained by a purely meditative process. And I am persuaded that if he could have *instantly* impressed his trains of thought upon paper, with the incorporated words, and with the living spirit in which they were conceived, hundreds if not thousands of passages would have been preserved, as chaste and polished in diction, as elastic and energetic in tone, as can be selected from any part of his works. What, however, could not thus be accomplished by the pen, has been achieved, as to immediate impression, in the pulpit; and hence his celebrity, unequalled, in modern times, as a sacred orator.

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* Striking evidences of the most stimulating immediate impression often occurred. I specify only two examples.

In 1812, Mr Hall, who then resided at Leicester, paid one of his periodical visits to Bristol, and, as usual, often preached at Broadmead. He delivered a most solemn and impressive sermon on the text "dead in trespasses and sins;" of which the concluding appeals were remarkably sublime and awful. The moment he had delivered the last sentence, Dr Ryland, then the pastor of the church, hastened part of the way up the pulpit stairs, and while the tears trickled down his venerable face, exclaimed, with a vehemence which astonished both the preacher and the congregation,—"Let all that are alive in Jerusalem pray for the dead that they may live!"

In 1814, Mr Hall, while preaching among his old friends at Cambridge, just before he commenced the application of his sermon, uttered a short, but very fervent ejaculatory prayer, during which the whole congregation arose from their seats. Mr Hall seemed surprized for a moment, and but for a moment, and remained in prayer for about five minutes. He then resumed his sermon, and continued preaching for more than twenty minutes, in such a strain of magnificent and overwhelming eloquence, as the extraordinary incident might be expected to produce from powers and feelings like his, the whole congregation standing until the close of the sermon.

* The topics of these evening lectures were often biographical. The lives and characters of Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Elijah, Hannah, Samuel, Ruth, Daniel, &c. were briefly delineated, and made the basis of some useful practical reflections. Whenever the subject would fairly allow it, these reflections had an appropriate bearing upon the duties, the trials and perplexities, of persons in humble life. The sermon on "John fulfilled his course," inserted in the present volume, is very analogous in its character to the discourses to which I here refer; but its commencement is more elaborate.

† Mr Hall, doubtless, varied his manner of preparation in different periods. For three or four years after his settlement at Leicester, he wrote down nearly a third of the sermon, and left all the rest to flow from the outline plan while he was preaching. But for some years afterwards he seldom allowed his notes to exceed two pages, and is thought to have indulged himself more than at any other period of his life in entirely extemporaneous eloquence. At that time his sermons were especially distinguished by simplicity and pathos.

In preparing for the press the process was in many respects essentially different. There was, from the outset, a struggle to overcome the reluctance to write, arising from the anticipation of increased pain, which he knew *must* be endured so long as he was engaged in the mechanical act; and at every return to the labour he had a new reluctance to surmount.—There was, moreover, the constant effort to restrain a mind naturally active, ardent, and rapid in all its movements, to a slow progression; nay, a farther effort, and, to a mind so constituted, a very irksome one, to bring the thoughts back from the ultimate issue to which they were incessantly hastening, and cause them to pass and repass, again and again, by a comparatively sluggish course, the successive links in a long chain. Nor was this all. He had formed for himself, as a writer, an ideal standard of excellence, which could not be reached*: his perception of beauty in composition was so delicate and refined, that in regard to his own productions, it engendered perhaps a fastidious taste; and, deep and prevailing as was his humility, he was not insensible to the value of a high reputation, and therefore cautiously guarded against the risk of diminishing his usefulness among certain classes of readers, by consigning any production to the world that had not been thoroughly subjected to the *labor limæ*. Hence the extreme slowness with which he composed for the press; writing, improving, rejecting the improvement; seeking another, rejecting it; recasting whole sentences and pages; often recurring precisely to the original phraseology; and still oftener repenting, when it was too late, that he had not done so. All this he lamented as a serious defect, declaring that it gave, in his own view, to his written compositions, an air of stiffness and formality, which deprived him of all complacency in them. And I cannot but think that, notwithstanding the exquisite harmony and beauty which characterize every thing that he has published, they were, even in point of felicity of diction, and the majestic current and force of language, inferior to the "winged words" that escaped from his lips, when "his soul was enlarged" in the discharge of ministerial duty.

May we not suggest a probable reason for this, by observing that when Mr Hall stood forth as the minister of the sanctuary, he placed the fire upon the altar in the humble confidence that it would be kept alive by the communication of grace and spirit from on high; but that, when he came before the public as an author, he sometimes extinguished his own flame, pure and ethereal as it notwithstanding was, in his efforts to ornament the vase in which he held it up to view†.

But I must not dwell longer on these topics.

In the beginning of the year 1799, Mr Hall had the happiness of renewing personal intercourse with his early friend. Mr (afterwards Sir James) Mackintosh, being about to deliver a course of lectures on the Law of Nature and Nations, in Lincoln's Inn Hall, deemed it expedient, for the completion of some of the extensive researches which that important undertaking required, to reside for a few months at Cambridge, that he might consult the more valuable of the college libraries, as well as the public library belonging to the University generally. Another distinguished individual, the late Dr Samuel Parr, spent several weeks at Cambridge at the same time, for the purpose of visiting some of his old friends, of associating with Mr Mackintosh, and of becoming personally acquainted with Mr Hall, whose character he had long known and highly valued. Mr Hall, pleased to refresh his spirits in the society of his beloved fellow-student, and by no means unwilling to glean something from the stores of so profound a scholar as Dr Parr, often spent his evenings with these two eminent men, and a few members of the University, who were invited to their select parties, and with whom, from that time, he cultivated an intimacy.

This circumstance led to the formation of Mr Hall's most inveterate habit,—that of smoking. Previously to this period he had always censured the practice in the strongest terms; but, on associating with Dr Parr, his aversion to what he used to denominate an "odious custom," soon passed away. The Doctor was always enveloped in a dense cloud of smoke, from sun-rise until midnight; and no person could remain in his company long without great inconvenience, unless he learnt to smoke in self-defence. Mr Hall, therefore, made the attempt, and quickly overcame every obstacle. I well recollect entering his apartment just as he had acquired this happy art; and, seeing him sit at ease, the smoke rising above his head in lurid, spiral volumes, he inhaling and apparently enjoying its fragrance, I could not suppress my astonishment. "O sir, (said he) I am only qualifying myself for the society of a Doctor of Divinity; and this, holding up the pipe, is my test of admission."

Mr Hall's Cambridge friends were divided in their feelings and wishes with regard to this new practice. The majority approved it, from a belief that the narcotic influence of tobacco would mitigate the pain which he had so long endured. Others, apprehending that his habit of converting *every thing* into a source of enjoyment would transform him into an unremitting smoker, and that injury to his health would ensue, ventured to expostulate with him. I belonged to the latter class, and put into his hands Dr Adam Clarke's pamphlet on "The Use and Abuse of Tobacco," with a request that he would read it. In a few days he returned it, and at once, as if to preclude discussion, said, "Thank you, sir, for Adam Clarke's pamphlet. I can't refute his arguments, and I can't give up smoking."

We now approach the time when Mr Hall acquired a signal extension of celebrity. Many who had hailed the French Revolution of 1789 as an event productive of extensive benefit, were compelled to admit, after a few years, that the great leaders in that Revolution, and still more their followers, committed grievous blunders, and grosser crimes, from the want of higher than political principles to control their actions. Yet, in the false security which some felt, and others insidiously aimed to inspire, it was suspected by but few, that much of our periodical literature had, under the plea of encouraging free discussion, become irreligious in its tendency, and that various unprincipled demagogues in London and the large manufacturing towns, not only held up to admiration the conduct of the detestable actors in "the reign of terror," but were constantly exerting themselves to disseminate democracy and atheism conjointly. Such, however, was the fact. From 1795 to 1799, debating rooms were opened in various parts of the metropolis, in which the most barefaced infidelity was taught, and to which the lower classes were invited, often on Sunday evenings, by a variety of specious allurements. Mr Hall was no sooner aware of the existence of these sources of evil, and of the mischief they produced, than he began to use the voice of warning, in his private intercourse among his people, and to impress upon such of the young as he feared had received a sceptical bias, that of all fanaticism the fanaticism of infidelity then prevalent was at once the most preposterous and the most destructive.

Mr Hall's persuasion of the continuance and growth of this infidel spirit, induced him to preach and publish his celebrated sermon on "Modern Infidelity;" which was not, therefore, as many affirmed, a hasty production, written under excited feelings and false alarms, but the deliberate result of a confirmed belief, that the most strenuous efforts were required to repel mischief so awfully and insidiously diffused.

Before the publication of this sermon, its author had fully "counted the cost" as to the obloquy which it would bring upon him from various quarters; but he did not at all anticipate its extraordinary success, and the corresponding extension of his reputation. As repeated editions were called for, he yielded his assent with great hesitation, from a fear that the copies would remain unsold; and he was the last to see, what every one else perceived, that it had carried his celebrity as a profound thinker and eloquent writer far beyond the limits of the denomination to which he was so bright an ornament.

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* "I am tormented with the desire of writing better than I can."

† That Mr Hall did not always require much time for the production of elegant and spirited writing, interspersed with passages of remarkable beauty, and of the most elaborate polish, is plain from his two earliest publications, both composed *currente calamo*, and each yielding as powerful and finished specimens of style and thought as can be drawn from his works.

Immediately after this sermon issued from the press, the consistency and integrity of the author were vehemently attacked in several letters which appeared in the "Cambridge Intelligencer," then a popular and widely circulated newspaper. Its editor, Mr Flower, had received in an ill spirit Mr Hall's advice that he would repress the violent tone of his political disquisitions, and had, from other causes which need not now be developed, become much disposed to misinterpret his motives and depreciate his character. He, therefore, managed to keep alive the controversy for some months, occasionally aiding, by his own remarks, those of his correspondents who opposed Mr Hall, and as often casting illiberal insinuations upon the individual who had stepped forward in defence of the sermon and its author. A few months after this discussion subsided, Mr Flower, who had been summoned before the house of lords, and imprisoned in Newgate for a libel on Bishop Watson, published an exculpatory pamphlet; in which, with a view to draw the attention of the public as speedily as possible from his own unmanly and disingenuous conduct, while at the bar of the house, he soon passed from his personal defence to a virulent attack upon Mr Hall, his former pastor.

Shortly afterwards, another controvertist, a Mr Anthony Robinson, unwilling that Mr Flower and his coadjutors should gather all the laurels in so noble a conflict, hastened into the field; and, it must be admitted, left them far behind. He published, in a pamphlet of more than sixty pages, "An Examination" of Mr Hall's Sermon. He did not bring against the preacher the positive charge of apostacy, having discrimination enough to see that it was one thing to refer the atrocities of the reign of terror to the political principles of the perpetrators, and quite another to ascribe them to their avowed and unblushing atheism. But the crimes that he imputed to Mr Hall, were, that he was "an imitator of Mr Burke," that he was "fierce and even savage in expression," that his "charges against atheism are unfounded," and that he taught that it was excusable, if not meritorious, to punish men for errors in religious opinions!" For himself, he maintained, that "all men are essentially alike in moral conduct;" that the sum of all the morality of religionists is, "do good unto the household of faith, and to them only; kill, plunder, calumniate the heretics;" that all public religions are opposed to all private morality;" that "atheism (on the contrary) tends but little to alter our moral sentiments;" and that "all religions except the belief that rewards are to be conferred upon the beneficent, and for that service exclusively, are not merely as bad, but *infinitely worse than any kind or degree of scepticism*;" because "atheism leaves every human present motive *in full force*, whilst every religion or mode of faith different from what is above expressed, changes the name and the nature of morality, saps the foundation of all benevolence, and introduces malice, hostility and murder, *under the pretext of love to God*." This being a fair specimen of the shameless impiety with which the press then teemed, we need not wonder at the applauses bestowed upon Mr Hall for advancing with such singular talent and ability to stem the torrent.

With the exception of a few letters from private friends, who disapproved of his denominating the Roman Catholic clergy "the Christian priesthood," every communication he received was highly gratifying, especially as it did justice to his motives. The most distinguished members of the University were loud in his praises: numerous passages in the sermon which were profound in reasoning, or touching and beautiful in expression, were read and eulogized in every college and almost every company; and the whole composition was recommended in the charges and sermons of the dignified and other clergy in terms of the warmest praise. The "Monthly Review" (then the leading critical journal) the "British Critic," (at that time under the able superintendence of Dr Nares, and other reviews, gave to the sermon the highest commendation. Kett in his "Elements of General Knowledge," William Belsham in his "History of Great Britain," Dr Parr in the notes to his celebrated "Spital Sermon," and many others, were profuse in their expressions of panegyric. From that time Mr Hall's reputation was placed upon an eminence, which it will probably retain as long as purity and elevation of style, deeply philosophical views of the springs and motives of action, and correct theological sentiments, are duly appreciated in the world[*].

Of the letters received by Mr Hall on this occasion, the following from the pen of his friend Mackintosh, has escaped the ravages of time.

"*Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn*, 26 *March*, 1800.

"DEAR HALL,

"FROM the enclosed letter, you will see the opinion which the Bishop of London[*] has formed of your sermon, and you will observe that he does some justice to your merit. Mr Archdeacon Eaton, to whom the letter was written, has allowed me to send it to you; and I thought it might not be disagreeable to you to have it, as the opinion of a man, not indeed of very vigorous understanding, but an elegant writer, a man of taste and virtue, not to mention his high station in the church.

"I last night had a conversation about the sermon with a man of much greater talents, at a place where theological, or even literary discussions, are seldom heard. It was with *Mr Windham, at the Duchess of Gordon's rout*. I asked him whether he had read it. He told me that he had, that he recommended it to every body; and, among others, on that very day, to the new Bishop of Bangor, who had dined with him. He said that he was exceedingly struck with the style, but still more with the matter. He particularly praised the passage on vanity as an admirable commentary on Mr Burke's observations on vanity in his character of Rousseau. He did not like it the worse, he said, for being taken from the source of all good, as he considered Mr Burke's works to be. He thought, however, that you had carried your attack on vanity rather too far. He had recommended the sermon to Lord Grenville, who seemed sceptical about any thing good coming from the pastor of a Baptist congregation, especially at Cambridge.

"This, you see, is the unhappy impression which Priestley has made, and which, if you proceed as you have so nobly begun, you will assuredly efface. But you will never do all the good which it is in your power to do, unless you assert your own importance, and call to mind that, as the dissenters have no man comparable to you, it is your province to guide them, and not to be guided by their ignorance and bigotry. I am almost sorry you thought any apology due to those senseless bigots who blamed you for compassion [towards] the clergy of France, as innocent sufferers and as martyrs of the Christian faith during the most barbarous persecution that has fallen upon Christianity, perhaps since its origin, but certainly since its establishment by Constantine. * * * * * * * * * * I own I thought well of Horsley when I found him, in his charge, call these unhappy men "our Christian brethren:" the bishops and clergy of the persecuted church of France! This is the language of truth. This is the spirit of Christianity.

"I met with a combination in Ovid, the other day, which would have suited your sermon. Speaking of the human descendants of the giants, he says—

> "Sed et illa propago
> Contemptrix superûm, sævæque avidissima cædis
> Et violenta fuit. Scires è sanguine notos." MET. I. 160.

"The union of ferocity with irreligion is agreeable to your reasoning.

"I am going to send copies of my third edition[†] to Paley and Watson, to Fox and the Lord Chancellor[‡]. I should like to send copies of your sermon with them. If you will direct six copies to be sent here, I shall distribute them in such a manner as will, I think, not be hurtful.

"Mrs Mackintosh joins me in the most kind and respectful remembrance. Believe me ever,

"Dear Hall,

"Your affectionate friend,

"JAMES MACKINTOSH."

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[*] On the publication of Dr Parr's "Spital Sermon," I took a copy of it to Mr Hall; and sat down at his table while he hastily turned over the leaves. He was greatly amused by the cursory examination, but had evidently no expectation that any of the notes referred to himself. "What a profusion of Greek, sir! Why, if I were to write so, they would call me a pedant; but it is all natural in Parr." "What a strange medley, sir. The gownsmen will call him *Farrago Parr*." At length I saw his eye glance upon the notes which relate to himself. His countenance underwent the most rapid changes, indicating surprise, regret, and pity: in a very few minutes he threw down the book, and exclaimed, "Poor man! poor man! I am very sorry for him! He is certainly insane, sir! Where were his friends, sir? Was there nobody to sift the folly out of his notes, and prevent its publication? Poor man!"

[*] Dr Porteus. This enclosure is not now extant.

[†] Of the Discourse on the Study of the Law of Nature and Nations.

[‡] The Earl of Rosslyn.

Mr Mackintosh continued to evince both the steadiness of his friendship for Mr Hall, and the high value which he set upon this sermon, by frequently quoting it and applying it to the elucidation of the Lectures which he was then delivering in Lincoln's-Inn. Several of his auditors were, in consequence, induced sometimes to spend their Sundays at Cambridge, that they might listen to the pulpit instructions of the individual of whom they had heard so much. Many also of the members of the University, including not merely under-graduates, but college fellows and tutors, were often seen at the Baptist place of worship. These sometimes amounted to fifty or sixty: and a few of them attended so constantly upon the afternoon services, that they became almost regarded as regular hearers. Among the latter, some have since become distinguished men, and occupy important stations either in the church or in the public service, as statesmen or senators.

The attendance of so many university students upon the services of a dissenting minister, at length began to excite alarm among the "Heads of Houses;" of whom a meeting was summoned to consider the expediency of interposing some authoritative measure to prevent this irregularity. But Dr Mansel, then master of the largest college, Trinity, and afterwards bishop of Bristol, "declared that he could not be a party in such a measure: he admired and revered Mr Hall, both for his talents and for his genuine liberality; he had ascertained that his preaching was not that of a partisan, but of an enlightened minister of Christ; and that therefore if he were not the master of Trinity be should certainly often attend himself; and that even now he had experienced a severe struggle before he could make up his mind to relinquish so great a benefit." Shortly after this he personally thanked Mr Hall, not only for his sermon, but for his general efforts in the Christian cause; and, through the medium of a common friend, endeavoured to induce him to enter the established church. This, I believe, was the only *direct* attempt to persuade Mr Hall to conform.

None of these circumstances were permitted to draw Mr Hall aside from his ordinary course. His studies, his public duties, his pastoral visits, were each assigned their natural place, as before. If there were any change, it was manifest in his increased watchfulness over himself, and, perhaps, in giving a *rather* more critical complexion than before to certain portions of his morning expositions, and in always concluding them with such strong practical appeals as might be suited to a congregation of mixed character.

If I do not greatly mistake, however, his sentiments with regard to controversy in general were considerably modified from this period. The language of the preface to his sermon, on the advantages of union, became the language of his heart and conduct; so that he abstained from public discussions except on questions that seemed of vital importance, either in regard to fundamental truth, or the essential privileges of Christians. Having learnt that one of the severest trials of human virtue is the trial of controversy, he resolved, on occasions when silence became inexpedient or censurable, not to repel even injustice and misrepresentation in an angry spirit. Thus when he undertook the refutation of Bishop Horsley's charge, that village preachers among methodists and dissenters were teachers of insubordination and sedition, indignant as he doubtless felt at so unjust an insinuation, he opposed it in a manner as remarkable for the conciliatory spirit which it exhibits, as for the singular train of original thought and cogent argument which runs through that interesting fragment.

In little more than two years after the publication of the sermon on Modern Infidelity, Mr Hall again appeared before the public as an author. The transient peace of Amiens was celebrated by a general thanksgiving throughout England on the 1st of June 1802. In the sermon preached by Mr Hall on that occasion, he endeavoured first to awaken the gratitude of his auditors by a most touching picture of the horrors of war, from which Europe had just escaped: and then to apply the gratitude so excited, to acts of benevolence. I have already adverted to Mr Hall's reasons for preaching that sermon *memoriter*, without deviation from his own written copy. I recur to it for a moment merely to state, that though it was delivered with the most impressive dignity, and with less rapidity than that to which he usually yielded himself, yet, in one or two parts, he obviously felt great difficulty in checking his inclination either to modify his language, or to expatiate more at large. This was especially observable at the passage commencing with "Conceive but for a moment the consternation which the approach of an invading army would impress on the peaceful villages in this neighbourhood." He mentioned afterwards that the struggle between his desire to correct what, he just then saw, was "a confusion in the grouping," and his determination "not to deviate from his lesson," was such as rendered it almost impossible for him to proceed. To this kind of perplexity he never again exposed himself.

The nation had scarcely tasted the blessings of peace, when a dispute on one of the articles of the treaty of Amiens involved us in a fresh war with the French. Buonaparte, then first consul, aware of the British ascendancy at sea, resolved first to attack our continental dominions. He also seized on the persons and property of the numerous English who had visited France during the brief interval of peace, detaining them as prisoners of war; and then menaced this country with invasion. So strange, and in some respects, so atrocious a commencement of hostilities, had a singular effect in melting down dissension, and diffusing a spirit of almost unexampled unanimity, among all ranks and classes of the community. To adopt Mr Hall's emphatic language: "It was a struggle for existence, not for empire. It must surely be regarded as a happy circumstance that the contest did not take this shape at an earlier period, while many were deceived by certain specious pretences of liberty into a favourable opinion of our enemy's designs. The popular delusion had passed; the most unexampled prodigies of guilt had dispelled it; and, after a series of rapine and cruelty, *had torn from every heart the last fibres of mistaken partiality*." At this momentous period Mr Hall's love of his country was again signally evinced. On the fast day, 19th October 1803, he preached at Bristol, where he was then on a visit, a sermon afterwards published,—"The Sentiments proper to the Present Crisis," which had the happiest effect in enkindling the flame of generous, active patriotism.

This sermon, perhaps, excited more general admiration than any of the author's former productions; on account of its masterly exposure of prevailing errors, its original and philosophical defence of some momentous truths, and its remarkable appropriateness to the exigencies of the crisis. The last ten pages were thought by many (and by Mr Pitt among the number) to be fully equal in genuine eloquence to any passage of the same length that can be selected from either ancient or modern orators. They were re-printed in various periodical publications, and widely circulated in every direction; and they evidently suggested some of the finest thoughts in Sir James Mackintosh's splendid defence of Peltier, the editor of *L'Ambigu*, who was tried *in London* for a libel on Buonaparte.

In an old manuscript of Mr Hall's, containing outline notes of sermons preached by him in 1801, 1802, and 1803, scarcely any of them occupying more than two pages, there are inserted the first rude sketch of this valuable sermon, and, at the distance of several pages, a few hints of thoughts and sentences designed to be introduced near the close.

"I. Particulars in which our notions are wrong, or 'we speak not aright,' with regard to national judgments.

"1. Political speculations on the secondary causes of our calamities, exclusive of a regard to the hand of God.

"2. Wanton and indiscriminate censure of the conduct of our rulers.

"We are permitted within . . . . limits to animadvert on the measures of government.

"3. A confidence in an arm of flesh.

"Cursed is man, &c.

"4. A reliance on our supposed superior virtue.

"5. General lamentations on the corruptions of the age.

"Right sentiments. An acknowledgement of the justice and dominion of God.

"Sincere confession of our sins. Dan. ix. 8. Zech. x. 11, &c."

Such was the original synopsis. The hints intended to be worked in towards the close of the sermon, are as below.

"Eternal God! (O thou) who hast at once declared thyself the God of peace and the Lord of hosts, go forth with our armies and shelter (shield) their heads in the day of battle: give them (endow them with) that undaunted courage, that . . . . from trouble which springs from a sense of thy presence.

"Under thy conduct, and fighting under thy banners, we will employ all the resources which lie within our reach, ... without trusting in an arm of flesh . . . . while we behold with the eye of faith, what thy prophet discerned in ancient times, the plains filled with horses of fire and chariots of fire.

"There is surely not one person here who will tempt himself to . . . . by the fear of death, when he reflects that, in the failure of this great enterprise, should the crisis arrive, he must feel a thousand deaths in the extinction of religion, in the spoliation of property, in the violation of chastity, in the confusion of all orders . . . . when all that is noble or holy, will be trampled upon . . . . . when death would be sought with the avidity of . . . . . when the enemies' triumphs will be felt in . . . . . mourn . . . . . freedom entombed."

I have here presented the incipient germs of thought and expression, in this extraordinary production, from a persuasion that the man of research into the operations of intellect, will be deeply interested on comparing them with their finished result, as exhibited in the first volume.

On looking back upon the preceding pages, I perceive that I shall have laid myself open to the charge of dwelling too long upon that portion of Mr Hall's life during which I also resided at Cambridge. Let me simply observe, then, that it was the portion in which his fine character assumed, by the means I have been tracing, its true place in public estimation; and that I may be forgiven, if I have thus dwelt upon that bright period of my own existence, in which I was open to the constant influence of association with one so pre-eminent in mental and moral excellence. Yet I am not disposed to allow the interesting memory of a long friendship to interfere with biographical fidelity. I have spoken of Mr Hall's richer qualities agreeably to the estimate I then formed, but with a conviction that they had not at that period reached their full maturity and vigour. I shall now advert to a few of his defects, but with an equally strong persuasion that they diminished as his age, and judgment, and piety advanced.

I have already remarked, that Mr Hall was impetuous in argument. I must here add, that he sometimes contended more for victory than for truth. I never knew him voluntarily take what he believed to be the wrong side of an argument, for the sake of showing how adroitly he could carry on the advocacy of any opinions which he, for the moment, took the fancy to maintain; but, if ever he precipitated himself into the assertion of erroneous sentiment, he would strenuously defend his opinion; and, on such occasions, would seem more pleased with perplexing and confounding his opponents, than with faithfully endeavouring to set either them or himself right. This habit was very much restrained, if not altogether overcome, in the latter part of his life. Be it observed, however, that at no time did it tempt him to trifle with the sanctities of religion.

Besides this yielding to the temptation of making the matter of truth and error a prize for contest, there was another thing which, in social life, depreciated the *practical* value of his great ability, namely, a random carelessness in throwing out opinions and estimates of subjects, books, or men. Many of those opinions were graphically correct, and highly valuable, and they were usually clothed in an aphorismatic terseness of language; yet, were too often such, that plain, credulous listeners for instruction, regarding him as an oracle, would leave him with incorrect and fallacious notions of the topics on which he had spoken; and would, therefore, be strangely perplexed two or three weeks afterwards, on hearing, or hearing reported, contrary opinions on the same subjects stated by him subsequently, when farther investigation had corrected his judgment. Sometimes, too, especially when indulging in panegyric, he would, even in conversation, give himself up to the feelings of the orator, and allow his fancy to escape into the *ideal*, sketching the picture then existing in his own thoughts, rather than that of the individual whom he imagined himself describing.

It was also much to be regretted, that when in company, he did not keep habitually in view the good which his great talents and high character qualified him to impart. His conversation, though always conveying information on the various subjects generally brought forward in cultivated society, did not indicate the prevailing purpose of leading the minds of others in a right direction. Or, if he entered society with this determination, he frequently permitted the circumstances into which he was thrown, to divert him from his purpose: thus giving away his admirable conversational powers to the mere casual train of topics, many of them trivial in interest. There could not but be various acute remarks, and every now and then a piece of valuable disquisition, or a most important sentiment, or an eloquent flow of striking observations; yet there was not a systematic bearing towards positive utility. Often, indeed, has Mr Hall lamented this defect: often, as we have been returning from a party which he had kept alive by the brilliancy and variety of his observations, has he said, "Ah! sir, I have again contributed to the loss of an evening, as to every thing truly valuable: go home with me, that we may spend at least one hour in a manner which becomes us."

It should be added, however, that it was only in larger parties that this occurred. I never spent an evening with him alone, or with the addition of one or two select companions, in which the sublimer purposes of religious, as well as intellectual intercourse, were not prevailingly kept in view.

In adverting to the deficiencies in Mr Hall's character, I must farther remark, that he did not always seem adequately alive to *special* modes and efforts of utility. There were times when his apparent indifference must have been thought scarcely compatible with his uniform benevolence and piety, unless by those who were thoroughly aware that his infirmities often compelled him to avoid active exertions, except those which fell within the range of ministerial duty: yet, at other seasons, he exerted himself so powerfully and successfully in favour of some grand object, as, in great measure, to compensate for his habitually avoiding the ordinary detail of minor operations.

His defects, on whatever occasions they showed themselves, were as remote as possible from littleness, and were such as would be most naturally found in a noble character. We may hence learn, however, that a man, though far enriched above his fellows with intellectual and spiritual endowments, still manifests the frailties of a fallen being; and that it always behoves us, therefore, with Christian discrimination, to distinguish between grace and nature; to give to God his own glory, and to refer to men their own infirmities.

But I must return from this digression. During the early months of the year 1803, the pain in Mr Hall's back increased, both in intenseness and continuity; depriving him almost always of refreshing sleep, and depressing his spirits to an unusual degree. On one of his visits to Kettering and its neighbourhood, he consulted Dr Kerr, of Northampton, who recommended him to reside a few miles from Cambridge, and to have recourse to horse exercise. In consequence of this advice, he took a house at Shelford, a village about five miles from Cambridge; and the frequent and short journeys on horseback which thus became necessary for a season, seemed beneficial. Yet, the advantage was not of long continuance. He missed his delightful evenings spent in the society of the intelligent classes of the congregation (of whom there was a much higher proportion than in most congregations), and he missed still more, the simple, heart-refreshing remarks of the poor of his flock, whose pious converse had always been peculiarly soothing to his mind. It is true, he there enjoyed intercourse with two excellent men, both of whom he cordially esteemed, Mr James Nutter, a valuable member of his church at Cambridge, and the Rev. Thomas Thomason, afterwards one of the East-India Company's chaplains at Calcutta. With these friends he sometimes spent his evenings; and in company with the latter, who was Mr Simeon's curate at Trinity Church, he frequently rode to Cambridge on the Sunday mornings: these brothers in the gospel ministry proceeding thus pleasantly, "in the unity of the Spirit," to their respective spheres of labour in the church of God. Gratifying, however, as this intercourse was, both to Mr Hall and his valued neighbours, it still left him too much alone, and too much exposed to all the morbid influences of a disordered body, and of a mind overstrained. Often has he been known to sit close at his reading, or yet more intensely engaged in abstract thought, for more than twelve hours in the day; so that, when one or both of his kind friends have called upon him, in the hope of drawing him from his solitude, they have found him in such a state of nervous excitement, as led them to unite their efforts in persuading him to take some mild narcotic, and retire to rest. The painful result may be anticipated. This noble mind lost its equilibrium; and he who had so long been the theme of universal admiration, now became the subject of as extensive a sympathy. This event occurred in November 1804. Mr Hall was placed under the care of Dr Arnold, of Leicester, whose attention, with the blessing of God, in about two months, restored him both to mental and bodily health.

During this afflictive suspension of his pastoral duties, his church and congregation gave the most unequivocal proofs that they had caught somewhat of his generous and exalted spirit, and that they were desirous to conduce to his welfare in temporal things, in acknowledgement of the spiritual blessings he had been the means of conveying to them. They set on foot a subscription, to which themselves contributed most liberally, and which, by the aid of other friends, became sufficient to produce, besides a life annuity of one hundred pounds, a farther sum nearly equal, vested in government securities; the latter to be at his own disposal at death: each sum being properly vested in trustees.

In April 1805, he resumed his ministerial functions at Cambridge: but, it being deemed inexpedient for him to reoccupy his house at Shelford, he engaged another at Foulmire, about nine miles from Cambridge. This spot, doubtless, was unwisely selected; as his opportunities of social intercourse with old and intimate friends were almost entirely cut off, and he was thus left to feed more upon his own thoughts than in any preceding part of his life. The evil did not show itself in his public ministrations, which were regarded as more devout, intellectual, and impressive, than they had ever been; nor in any diminution of relish for works in which genius stood forth in defence of religious truth;—as his exquisite critique upon Foster's Essays, written at this period, amply evinces. But the evils resulting from solitude and a return of his old pain with more than its usual severity, ere long began to show themselves. Sleepless nights, habitual exclusion from society, a complete self-absorption, and the incessant struggle between what was due to a church and congregation which had given such signal proofs of affection for him, and what he felt to be necessary for his own preservation, a speedy removal from air and scenery that more and more impaired his health and oppressed his spirits: these, at about twelve months after his former attack at Shelford, produced a recurrence of the same malady, which again laid him aside from public duty.

He soon, however, recovered the complete balance of his mental powers, under the judicious care of the late Dr Cox, of Fish Ponds, near Bristol. It was regarded as essential to the permanent possession of mental health and vigour, that he should resign the pastoral office at Cambridge, that he should, for a year, at least, seek retirement in a spot selected and cordially approved by himself, abstain from preaching, and as far as possible, avoid all strong excitement.

Pursuant to this advice, he sent in his letter of resignation, which, with that from the church, in reply, is inserted in the fifth volume of these works. Thus terminated a connexion which had subsisted for fifteen years, and had been of great benefit to Mr Hall's character; while, by the divine blessing upon his labours, it had transformed a society that was rapidly sinking under the influence of cold, or disputatious speculators, into a flourishing church and congregation, "bringing forth the fruits of righteousness," and shining in the lustre of a consistent Christian profession. It is pleasing to remark that the attachment on both sides remained undiminished until Mr Hall's death.

On recovering from this attack, he received a letter from his old friend Sir James Mackintosh, then Recorder of Bombay, which was written soon after Sir James had heard of his first indisposition. It is highly interesting, both as a memorial of genuine friendship, and as a beautiful exhibition of elevated and delicate sentiment. My insertion of it will not, however, be regarded as a proof that I entirely adopt the *theory* which the writer so elegantly sketched.

"*Bombay, Sept.* 21, 1805.

"MY DEAR HALL,

"I believe that, in the hurry of leaving England, I did not answer the letter which you wrote to me in December 1803. I did not, however, forget your interesting young friend, from whom I have had one letter from Constantinople, and to whom I have twice written at Cairo, where he now is. No request of *yours* could, indeed, be lightly esteemed by me.

"It happened to me a few days ago, in drawing up (merely for my own use) a short sketch of my life, that I had occasion to give a faithful statement of my recollection of the circumstances of my first acquaintance with you. On the most impartial survey of my early life, I could see nothing which tended so much to excite and invigorate my understanding, and to direct it towards high, though, perhaps, scarcely accessible objects, as my intimacy with you. Five and twenty years are now past since we first met; yet hardly any thing has occurred since, which has left a deeper or more agreeable impression on my mind. I now remember the extraordinary union of brilliant fancy with acute intellect which would have excited more admiration than it has done, if it had been dedicated to the amusement of the great and the learned, instead of being consecrated to the far more noble office of consoling, instructing, and reforming the poor and the forgotten.

"It was then too early for me to discover that extreme purity, which in a mind pre-occupied with the low realities of life, would have been no natural companion of so much activity and ardour, but which thoroughly detached you from the world, and made you the inhabitant of regions where alone it is possible to be always active without impurity, and where the ardour of your sensibility had unbounded scope amidst the inexhaustible combinations of beauty and excellence.

"It is not given to us to preserve an exact medium. Nothing is so difficult as to decide how much ideal models ought to be combined with experience; how much of the future should be let into the present, in the progress of the human mind. To ennoble and purify, without raising us above the sphere of our usefulness; to qualify us for what we ought to seek, without unfitting us for that to which we must submit; are great and difficult problems, which can be but imperfectly solved.

"It is certain the child may be too manly, not only for his present enjoyments, but for his future prospects. Perhaps, my good friend, you have fallen into this error of superior natures. From this error has, I think, arisen that calamity with which it has pleased Providence to visit you, which, to a mind less fortified by reason and religion, I should not dare to mention, but which I really consider in you as little more than the indignant struggles of a pure mind with the low realities which surround it,—the fervent aspirations after regions more congenial to it,—and a momentary blindness, produced by the fixed contemplation of objects too bright for human vision. I may say, in this case, in a far grander sense than that in which the words were originally spoken by our great poet,

———— ————————" And yet
" The light which led astray was light from heaven."

"On your return to us, you must surely have found consolation in the only terrestrial produce which is pure and truly exquisite; in the affections and attachments you have inspired, which you were most worthy to inspire, and which no human pollution can rob of their heavenly nature. If I were to prosecute the reflections, and indulge the feelings, which at this moment fill my mind, I should soon venture to doubt, whether, for a calamity derived from such a source, and attended with such consolations, I should so far yield to the views and opinions of men, as to seek to condole with you. But I check myself, and I exhort you, my most worthy friend, to check your best propensities, for the sake of attaining their object. You cannot live *for* men without living *with* them. Serve God then by the active service of men. Contemplate more the good you *can* do, than the evil you can only lament. Allow yourself to see the loveliness of virtue amidst all its imperfections; and employ your moral imagination, not so much by bringing it into contrast with the model of ideal perfection, as in gently blending some of the fainter colours of the latter with the brighter hues of real experienced excellence; thus heightening their beauty, instead of broadening the shade which must surround us till we awaken from this dream in other spheres of existence.

"My habits of life have not been favourable to this train of meditation. I have been too busy or too trifling. My nature perhaps would have been better consulted, if I had been placed in a *quieter* station, where speculation might have been my business, and visions of the fair and good my chief recreation. When I approach you, I feel a powerful attraction towards this which seems the natural destiny of my mind; but habit opposes obstacles, and duty calls me off, and reason frowns on him who wastes that reflection on a destiny independent of him, which he ought to reserve for actions of which he is the master.

"In another letter I may write to you on miscellaneous subjects; at present I cannot bring my mind to speak of them. Let me hear from you soon and often.

"Farewell, my dear friend.
"Yours ever most faithfully,
"JAMES MACKINTOSH."

Two visitations of so humiliating a calamity within the compass of a year deeply affected Mr Hall's mind. Happily, however, for himself and for the world, his spirits soon recovered their wonted tone; and the permanent impression on his character was exclusively religious. His own decided persuasion was, that, however vivid his convictions of religious truth, and of the necessity of a consistent course of evangelical obedience had formerly been, and however correct his doctrinal sentiments during the last four or five years, yet that he did not undergo a thorough transformation of character, a complete renewal of his heart and affections, until the first of these seizures. Some of his Cambridge friends, who visited him at Shelford, previously to his removal to Dr Arnold's, and witnessed his deep prostration of soul while he read the fifty-first psalm, and made each verse the subject of penitent confession and of a distinct prayer, were rather inclined to concur with him as to the correctness of the opinion. Be this, however, as it may (and the wonderful revelations of "the great day" can alone remove the doubt), there can be no question that from this period he seemed more to live under the prevailing recollection of his entire dependence upon God, that his habits were more devotional than they had ever before been, his exercises more fervent and more elevated.

In a letter written to his friend Mr Phillips, of Clapham, after his recovery, he thus adverts to his afflictions:

“I cannot look back upon the events which have befallen me, without admiration and gratitude. I am a monument of the goodness and of the severity of God. My sufferings have been extreme, and the kindness of God, in interposing in my behalf, unspeakable. Pray for me, my dear friend, that I may retain an indelible sense of the mercies received, and that the inconceivable afflictions I have undergone may ‘work for me the peaceable fruits of righteousness.’ I am often afraid lest it should be with me as with the ancient Israelites, who, after they had sung the praises of God, ‘soon forgot his works.’ O! that a life so signally redeemed from destruction, may be as signally employed in that which is alone the true end of life, the service of God. But my heart is ‘like a deceitful bow,’ continually prone to turn aside; so that nothing but the powerful impulse of divine grace can fix it in a right aim.”

At this time, I believe, Mr Hall, under the persuasion to which I have just alluded, made a solemn dedication of himself to God, renewing the act annually on the recurrence of his birth-day. One of these touching and impressive records, which has been found among his papers, will, I feel assured, be read with deep interest.

“An Act of solemn Dedication of myself to God.

“O Lord, thou that searchest the heart and triest the reins of the children of men, be thou the witness of what I am now about, in the strength of thy grace, to attempt: that grace I humbly and earnestly implore, to give validity and effect to that act of solemn engagement of myself to thy service, on which I am about to enter. ‘Thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins are none of them hid from thee.’ ‘I was born in sin, and in iniquity did my mother conceive me.’ I am an apostate, guilty branch of an apostate guilty root, and my life has been a series of rebellions and transgressions, in which I have walked ‘according to the course of this world; according to the Prince of the power of the air, the *spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.*’ How shall I confess my trangressions before thee; what numbers can reach; what words can adequately express them! ‘*My iniquities have increased over my head, and my transgressions have grown up unto Heaven.*’ O Lord, I esteem it a wonderful mercy that I have not long since been cut off in the midst of my sins, and been sent to hell before I had an opportunity or a heart to repent. Being assured from the word of God of thy gracious and merciful nature, and of thy willingness to pardon and accept penitent believing sinners on the ground of the blood and righteousness of thine own adorable Son, ‘who died, the just for the unjust, to bring them to God,’ and that ‘him that cometh to him he will in nowise cast out,’ I do most humbly prostrate myself at the footstool of his cross, and through him enter into thy covenant. I disclaim all right to myself from henceforth, to my soul, my body, my time, my health, my reputation, my talents, or any thing that belongs to me. I confess myself to be the property of the glorious Redeemer, as one whom I humbly hope he has redeemed by his blood to be part of ‘the first fruits of his creatures.’

“I do most cheerfully and cordially receive him in all his offices, as my Priest, my Prophet, and my King. I dedicate myself to him, to serve, love and trust in him as my life and my salvation to my life's end.

“I renounce the Devil and all his works, the flesh and the world, with heartfelt regret that I should have been enslaved by them so long. I do solemnly and deliberately take thee to be my full and satisfying good, and eternal portion in and through thine adorable Son the Redeemer, and by the assistance of the blessed Spirit of all grace, the third person in the triune God, whom I take to be my Sanctifier and Comforter to the end of time, and through a happy eternity, praying that the Holy Spirit may deign to take perpetual possession of my heart and fix his abode there.

“I do most solemnly devote and give up myself to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, agreeably to the terms of the Gospel Covenant, and in humble expectation of the blessings it ascertains to sincere believers. I call thee to witness, O God! the truth and reality of this surrender of all I have, and all I am, to thee; and, conscious of the unspeakable deceitfulness of my heart, I humbly and earnestly implore the influence of thy Spirit to enable me to stand steadfast in this covenant, as well as an interest in the blood of the Son, that I may be forgiven in those instances (alas! that such an idea should be possible), in which I may, in any degree, swerve from it.

“Done this [2d] day of May 1809, seven o'clock in the evening, Leicester. Robert Hall.”

Mr Hall, on his removal from Dr Cox's, spent some months among his relatives and friends in Leicestershire. At Arnsby he retraced the scenes of his youth, often visited the grave-yard, which would naturally awaken many interesting recollections of his early life, and on these occasions he has more than once been seen kneeling at his father's grave engaged in earnest prayer. He afterwards resided, for a time, at Enderby, a pleasant and sequestered village, five miles from Leicester, where, by the united influence of calm retirement and gentle spontaneous occupation, he gradually regained his bodily health with great mental tranquillity, and a renewed capacity for usefulness in the church.

His friends, Dr Ryland and Mr Fuller, persuaded of the benefits that would flow from drawing his attention to a specific object, requested him to investigate the critical peculiarities of some difficult texts in the New Testament, respecting which Dr Marshman had asked the opinion of his friends in England. This judicious application directed his thoughts to some of his old and favourite inquiries, and produced the most salutary effects*. From this he passed to other literary occupations, thence to closer biblical study, and, in due time, when his strength and self-possession were adequately restored to permit the exertion without injury, he returned to the delightful work of “proclaiming the good tidings of peace.”

He first preached in some of the villages around him; and then, occasionally, to a small congregation assembling at a chapel in Harvey Lane, Leicester, which had several years before been under the care of that eminent man, Dr Carey, now of Serampore. The congregation had been diminishing for some years, and at this time did not exceed two hundred and fifty: the church consisted of seventy-six members. After having preached to them a few months, he accepted an invitation to become their stated pastor; and his minsterial labours were soon followed by tokens of good. “The people,” said he, in a letter to Dr Ryland, “are a simple-hearted, affectionate, praying people, to whom I preach with more pleasure than to the more refined audience at Cambridge. We have had, through mercy, some small addition, and hope for more. Our meetings in general, our prayer meetings in particular, are well attended.”

With this church he continued connected nearly twenty years. The church and congregation steadily increased during that long interval, and scarcely any thing of moment occurred to interrupt their internal peace. The place of worship, which when Mr Hall first settled there would not conveniently hold four hundred persons, was enlarged in 1809 for the reception of about eight hundred; and in 1817 a second enlargement rendered it capable of accommodating a thousand persons. In 1826, at the close of Mr Hall's labours there, the place was comfortably filled, and the members of the church, besides those who it is believed had gone to their eternal reward, amounted to nearly three hundred. More than a hundred of those who constituted the evening congregation were pious members of the church of England.

In the autumn of 1807 Mr Hall removed from Enderby to a house in Leicester, which he engaged partly that he might more conveniently associate with the people of his charge, and partly in anticipation of his marriage, which took place in March, 1808. This event gave great and sincere satisfaction to his old and intimate friends, most of whom had long regretted that one so evidently formed for domestic enjoyments, should for so many years have lived without attaining them; and had no doubt, indeed, that an earlier marriage would, by checking his propensity to incessant retirement and mental abstraction, have preserved him from the heavy afflictions which had befallen him. As Mrs Hall still lives to mourn the loss of her incomparable husband, I must not permit myself more than to testify how highly he estimated her kindness and affection, and how often, in his conversation, as well as in his letters, he expressed his gratitude to God for giving him so pious, prudent and devoted a wife. Of their five children, three daughters and one son survive. Another son died in 1814.

Mr Hall's residence at Leicester was not only of longer continuance than at any other place, but I doubt not that it was the period in which he was most happy, active and useful. His domestic comfort at once contributed to a more uniform flow of spirits than he had for some time experienced, and greatly to the regularity of his habits. The increase both of attentive hearers, and of the number among them who were admitted to church-fellowship, supplied constant reason for encouragement and thankfulness. He was also within the reach of ministers and others, of different persuasions, men of decided piety, and some of them of considerable attainments, who knew how to appreciate the extraordinary advantages of frequent intercourse with such an individual; thus yielding him the delight of an interchange of soul and sentiment, besides that fruit of friendship so aptly characterized by Lord Bacon:—"Whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another—he tosseth his thoughts more easily—he marshalleth them more orderly—he seeth how they look when they are turned into words—and he waxeth wiser than himself, often more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation[*]."

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* For more than two years he employed much time in a critical examination of the New Testament, and in arranging such corrected translations as he deemed important, with short reasons for his deviating from the authorized version; intending to publish the whole in a pamphlet of about one hundred pages. Just as he had finished this work, he for the first time saw Macknight's new translation of the Apostolic Epistles; and finding himself anticipated in many of the corrections which he thought most valuable, destroyed his manuscript.

Leicester, from its situation in the heart of the midland counties, as well as from its importance in a leading inland manufacture, was the centre of influence and operation to a considerable distance around; and the concurrence of many favourable circumstances had rendered it the centre also of a religious influence, and of religious operations, diffusing themselves incessantly with a new and growing impulse. To this the zeal and activity of the late Rev. Thomas Robinson of Leicester, and of Mr Hall's father, had greatly contributed; and many clergymen and dissenting ministers in Leicestershire and the neighbouring counties, were, in their respective fields of labour, instrumental in producing the most cheering and successful results. The attention of the Christian world had been recently invited, or, I might perhaps say, *summoned*, to promote the noble objects of Missionary Societies, Bible Societies, Sunday and other Schools for the instruction of the poor; and the summons had been obeyed in a universality and cordiality of vigorous Christian effort, and in a spirit of conciliation and harmony, such as the world had not yet known. Placed in the midst of so extensive a sphere of benevolent and sacred influence, Mr Hall was soon roused to a measure of activity and a diversity of employment to which he had hitherto been a stranger. The Bible Society at Leicester, Missionary Societies there and all around, asked and received his aid; and these, with the different public services of frequent occurrence among orthodox dissenters, gave occasion to the happiest exercise of his varied powers.

His religious character thus became correctly estimated by a much larger portion of the community. Instead of being known chiefly to men of reading and taste, as an author who had appeared before the world on a few momentous occasions, and, after a striking exhibition of intellectual and moral energy, had hastened back to his retirement, he now became much more known and revered as the correct and eloquent interpreter of the Christian faith, the intrepid assertor of its infinite superiority to all human systems of philosophy or morals. Long had he been admired by the intelligent as a great man; the circumstances in which he now moved with so much philanthropic ardour, caused him to be regarded, not merely by these, but by pious men of every persuasion, as a good man, rejoicing to consecrate his best faculties to the specific objects of the Christian ministry, and such purposes of enlarged exertion as were fully compatible with his holy calling.

Nor were these efforts, and this high estimate of their value, confined to the field of activity he thus occupied. He had, on quitting Bristol in 1791, consented to spend a few weeks with his friends there, every two years. He had, also, made a similar arrangement for visiting Cambridge, where the members of his former congregation had peculiar claims upon him. Although his invariable dread of notoriety, and his dislike of the bustle of the metropolis, caused his visits there to be, "few and far between," yet they occurred sufficiently often to excite almost universally the highest admiration of his singular qualities as a preacher, and to convince many who previously had contemplated the evangelical system of religion with great disrelish, that it was the *only* foundation of elevated morality, and that its cordial adoption was not necessarily repugnant to genius, learning, and intellectual cultivation.

Wherever he went, he was called to address overflowing congregations, and commonly of a remarkably mixed character. Churchmen and dissenters; men of rank and influence, individuals in lower stations; men of simple piety, and others of deep theological knowledge; men who admired Christianity as a beautiful system, and those who received it into the heart by faith; men in doubt, others involved in unbelief:—all resorted to the place where he was announced as the preacher. Frequently he was apprized of this peculiarity in the structure of the auditory, and, whenever that was the case, the striking appropriation of the sermon to the assembly was always manifest. Of this the reader will have ample evidence in the sermons inserted in this volume, many of which were delivered on public occasions.

Mr Hall's writings during his residence at Leicester, though by no means numerous, tended greatly to augment his influence upon society.

The first of these was published anonymously in the Eclectic Review, but left no room for hesitation as to its author. It was a critique upon a pamphlet entitled "Zeal without Innovation," which he undertook at the earnest entreaty of the late Mr Robinson of Leicester, "who, in common with all the serious clergy in those parts, disapproved the pamphlet highly[*]". As it is no part of my intention to present elaborate accounts of Mr Hall's successive publications, it may suffice for me to remark with regard to this critique, that while it places the controversy between the puritans and their opponents in a flood of light, and exhibits the essential importance of religious liberty to the growth, if not in some cases, to the existence, of genuine, devotional Christianity; it presents a more admirable picture of the character of the Evangelical Clergy[†], a more powerful, liberal, and successful defence of their object and conduct, than has been, as yet, accomplished by any other person. Many regard it as among the most instructive and useful, as well as among the most masterly, of Mr Hall's productions. It abounds in keen satire, in irrefragable argument, in touching description, in tasteful imagery, in exquisite diction, and in sentiments of a weight and worth only to be fully estimated by men whose minds are elevated above the prejudices which tie us down to sects and parties, and can rejoice at the extension of true religion, among persons of any persuasion, or through the instrumentality of whomsoever the Great Head of the Church may employ. The value set by the public upon this disquisition, was evinced in the rapid sale of three editions, in a separate pamphlet, independently of its circulation in the Review.

Of the sermons published by Mr Hall during his residence at Leicester, the first was preached in behalf of the Sunday School connected with his own congregation, and appeared under the title of "The Advantages of Knowledge to the Lower Classes." The subject is not precisely adapted to the decorations of eloquence; for the deplorable effects of ignorance and the blessings of knowledge are best exhibited in the detail of facts, which admit of no embellishment. Mr Hall's desire to enlarge the capacity for enjoyment among the lower classes, as well as to promote their highest welfare, tempted him, however, to enter this region of commonplaces, and thus gave a fresh opportunity of showing how an original thinker can communicate an air of freshness to a worn-out topic, bring up to the surface arguments and illustrations that lie far below the reach of ordinary reasoners, and enforce them with a warmth and energy calculated equally to impress and to convince.

The two next sermons are of a much higher order. One of them, on "The Discouragements and Supports of the Christian Minister," was addressed to the Rev. James Robertson, on his ordination over the Independent Church at Stretton, Warwickshire; the other, which portrays the duties, discouragements, and supports "of the Christian Missionary," was addressed to the Rev. Eustace Carey, on his designation as a missionary to India. In these the author traces with a master hand the various sources of discouragement and consolation, which appertain to the respective offices of the minister and the missionary. Like one intimately acquainted with comparative anatomy, he exhibits the points of agreement, as well as those of diversity in the different subjects, with the most convincing discrimination; while conversant, as well with the morbid as the healthy anatomy of the subjects before him, he explores to its inmost recess, that universal moral disease which calls forth the efforts of both Ministers and Missionaries, and then (where the analogy must drop) he reveals the principles and the origin of an infallible cure. Both these addresses are remarkable for their originality and variety; every topic successively advanced is irradiated with eloquence, and glows with feeling; and so skilfully are both the discourses conducted, that, while they are avowedly directed to the minister and the missionary, and abound in the most valuable instructions to them respectively, the private Christian, who reads with devout attention, may derive from them as rich instruction for himself, and as many directions for his own religious improvement, as though they were specifically addressed to him alone. This, indeed, was a decided characteristic of Mr Hall's sermons. He who heard, or he who read, would find his astonishment and admiration strongly excited; but often, if not always, the more his emotion was enkindled by the preacher, the more forcibly was he compelled to retire to "the chambers of imagery," and examine his own heart.

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[*] Mr Hall, however, from the midway position of Leicester between London, and the large towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire, was much exposed to interruptions. Many persons who had but a slight acquaintance with him would invariably spend a day at Leicester, in their way from London to Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, &c., or from either of those places to London, that they might, during the greater part of it, enjoy his society; and though he often felt this to be a real annoyance, yet such was his feeling of what was due to strangers in point of courtesy, that it was not until he had sustained the inconvenience for almost twenty years, that he would consent that this class of visitors should be informed he would not be at leisure to see them until evening.

[*] While this sheet was going through the press, I accidentally found among some old letters, one from a friend residing in France, in which there was the following allusion to Mr Hall by a French protestant clergyman, who was visiting Bristol in Sept. 1822. In a letter addressed to another protestant minister, Mr Kerpezdron, of Aulnay, he says:

"I heard Mr Robert Hall of Leicester, last Tuesday morning; but his sermon was so great, so good, so eloquent, so simple, so pious, in a word, so complete a piece of pulpit oratory, that I cannot tell you any thing about it, except that it has made an indelible impression on my mind. I thought when I came out, that I never could preach again."

[†] I use this term to avoid a periphrasis, and because it is intelligible and strictly characteristic.

The sudden and untimely death of the Princess Charlotte, of Wales, was an event calculated to make the deepest impression upon a mind constituted like Mr Hall's. The illustrious rank of the victim, her youth and recent marriage, the affecting nature of the catastrophe, its probable influence upon the reigning monarch, upon the succession to the throne, and the welfare of the nation even to distant ages; all presented themselves to his thoughts with the most heart-stirring energy. He preached three sermons on the occasion, of which many of the auditors affirm, the one published was by no means the best. It, however, by universal acknowledgement, bore the palm above all the numerous valuable sermons that were then published. It embraces the various topics that would occur to a man of piety, feeling, and excursive thought, on the contemplation of such an event,—the mysteriousness of God's providence, the vicissitudes of empires, the aggravated poignancy of sudden calamity to individuals of elevated station, "the uncertainty of life, the frailty of youth, the evanescence of beauty, the nothingness of worldly greatness," the blindness of man to futurity, "the human race itself withering" away, and the perpetuity of God's promises as the great and noble contrast to universal fragility;—these are touched in succession with the utmost tenderness, beauty, and sublimity. In felicity of diction, in delicacy and pathos, in the rich variety of most exquisite and instructive trains of thought, in their cogent application to truths of the utmost moment, in the masterly combination of what in eloquence, philosophy and religion, was best calculated to make a permanent and salutary impression, this sermon probably stands unrivalled.

Besides the various sermons and reviews which he wrote and published, during his residence at Leicester, he composed for circulation among the associated Baptist churches in the counties of Northampton, Leicester and Warwick, two tracts on the Work of the Holy Spirit, and on Hearing the Word; both deeply imbued with simple evangelical truth, and rich in excellent practical remarks, fitted for the beneficial perusal of all classes. There were also other compositions which he executed with singular felicity. I mean, his biographical sketches. They are, except the rapid but exquisite sketches of Brainerd, Fletcher of Madeley, and Henry Martyn, the delineations *of a friend;* and, perhaps, in a few particulars, need a slight allowance for the high colouring to which the warmth of friendship tempts us when meditating upon departed excellence; yet they are, on the whole, exact in the resemblance, and finely exemplify the author's varied powers, especially his delicate and accurate discrimination of the degrees and shades of human character.

One of these, the Character of the Rev. John Sutcliff is an unfinished portrait; Mr Hall, after a few unsatisfactory trials, relinquishing the attempt. The following letter to Mr Fuller, on the occasion of this failure, will be read with interest, as an example both of his diffidence and of his sense of the obligation of a promise.

"My Dear Brother,

"I am truly concerned to tell you that I cannot succeed at all in my attempts to draw the character of our dear and venerable brother Sutcliff. I have made several efforts, and have sketched, as well as I could, the outlines of what I conceive to be his character; but have failed in producing such a portrait as appears to me fit for the public eye. I am perfectly convinced that your intimacy with him, and your powers of discrimination, will enable you to present to posterity a much juster and more impressive idea of him than I can. I am heartily sorry I promised it. But promises I hold sacred; and, therefore, if you insist upon it, and are not willing to release me from my engagement, I will accomplish the task as well as I can. But if you will let the matter pass *sub silentio*, without reproaching me, you will oblige me considerably. It appears to me that, if I ever possessed a faculty of character-drawing, I have lost it, probably for want of use; as I am far from taking any delight in a minute criticism on character, to which, in my younger days, I was excessively addicted. Both our tastes and talents change with the progress of years. The purport of these lines, however, is to request you to absolve me from my promise, in which light I shall interpret your silence; holding myself ready, however, to comply with your injunctions.

"I am, my dear sir,
"Your affectionate brother,
"*Sept.* 1814." "R. Hall."

For several years, about this time, Mr Hall's thoughts were greatly occupied upon the subject of "Terms of Communion." His first publication in reference to it appeared in 1815: but they who were admitted to his intimacy, will recollect how often, three or four years before its appearance, he advocated a cautious revision of the practice of nearly all churches; and how successfully he refuted the arguments of those who favoured any narrow system of exclusion. He regarded the existence of a principle which made so many churches points of repulsion instead of centres of union, as a very serious evil; and often deplored it in language similar to that which commences his first production on the subject.

The discussion, indeed, is neither of slight, nor of temporary interest. It involves the prevailing practice of every church in Christendom, whether established, or independent of an establishment; and it includes an answer to the inquiry how purity of faith and conduct shall be preserved, without an infringement of the principles requisite to make *every* church a portion of that sublime invisible society, the "Church Universal," constituted of all the members of Christ's mystical body.

Rapidly approaching, as we seem to be, to that state of things, when all churches, national as well as others, will feel the expediency, if not the necessity, of reverting to first principles in modifying and improving their several communities, the controversy or "Terms of Communion" forces itself upon the attention as one of primary importance, serving to ascertain and determine almost every question of value in reference to ecclesiastical polity.

I thus, though but for a moment, advert to this controversy, that the general reader may not be induced to undervalue it. It occupies the greater portion of the second volume of these works, besides the substance of a distinct pamphlet inserted in the third volume. Of the different writers who opposed Mr Hall on this occasion. Mr Kinghorn was, unquestionably, the most acute and learned. His volume should be read, in connexion with Mr Hall's, by such as wish to view the question in all its bearings. Mr Hall's part of the controversy is conducted with his characteristic frankness and decision; and evinces the same clearness, copiousness, strength and majesty of diction, as he uniformly displayed upon every subject to which he bent his mind with all its power. Sometimes when a narrow, illiberal sentiment, calculated to check the spirit of Christian union and affection, excites his indignation, he rebukes with a cutting severity: and I feel no inclination to deny, that, in a few cases, he has suffered himself to indulge in terms of sarcasm, if not of contempt, that add nothing to his argument, and had been better spared. Yet, as one of his bitterest opponents has declared, "it was seldom that his thunder was heard, but the bolt was felt; and both were exercised on the side of truth and virtue."

In these, as in others of his controversial pieces, the reader may safely reckon upon much that is eloquent and impressive, apart from what immediately relates to the questions under debate. Among which may be specified the remarks on excommunication, the beautiful delineation of the conduct of our Lord, the passages distinguishing between conditions of salvation and meritorious conditions, and those in which he discriminates between the atonement contemplated as a fact, and as a doctrine, and thence infers the "peculiar glory of the Gospel in contradistinction from the law of Moses."

About this time* Mr Hall had a correspondence with a friend on a kindred subject, that of occasional communion. That individual, though a decided baptist, and long a member of a dissenting church, was in the habit of occasional communion with an episcopalian chapel in his neighbourhood, of which the minister held evangelical sentiments. Mr Hall expressed a desire to be acquainted with his reasons for this practice. In reply he informed Mr Hall that he thought those reasons flowed obviously from the principles for which he himself was so earnestly and successfully contending: that one of the highest enjoyments of a man who humbly hoped he constituted a part of the church universal, was to testify his feeling of brotherhood with other assemblies of orthodox Christians, than that with which he was immediately connected, by holding communion with them at convenient seasons: that in this respect, as the political grounds of dissent were of very little value in his esteem, he made no mental distinction between established and separate churches: that having no conscientious objection to kneeling at the sacrament, and having resolved never to communicate even occasionally but where he had reason to believe the bulk of those who partook of the sacrament were real Christians, he felt no hesitation as to the propriety, while he could speak decidedly as to the comfort, of the course he had pursued. He stated, farther, that with Richard Baxter he "disowned the principle of many who think their presence maketh them guilty of all that is faulty in the public worship and ministration: for this dissolveth all worshipping churches on earth, without exception;" that he considered Baxter's refutation of Dr. Owen's arguments against occasional communion as complete; and that he would rather err in the spirit of Baxter and Howe, on such a question, than be right according to the narrow measures by which too many would enforce a contrary practice. Mr Hall's reply, which is subjoined, exemplifies his usual manner of guarding against a misapprehension of the real extent of his agreement with another, upon any disputed point.

"*6th March*, 1818.

"My Dear Friend,

"I am much obliged to you for the frankness with which you have answered my inquiries. Perhaps I may not be quite prepared to go with you to the full extent of your moderation; though on this I have by no means made up my mind. I admire the spirit with which you are actuated, and esteem you more than ever for the part you have acted. I perfectly agree with you that *the old grounds* of dissent are the true ones, and that our recent apologists have mixed up too much of a political cast in their reasonings upon this subject. Though I should deprecate the founding of *any established* church, in the popular sense of that term, I think it very injudicious to lay that as the corner-stone of dissent. We have much stronger ground in the *specific* corruptions of the church of England, ground which our pious ancestors occupied, and which may safely defy every attempt of the most powerful and acute minds to subvert. With respect to occasional conformity, I by no means think it involves an abandonment of dissent; and I am inclined to think that, were I in a private station, (not a minister I mean), I should, under certain circumstances, and in certain situations, be disposed to practise it; though nothing would induce me to acknowledge myself a permanent member of the church of England.

"In regard to episcopacy, it appears to me entirely a human, though certainly a very early invention. It was unknown, I believe, in the apostolical times; with the exception, probably, of the latter part of John's time. But as it was practised in the second and third centuries, I should have no conscientious objection to it. As it subsists *at present* among us, I am sorry to say I can scarcely conceive a greater [abuse]. It subverts equally the rights of pastors and of people, and is nothing less than one of the worst relics of the papal hierarchy. Were every thing else what it ought to be in the established church, prelacy, as it now subsists, would make me a decided dissenter.

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"I remain, my dear sir, with great esteem,
"Yours, most affectionately,
"R. Hall."

Mr Hall's engagements for the press, numerous and heavy as they were, to one who wrote with so much difficulty and pain, did not draw him aside from pastoral watchfulness over his church and congregation; nor were they permitted to shorten those hours of retirement in which he sought "converse with God." Nothing, on the contrary, was more evident than his increased spirit of devotion as he advanced in life. About the year 1812, he commenced the practice of setting apart one day in a month for especial prayer and fasting. On these occasions he retired into his study immediately after the morning domestic worship, and remained there until the evening. Finding this eminently conducive to his own comfort, at the end of about two years he recommended the church to hold quarterly fasts. They at once adopted the recommendation; and some of the members often speak of the first meeting for this purpose, as a most extraordinary season of devout and solemn feeling.

About the same time, or somewhat earlier, he announced his opinion of the disadvantage arising from the presence of others besides the communicants on sacramental occasions. In a short address he explained the customs of the early Christians with regard to the Lord's Supper, and showed that the admission of spectators, who were not members of the church, during the celebration, was comparatively a modern innovation. He pointed out the inconclusiveness of the ordinary arguments,—that spectators often receive benefit from the addresses of the ministers, and that therefore their exclusion was cutting them off from good, and that such exclusion was an infringement of religious liberty. He also stated that the presence of such spectators deprived him of much comfort during the communion service, and that he should regard their keeping away as a personal kindness to himself. His address was received with affectionate respect; and from that time, those who had previously remained to witness the administration discontinued the custom.

Some time after the conclusion of his part of the controversy on "Terms of Communion," he made an effort to persuade the church at Harvey Lane to adopt the practice of "mixed communion;" but, finding that it would disturb the peace which had so long subsisted in the society, he relinquished his intention, and recommended the formation of a distinct church on the mixed communion principle, its sacramental service being held on the morning of the same sabbath on which the "strict communion" church held its corresponding service in the afternoon. This plan was adopted and followed during Mr Hall's continuance at Leicester, without causing any interruption of the harmony which prevailed among the different classes of worshippers.

In the year 1823, the minister of a Unitarian congregation at Leicester, having delivered a series of what are usually denominated "Challenge Lectures," in defence of his own opinions, to hear which individuals of other persuasions were publicly invited, Mr Hall felt it to be his duty to offer a timely antidote to the evil. He, therefore, preached twelve lectures on the points at issue, and had the happiness to know that they were serviceable in checking the diffusion of Socinian error. His concise outline of these lectures, as well as fuller notes of two or three, are inserted in the fifth volume. He was strongly urged by several members of his congregation, and by various neighbouring ministers, to publish the whole; but unfortunately replied, that though he believed they had been beneficial, he was conscious they contained nothing that could be regarded as really new in the controversy; and that Dr Wardlaw had so admirably occupied the ground in his sermons, already before the public, that any thing which he could offer in print would only be regarded as an impertinent intrusion.

Throughout the whole of Mr Hall's residence at Leicester, he suffered much from his constitutional complaint; and neither his habit of smoking, nor that of taking laudanum*, seemed effectually to alleviate his sufferings. It was truly surprising that this constant severe pain, and the means adopted

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*Nearly at this time, also, viz. in September, 1817, the faculty of Marischal College, Aberdeen, at the instance of their late learned principal, Dr W. L. Brown, conferred upon Mr Hall the degree of D. D. in testimony of their high admiration of his talents and character. He felt much gratified by this mark of their good opinion; but, having a conscientious objection to the title of Doctor of *Divinity*, he never adopted it.

* In 1812 he took from fifty to one hundred drops every night. Before 1826 the quantity had increased to one thousand drops.

to mitigate it, did not in any measure diminish his mental energy. A little difference was, perhaps, discernible in the vivacity of his conversation; but his preaching had, as yet, lost nothing of its force. In letters to his friends he expressed a hope that "a greater savour of Jesus Christ accompanied his ministry;" and remarked, that "his strain of preaching was much less elegant, but more intended for instruction, for awakening conviction, and carrying home truth with power to the heart." And thus it was found, that, as he advanced in years, though there might be a *little* less of elaboration and polish, there was more of spiritual feeling, more of tender and earnest expostulation, and of that pungency of application to the heart and conscience, which resulted from an enlarged acquaintance with human character, and a deeper knowledge of "the things of God." That the divine blessing accompanied these labours, and in many cases rendered the impression permanent, the history of the church and congregation abundantly proves.

The death of Dr Ryland in 1825 led to Mr Hall's invitation to take the pastoral office over the church at Broadmead, Bristol, an office which had been long and honourably sustained by that excellent individual. After some months spent in anxious deliberation, in advising with his friends, and seeking counsel from above, from the dread he felt lest he "should rush into a sphere of action to which he was not called, and offend God by deserting his proper post," he at length decided to dissolve his long and happy connexion with the church at Leicester. The day of separation, the last sacrament sabbath, March 26th 1826, was a day of anguish to him and them, of which I shall not attempt the description. Suffice it to say, that he went through the ordinary public duties of the day with tolerable composure[*]; but at the sacramental service he strove in vain to conceal his emotion. In one of his addresses to the members of the church, on adverting to the pain of separation, he was so much affected that he sat down, covered his face with his hands, and wept; they sharing in his distress, gave unequivocal signs of the deepest feeling. Mr Eustace Carey, who was present, continued the devotional part of the service, until Mr Hall was sufficiently recovered to proceed. At the close of the solemnity the weeping became again universal, and they parted "sorrowing most of all that they should see his face no more."

Very shortly afterwards the church received from Mr Hall the following letter of resignation:

"To the Church of Christ meeting in Harvey-Lane,
Leicester.

"*3d April*, 1826.

"My dear Brethren and Sisters,

"I take this opportunity of solemnly and affectionately resigning the pastoral charge which I have long sustained among you, and of expressing, at the same time, the deep sense I shall ever retain of the marks of affection and esteem, with which, both collectively and individually, you have honoured me.

"Though the providence of God has, as I conceive, called me to labour in another part of his vineyard, my solicitude for your spiritual welfare will ever remain unimpaired, nor will any thing give me more joy than to hear of your growth in grace, peace, and prosperity. My prayer will never cease to ascend to the God of all comfort, that he will establish your hearts in love, unite you more and more in the fellowship of saints, and make you fruitful in every good work.

"Let me earnestly intreat you to guard most anxiously against whatever may tend to weaken your union, diminish your affection, or embitter your spirits against each other. 'Let brotherly love continue:' 'Seek peace and pursue it:' and, 'may the God of peace, who brought again from the dead the Lord Jesus Christ, that Great Shepherd of the sheep, stablish, strengthen, settle, and make you perfect.'

"I hope that, in the choice of a successor, you will earnestly and anxiously seek divine direction; prefer the useful to the splendid; the solid to the glittering and showy; and be supplied with a pastor who will, in doctrine, exhibit 'uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity and sound speech which cannot be condemned,' and be in manner and behaviour a pattern to believers.

"Permit me, on this occasion, to return you my sincere acknowledgements for the uniform kindness with which you have treated me, the respectful attention you have paid to my ministry, and the candour with which you have borne my infirmities.

"With my most earnest prayers for your spiritual and eternal welfare, I remain,
"My dear brethren and sisters,
"Your obliged and affectionate friend and brother,
"Robert Hall."

Mr Hall was in his sixty-second year when he removed to Bristol, the scene of his first continuous labours, and now to become the scene of his closing ministry. Some of the friends of his early life still survived to welcome his return among them; and many others, who had profited by his pulpit exertions on his periodical visits to Bristol, congratulated themselves that he to whom, under God, they owed so much, had become their pastor. All things indeed, except his infirm state of health, seemed to conspire in promoting his own happiness as well as the prosperity of the church with which he had again connected himself.

The church and congregation soon received numerous accessions. In writing to a friend, early in 1829, he says, "I continue to be very happy with my people, from whom I daily receive every demonstration of affection and respect. Our attendance is as good as I could wish; and we have added to the *Baptist* church, during the last year, twenty-seven, and six are standing candidates for baptism. For these tokens of the divine presence I desire to be thankful."

His heavenly Father, during the concluding years of his life, made a rich provision for his social enjoyments, both in his family, and among his friends. Besides the comfort of frequent association with many of his own flock, his pleasures were greatly heightened by intercourse with Mr Foster, and the tutors of the Baptist Academy, as well as with several clergymen and other ministers, and laymen, residing in Bristol and its vicinity. It is true, that wherever he went, or in whatever he engaged, he carried with him the complaint from which he had suffered so much and so long. It had become, as his esteemed friend Mr Addington termed it, "an internal apparatus of torture;" yet, such was the peculiar structure of his mind, doubtless fortified and prepared for patient endurance by an energy imparted from above, that though his appointment by day and by night was incessant pain, yet high *enjoyment* was, notwithstanding, the law of his existence.

Between his final removal to Bristol, and his death, he visited his friends at Cambridge twice, namely, in 1827 and 1829. These visits were undertaken with the sense of responsibility of one who had formerly been their pastor: and he made it a rule so to arrange his time while there, as to see, converse with, and exhort every member of the church, and a great proportion of the congregation. He paid also one visit to his recently quitted flock at Leicester; and two to his friends in London. On these occasions the anxiety to hear him preach was as great as it had ever been; while his sermons were characterized in a high degree by the qualities that had long distinguished them,—with the addition of a stronger manifestation of religious and benevolent affections, a still more touching persuasiveness of manner, continued with an increasing intensity of feeling, with deeper and deeper solemnity of appeal; the entire effect being greatly augmented by the sudden introduction, just as the last sentence seemed dropping from his lips, of some new topic of application or of caution, most urgently pressed; as though he *could* not cease to invite, to warn, to expostulate, until the "Great Master of assemblies" vouchsafed to him the assurance that he had not been pleading his cause in vain[*].

Mr Hall's increasing infirmities did not extinguish his literary ardour, or abate his love of reading. Except during the first years of his residence at Cambridge, reading, and the thinking it called forth, were his incessant occupation to the very close of life; and both the pursuit, and its application to the benefit of others, yielded him the highest delight. In his early life, as I have already mentioned, it was common with him to carry on five or six different courses of study, simultaneously. But for the last ten or twelve years, he mostly confined himself to one book at a time, and read it to the end. His reading continued to be very extensive and varied, (for it was his decided opinion that every species of knowledge might be rendered subservient to religion), but his predilection, next to the Scriptures, was for works of clear, strong and conclusive reasoning, though conveyed in language far from elevated, and sometimes perhaps obscure. Thus he, for full sixty years, read Jonathan Edwards' writings with undiminished pleasure. And of Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," he has often been known to say, "It is just like reading a novel:" which indeed, was his usual expression of commendation, with regard to such works of a dry or abstract nature, as discovered subtilty, depth, or vigour of thought. In this class he placed the works of Jeremy Bentham, for whom he entertained the highest estimation, as an original, profound and accurate thinker; observing often, that in the particular province of his speculations, the science of legislation, he had advanced to the limits of reason; and that if *he* were compelled to legislate for the world upon uninspired principles, "he should take Bentham, and go from state to state with as firm a step as though he walked upon a pavement of adamant*".

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[*] In order that neither his feelings nor those of the congregation might be too severely tried, during the public services, he preached two sermons for the Baptist Mission:—That in the morning from Ephes. iii. 8 "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ:"—That in the evening, from Matt. vi. 10. "Thy Kingdom come."

[*] It was seldom that the friends who attempted to take down Mr Hall's sermons did not unconsciously relinquish writing as he approached the close.

If, at any time, he could not settle a point of interest without studying a language of which he was ignorant, that constituted no impediment. Shortly before he quitted Leicester, a friend found him one morning, very early, lying on the carpet, with an Italian dictionary and a volume of Dante, before him. Being about to quit the room, he said, "No, sir, don't go. I will tell you what I have been about for some weeks. A short time since I was greatly delighted with a parallel between the Paradise Lost, and the Divine Comedy of Dante, which I read in the Edinburgh Review. But in matters of taste, as well as others, I always like to judge for myself; and so I have been studying Italian. I have caught the idiom, and am reading Dante with great relish; though I cannot yet say, with Milton,

"'Now my task is smoothly done,
I can fly or I can run.'"

It may seem somewhat out of place, yet I shall be forgiven if I here insert an extract of a letter just received from Mr Ryley, one of Mr Hall's most intelligent Leicester friends, in reference to his course of reading there.

"It was what some men might think desultory; but it was essentially a constant habit of grappling with the strong. *Belles Lettres* he did not altogether neglect, though he held the average of such literature in small estimation. Poetry he seldom read, nor did he seem to me to have even studied it *con amore*. He thought Gray's Elegy the finest thing ever written. Milton was his favourite. There was something peculiar in his habits respecting poetry. He spoke slightly of poets, with few exceptions, and those few by no means what might have been expected from his own highly imaginative cast of mind. Yet, when he did get hold of an exquisite poem, he would read it with intense attention, apparently with the deepest interest, and then abuse it. With the exception of Milton, who is, in fact, an antique, he preferred the ancient to the modern poets. Of the poetry of our own day, he spoke with a contempt, which an accurate or extensive acquaintance with it, would have compelled him to relinquish. He had not, I think, made history a distinct and consecutive study, though he had read many of the original historians. He seemed to feel this of late years, and gave much of his time to the subject."

His enjoyment of the writings of the illustrious men of Greece and Rome, remained unimpaired to the last. Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, suggested to him many noble arguments in favour of an internal spring of morality, which he employed with his wonted skill in support of the religion of pure motive and devotedness of spirit. Virgil's Georgics he characterized as the most finished of human compositions; and he continued to prefer Virgil to Homer. He greatly admired the copiousness, grace, and harmony, of Cicero's diction; but considered Demosthenes by far the most powerful orator the world had known; and after speaking with fervid applause of the oration περι Στεφανου, added, that he thought it impossible for a man of soul and feeling to read a single page without catching fire. Only a few months before his last illness, in classifying the different natures and respective effects of the eloquence of reason, of passion and of imagination, he selected his principal illustrations from Demosthenes, and endeavoured to show that where the two former kinds of eloquence existed in due proportion, the third was of very minor consequence. The individual to whom he made these remarks was struck, as he proceeded, with the development which they supplied of the causes of the deep impression made by his own pulpit addresses; and imputed his more sparing use of imagery in later years, rather to the deliberate conviction of his mind, than to any diminution of the imaginative faculty.

But I must restrain myself, and pass to Mr Hall's everyday habits after his return to Bristol. The course of his life at home, when not interrupted by visitors, was very uniform. He generally rose and took his breakfast about nine o'clock. Breakfast was immediately succeeded by family worship. At this exercise he went regularly through the Scriptures, reading a portion of the Old Testament in the morning, and of the New Testament in the evening. On Sunday morning he almost invariably read the ninety-second Psalm, being short, and appropriate to the day. He also read in his family the translation of the four Gospels, by Campbell, whom he particularly admired, and often recommended, as an accurate translator, and a critic of great acuteness, taste and judgment. He seldom made any remarks on the portion of Scripture, except when strangers were present, who, he knew would be disappointed at their entire omission. He regarded himself as very incompetent to render this brief kind of exposition instructive. In the prayer that succeeded, he was not in the habit of forming his petitions on the passage of Scripture just read, though the prayer was usually of considerable length, and very minute in its appropriation. He adverted specifically to all the persons belonging to his family, present and absent; never forgot the people of his care; and dwelt on the distinct cases of members of the Church that were under any kind of trial or affliction.

After breakfast and worship, he retired into his study, and uniformly spent some time in devotion, afterwards generally reading a portion of the Hebrew Bible. For the two last years, he read daily two chapters of Matthew Henry's Commentary. As he proceeded he felt increasing interest and pleasure; admiring the copiousness, variety, and pious ingenuity of the thoughts; the simplicity, strength and pregnancy of the expressions. He earnestly recommended this commentary to his daughters; and on hearing the eldest reading, for successive mornings, to the second, he expressed the highest delight. The remainder of the morning until dinner, about three o'clock, was spent in reading some work of learning, or of severe thought. After dinner he generally retired to his study, and, if not in so much pain as to prevent it, slept for some time.

On Tuesday evenings are held what are termed "the conferences," in the vestry of the Broadmead chapel: they are meetings ordinarily attended by about two hundred persons, at which two of the students belonging to the Bristol Education Society, or one of the students and the president, speak on a passage of Scripture previously selected for the purpose. Mr Hall always attended on these occasions, and concluded by speaking for about a quarter of an hour, on the subject of the preceding address. He also attended the prayer meetings, in the same place, on Thursday evenings; except once a month, namely, on the Thursday previous to the administration of the Lord's Supper, when he preached.

The other evenings in the week, except Saturday, (and that, indeed, not always excepted), he usually spent at the house of one or other of his congregation, with a very few friends, who were invited to meet him. His inability to walk having greatly increased, his friends generally sent a carriage for him about six o'clock, and conveyed him back about ten.

It is difficult to say whether he had greater fondness for retirement or for company. It displeased him if, especially by sudden interruptions, he was obliged to give up his morning hours of study to visitors; and it would commonly have been a disappointment, if he had not the opportunity of spending his evenings in society. If he were, at any time, thrown among persons of distinguished talents and attainments, and their general character pleased him, it was soon shown how truth and knowledge might be educed by the operation of intellect upon intellect, and how rich a field of instruction and delight would thus be open for the general enjoyment of the party. Usually, however, his choice turned simply upon the prerequisite of piety; he sought for no other acquisitions in his associates than the graces of the Spirit; intelligence added to the enjoyment, but was not essential to it. The society of old friends had with him an exquisite charm, which was greatly heightened if their fathers had been known and esteemed by him or his father; such intercourse, requiring no effort, gave full scope to his affections, without disturbing his mental repose. He uniformly retired from these evening parties, full of grateful references to the pleasure which he had felt. If any of his family who accompanied him, happened to say that the evening had been dull, he would reply, "I don't think so. It was very pleasant. I enjoyed it. I enjoy every thing." Considering the continuity of his sufferings, how touching a commentary is this upon the inspired aphorism, "the good man shall be satisfied from himself!"

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* He always recommended those who were likely to be offended with the strangeness of Bentham's style, to study his principles through the medium of his elegant French commentator, M. Dumont.

Mr Hall commonly retired to rest a little before eleven o'clock; but, after his first sleep, which lasted about two hours, he quitted his bed to obtain an easier position on the floor, or upon three chairs; and would then employ himself in reading the book on which he had been engaged during the day. Sometimes, indeed, often, the laudanum, large as the doses had become, did not sufficiently neutralize his pain, to remove the necessity for again quitting his bed*. In these cases he would again put on the dress prepared to keep him adequately warm, and resume his reading. On Sunday mornings, as soon as he awoke, it was usual with him to say, "This is the Lord's day. This is the day the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it." And he often impressed it on his family, that they ought "not to think their own thoughts," or "to find their own pleasure," on that day.

He did not pursue any plan of training, or of discipline, with his children. He was remarkably affectionate and indulgent; but he did nothing systematically to correct defects, to guide or excite their minds. Now and then he recommended his daughters to read some particular book; one, perhaps, that he had himself read with peculiar satisfaction: but beyond this there do not appear to have been any direct, specific, endeavours to impart knowledge, or, in any uniform manner, to inculcate religious principles.

When, however, any of his children were about to quit home for a short time, it was his practice to summon them to his study, exhort them, and pray with them. One of his daughters on writing to a friend after his death, says, "Well I remember that, when I was a child, on leaving home for a few days, or on going to school, he would call me into the study, give me the tenderest advice, make me to kneel down by him at the same chair, and then, both bathed in tears, would he fervently supplicate the divine protection for me. This, I believe, he did with regard to all of us on leaving home, while young." Their minds were also often deeply impressed, by hearing him, as they passed his study door, commending them, by name, with the utmost fervency, to God, and entreating those blessings for each, which, in his judgment, each most needed†.

Periodical private fasts, such as those which he observed at Leicester, he continued to observe at Bristol, making them seasons of extraordinary self-examination, prayer, and renewed dedication to God. He was not in the habit of keeping a regular journal, nor, generally speaking, did he approve of it, from a persuasion that it tempted to an artificial tone of expression which did not accord with the actual state of the heart. But on some solemn occasions he made a short note, in one of his memorandum books, containing hints of texts, &c.

Thus: "New-years'-day, January first, 1826. I have begun the year with a sincere resolution, in the strength of divine grace, to devote myself wholly and entirely to God: but, knowing my extreme weakness and corruption, I dare place no dependence whatever on my own resolutions. I have, on many occasions, found them unstable as water. I can only cast myself on the mercy of my God, and cry, with the Psalmist, 'Hold Thou me up, and I shall be safe.' O Thou most holy and merciful Lord God, I beseech Thee to take up thine abode in my heart, and shape me entirely anew. Amen. Amen."

Again, on his birth-day 1828. "This day I commence my 64th [65th] year. What reason have I to look with shame and humiliation on so long a tract of years spent to so little purpose. Alas! I am ashamed of my barrenness and unprofitableness. Assist me, O Lord, by Thy grace, that I may spend the short residue of my days in a more entire devotion to Thy service. It is my purpose, in the strength of divine grace, to take a more minute inspection into the state of my heart, and the tenor of my actions, and to make such observations and memorandums as circumstances may suggest. But, to Thee, O Lord, do I look for all spiritual strength, to keep Thy way, and do Thy will."

Mr Hall still evinced a peculiar solicitude for the welfare of the poorer members of his flock, and greatly lamented his incapacity, from the loss of locomotive energy, to seek them out in their own habitations, and associate with them frequently, as he had done with the poor at Cambridge and Leicester. He publicly expressed his concern that some plan was not arranged for his meeting them in small parties at specified times, and assured them of the cordial readiness with which his part of such a plan should be executed. This, I believe, was not accomplished.

The indications of infirm age now rapidly exhibited themselves, but happily were unaccompanied by a decaying mind, or a querulous spirit. The language of his conduct, and of his heart, corresponded with that of the pious ancient, "Lord, give me patience now, and ease hereafter!" If tempests come they will not last long, but soon will be hushed into an eternal calm.

His inability to take exercise, on account of the gradual increase of his complaint, gave rise, about six years before his death, to another disorder, formidable in its nature, and fatal in its issue. The indications of a plethoric habit became more and more apparent. "Thus," adopting the language of Mr Addington, "the system of the blood-vessels had a laborious duty to perform in circulating their fluid, which, for want of the full aid of muscular exertion, could not be equally distributed. The smaller ones on the surface of the body, and in the extremities, never appeared to derive a sufficient quantity of blood to furnish the usual proportion of animal heat, while the large trunks in the interior became overloaded. The natural consequence was, that the heart, on whose power the propulsion of the blood to the extremities depends, being over stimulated and oppressed by the condition of the large vessels, became weakened; and, occasionally failing in the regular and equable transmission of the blood, would produce a sensation of distress in the region of the chest." The malady, thus produced, becoming more and more severe, Mr Hall, when in London in 1828, was persuaded by his friends to take the advice of an eminent physician: from which, however, no permanent good resulted. By the summer of 1830, the disorder had increased so seriously, that his medical friends at Bristol recommended a suspension of his pastoral duties for a few weeks, that he might try the effect of a total change of air and scene.

He therefore spent some time at Coleford, in the forest of Dean, in the society of his old and valued friend, the Rev. Isaiah Birt. He also spent a few weeks at Cheltenham. At both these places he preached with his accustomed talent; and his general appearance too clearly indicating that the close of his ministerial labours was at hand, gave a deeper impression to his instructions and exhortations. When absent from home he was in the habit of writing to his children. My narrow limits have prevented my giving extracts from any of those letters; but I am induced to insert part of one, written at this time to his son, who had been placed with a respectable chemist and druggist at Bristol, in the hope that it may be useful to other youths in similar circumstances.

"15*th October*, 1830.

"MY DEAR ROBERT,

"I have long desired to write to you, that I might communicate to you some hints of advice, which I could convey more easily, and, perhaps, more effectually, than by speaking.

"I need not tell you, my dear boy, how solicitous I am for your welfare in both worlds, and how often I have borne you on my heart in my secret addresses to that Father which is in Heaven. But alas! the prayers of parents for their children will avail nothing, if they are not induced to pray for themselves, 'for every one must give an account of *himself* to God.' I hope, my dear child, you do not live in the entire neglect of this most important duty: let me entreat you to attend to it constantly, and never to begin or end a day without it. Daily entreat the pardon of your sins, for the sake of the Redeemer, and earnestly implore the assistance of his grace, to enable you to resist temptation, and to live in such a manner as shall prepare you for a blessed immortality. Pray do not neglect, at the same time, to read a portion, longer or shorter, of the word of God. 'Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his ways, but by taking heed thereto according to thy word!'

"I hope, my dear Robert, you will continue in your present situation. On the supposition of your doing so (and I can do nothing better for you), let me entreat you to make it your constant care to conciliate the esteem of Mr C——, which you will certainly do, if you cheerfully comply with his orders, and make his interest your own. Nothing injures the character of a young man more than restlessness and fickleness; nothing, on the contrary, secures his credit and comfort like a steady and persevering attention to the duties of his station. Every situation has its inconveniences and its difficulties; but time and perseverance will surmount the one, and make you almost insensible of the other. The consciousness of having overcome difficulties, and combatted trials successfully, will afford you, in the issue, a far higher satisfaction than you can ever hope to obtain by recoiling from them.

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* For more than twenty years he had not been able to pass a whole night in bed. When this is borne in mind, it is truly surprising that he wrote and published so much; nay, that he did not sink into dotage before he was fifty years of age.

† His habit of oral, audible, private prayer, rested upon the conviction, that silent prayer was apt to degenerate into meditation, while, from our compound nature, a man cannot but be affected by the sound of his own voice, when adequately expressing what is really felt.

"Combat idleness in all its forms; nothing is so destructive as idle habits, nothing so useful as habits of industry.

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"Never demean yourself by contending about trifles; yield in things of small moment to the inclinations and humours of your companions. In a word, my dear boy, make yourself amiable.

"Fear God, and love your fellow-creatures, and be assured you will find 'Wisdom's ways, ways of pleasantness, and her paths, paths of peace.'

"To say all in one word, 'If you are wise, my heart shall rejoice, even mine.'

"I am your affectionate father,
"ROBERT HALL[*]."

On Mr Hall's return to Bristol towards the end of October, hopes were entertained that his health was improved, and his strength recruited; but they were only of short duration. The spasmodic affection of the chest occurred with increasing frequency, and in a more alarming character. In one instance, on the first of January 1831, the attack was so severe as to threaten immediate dissolution. It passed off, however, as former attacks had done, on taking blood from the arm; and soon afterwards he returned to spend the remainder of the evening with the friends whom he had left when the paroxysm came on; and in his usual cheerful and happy spirit took his ordinary share, and evinced an undiminished interest, in the conversation.

The morning of that day had been signalized by the extraordinary pathos which he imparted to the religious services, at a prayer meeting, held according to annual custom, in the vestry at Broadmead. The intensity of his devotional feelings, and the fervour of his supplications in behalf of the assembled congregation; as well as the glowing affection and deep solemnity with which he addressed them, as he reviewed the past dispensations of providence, and anticipated some of the probable events of the year now opening upon them, both in relation to them and himself, excited the strongest emotion, and, in connexion with the events that immediately followed, made an indelible impression upon their minds; nearly all his subsequent addresses, whether on the Sunday or the week-day evening services, partook, more or less, of the same pathetic and solemnly anticipatory character. One of the most impressive of these, of which many of the congregation retain a vivid recollection, was delivered on the morning of Sunday, January 16th. The text from which he preached was, Deuteronomy xxxiii. 25: "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days, so shall thy strength be."

In this discourse he seemed to be preparing his people and himself, for that event by which they were to be deprived of their invaluable pastor, and he to be freed from anguish and sorrow: when, his soul liberated from its chain, and clothed in the Redeemer's righteousness, was to go forth, "first into liberty, then into glory."

A highly valued correspondent[†], whose communications greatly enrich this volume, enables me to present the following summary of Mr Hall's application or improvement; which from its occasion as well as its excellence, cannot but be read with lively interest.

"Improvement. I. Take no thought, no anxious, distressing, harassing thought, for the morrow; suffer not your minds to be torn asunder by doubt or apprehension. Consider, rather, what is the *present* will of God, and rest satisfied and content; without anticipating evils which may never arrive.

"Do not heighten your present sorrows by a morbid imagination. You know not what a day may bring forth. The future is likely to be *better* than you expect, as well as worse. The real victory of Christians arises from *attention to present duty*. This carries them from strength to strength.

"Some are alarmed at the thought of death; they say, How shall I meet the agonies of dissolution? But when you are called to die, you will, if among God's children, receive dying consolation. Be satisfied if you have the strength to live to God, and God will support you when you come to die. Some fear persecution, lest at such a season, they should 'make shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience:' 'As thy day is, such shall thy strength be.'

"2. Consider to what it is we owe our success. If we are nearer our salvation than when we believed, let us not ascribe it to ourselves, to our own arm, but to the grace of God: 'Not I, but the grace of God with me,' enabling me to sustain, and to conquer. If we continue, it is, 'because we have obtained help of God:' we are '*kept* by his mighty power unto salvation.' In all our sufferings, if Christians, we are perpetually indebted to divine succour.

"3. Let us habitually look up to God, in the exercise of faith and prayer. Instead of yielding ourselves to dejection, let us plead the promises, and flee to the Divine Word. He has been accustomed to sustain the faithful: and He is 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' He is never weary: Look to him: 'They that wait on him shall mount up with eagles' wings; run, and not be weary; walk, and not faint.' Go to Him in prayer,—cling to His strength,—lay hold on His arm. You have a powerful Redeemer: 'be strong in the power of His might!' Draw down the succours of His grace, which will enable you to go on, 'from strength to strength,' until you appear before God in Zion."

The last service at Broadmead in which Mr Hall took any part, was the church meeting (when only the members of the church are assembled) on Wednesday the 9th of February. His closing prayer, on that occasion, is spoken of as most spiritual and elevated, exhibiting in its highest manifestation, the peculiar union of humility, benevolence and fervour, by which his devotional exercises had very long been characterized.

On the next evening, Thursday, the usual monthly sermon preparatory to the administration of the Lord's Supper, was to have been delivered; but Mr Hall's discharge of this duty was prevented, by a severe attack of the complaint in his chest, which came on just after he had retired to his study to prepare for that service. This was the commencement of the series of paroxysms which terminated in his dissolution.

"Early on the Sunday morning (I again quote one of the letters of my esteemed friend, Mr Addington) being requested to see him, I found him in a condition of extreme suffering and distress. The pain in his back had been uncommonly severe during the whole night, and compelled him to multiply, at very short intervals, the doses of his anodyne, until he had taken no less than 125 grains of solid opium, equal to more than 3,000 drops, or nearly four ounces of laudanum!! This was the only instance in which I had ever seen him at all overcome by the soporific quality of the medicine; and it was, even then, hard to determine whether the effect was owing so much to the quantity administered, as to the unusual circumstance of its not having proved, even for a short time, an effectual antagonist to the pain it was expected to relieve.

"Inured as he was to the endurance of pain, and unaccustomed to any strong expression of complaint, he was forced to confess that his present agony was unparalleled by any thing in his former experience. The opium having failed to assuage his pain, he was compelled to remain in the horizontal posture; but whilst in this situation, a violent attack in his chest took place, which, in its turn, rendered an upright position of the body no less indispensable. The struggle that ensued, between these opposing and alike urgent demands, became most appalling, and it was difficult to imagine that he could survive it; especially, as from the extreme prostration of vital energy, the remedy by which the latter of those affections had often been mitigated, viz. bleeding, could not be resorted to. Powerful stimulants, such as brandy, opium, ether, and ammonia, were the only resources; and, in about an hour from my arrival, we had the satisfaction of finding him greatly relieved and expressing his lively gratitude to God.

"The whole of his demeanour throughout this agonizing crisis, as well as during the remainder of the day, a day of much suffering, exhibited, in a striking degree, the efficacy of Christian faith and hope, in supporting and tranquillizing the mind of their possessor, in a season of extreme and torturing affliction. His language abounded with expressions at once of the deepest humility and of thankfulness to God for his 'unspeakable mercies,'—together with affectionate acknowledgements of the care and assiduities of his family and the friends around him."

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[*] The youth to whom this letter was addressed went abroad soon after the decease of his father, and intelligence of his death has been received since these sheets were prepared for the press.

[†] The Rev. Thomas Grinfield, A. M., of Clifton, near Bristol.

From this time the paroxysms increased rapidly both in frequency and severity; and Mr Hall, in the intervals between their occurrence, was usually so weak and exhausted, as seldom to be able to converse with those around him. His expressions, however, insulated and broken as they often were, proved that he was able fully to exercise that trust in God which is the grand principle of religion, and that thus trusting in him, his soul was kept in peace. No murmuring, no language of irritability, escaped from his lips.

It is not my intention to dwell upon the melancholy detail of the ten days previous to his death. I will only record a few such expressions as serve to show that, acute as were his sufferings, God left him not without support.

Thus, when he first announced his apprehension that he should never again minister among his people, he immediately added, "But, I am in God's hands, and I rejoice that I am. I am God's creature, at his disposal, for life or death; and that is a great mercy."

Again, "I have not one anxious thought, either for life or death. What I dread most are dark days. But I have had none yet: and I hope I shall not have any."

Again, "I fear pain more than death. If I could die easily, I think I would rather go than stay; for I have seen enough of the world, and I have a humble hope."

On another occasion, a friend having said to him, "This God will be our God;" he replied, "Yes, he will,—he will be our guide even unto death."

On recovering from one of his severe paroxysms, he adverted to the affectionate attentions of his beloved wife and daughters, as well as his numerous comforts, and exclaimed —"What a mercy it is to have so many alleviations! I might have been deprived of all these comforts;—I might have been in poverty;—I might have been the most abject wretch on the face of the earth."

During one night, in which the attacks were a little mitigated in number and severity, he frequently expressed the most lively gratitude to God, as well as his simple, unshaken reliance on his Saviour; and repeated nearly the whole of Robinson's beautiful hymn.

> "Come, thou Fount of every blessing!
> Tune my heart to sing thy grace;
> Streams of mercy never ceasing,
> Call for songs of endless praise!" &c.

The same night, under one of the paroxysms, he said to the friend who was with him, "Why should a living man complain? a man for the punishment of his sins? I have not complained, have I, sir!—and I won't complain."

When Dr Prichard was invited to join Mr Chandler and Mr Addington in consultation, on his arrival Mr Hall arose and received him so much in his wonted, cordial, courteous manner, as, at the first moment, almost to check the apprehension of danger. On the evening of the same day he expatiated on the mercy of God in bringing him to close his life at Bristol.

His prevailing kindness was evinced throughout, in his solicitude for the comfort of those who sat up with him at night, or who remained in the house, to be called to his assistance, if necessary. He also exhorted the members of his family, and others occasionally present, to make religion the chief, the incessant concern; urging especially upon some of the young among his friends, the duty of openly professing their attachment to Christ and his cause.

When he was a little recovered from one of his severe paroxysms, "I asked him (says Mr Chandler) whether he felt much pain. He replied that his sufferings were great: 'but what (he added) are my sufferings to the sufferings of Christ? his sufferings were infinitely greater: his sufferings were complicated: God has been very merciful to me—very merciful: I am a poor creature—an unworthy creature; but God has been very kind—very merciful.' He then alluded to the character of the sufferings of crucifixion, remarking how intense and insufferable they must have been, and asked many minute questions on what I might suppose was the process by which crucifixion brought about death. He particularly inquired respecting the effect of pain—the nervous irritation—the thirst—the oppression of breathing—the disturbance of the circulation—and the hurried action of the heart, till the conversation gradually brought him to a consideration of his own distress; when he again reverted to the lightness of his sufferings when contrasted with those of Christ. He spoke of our Lord's 'enduring the contradiction of sinners against himself'—of the ingratitude and unkindness he received from those for whom he went about doing good—of the combination of the mental and corporeal agonies sustained on the cross—the length of time during which our Lord hung—the exhaustion occasioned, &c. He then remarked how differently he had been situated; that though he had endured as much or more than fell to the lot of most men, yet all had been in mercy. I here remarked to him, that with most persons the days of ease and comfort were far more numerous than those of pain and sorrow. He replied, 'But I have been a great sufferer in my time: it is, however, generally true: the dispensations of God have been merciful to me.' He then observed, that a contemplation of the sufferings of Christ was the best antidote against impatience under any troubles we might experience; and recommended me to reflect much on this subject when in pain or distress, or in expectation of death*.

"During the whole of this severe illness, he read much in Campbell's translation of the Gospels; and, at intervals, one of his daughters read to him, from this version, his favourite to the last. On the morning of the 21st, the day on which he died, he had it laid before him, as usual, and read it himself in his ordinary recumbent attitude.

Mrs Hall, in the course of this morning, remarking to him that he appeared better, and expressing her hopes that he would recover, he replied, "Ah! my dear, let us *hope* for the best, and *prepare* for the worst." He then stated his opinion that this day would be critical. When his medical attendants met in consultation, a little after noon, he seemed rather better; and Mr Chandler left him, between one and two, reclining on the sofa, leaning on his elbow with as much muscular energy as ever.

"Before leaving him (he remarks) I explained to him the plan of proceeding to be observed; on which he bowed, saying, that whatever we wished he would comply with, he would do whatever we desired; begging that he might not interfere with my duties to other patients, and adding that he thought he should be very comfortable till my return.

"In a very short time, and before I had reached home, I was summoned to behold the last agonizing scene of this great and extraordinary man. His difficulty of breathing had suddenly increased to a dreadful and final paroxysm. It seems this last paroxysm came on more gradually than was usual with those which preceded. Mr Hall finding his breathing becoming much worse, first rose more on his elbow, then raised his body, supporting himself with his hand, till the increasing agitation obliged him to rise completely on the sofa, and to place his feet in hot water—the usual means he resorted to for relief in every paroxysm. Mrs Hall, observing a fixation of his eyes, and an unusual expression on his countenance, and indeed in his whole manner, became alarmed by the sudden impression that he was dying; and exclaimed in great agitation, 'This can't be dying!' when he replied, 'It is death—it is death—death! Oh the sufferings of this body!' Mrs Hall then asking him, 'But are you comfortable in your mind?' he immediately answered, 'Very comfortable—very comfortable:' and exclaimed, 'Come, Lord Jesus —come.'——He then hesitated, as if incapable of bringing out the last word; and one of his daughters, involuntary as it were, anticipated him by saying, 'quickly!' on which her departing father gave her a look expressive of the most complacent delight.

"On entering his room I found him sitting on the sofa, surrounded by his lamenting family; with one foot in the hot water and the other spasmodically grasping the edge of the bath; his frame waving in violent, almost convulsive heavings, sufficiently indicative of the process of dissolution. I hastened, though despairingly, to administer such stimulants as might possibly avert the threatening termination of life; and as I sat by his side for this purpose he threw his arm over my shoulders for support, with a look of evident satisfaction that I was near him. He said to me, 'I am dying: death is come at last: all will now be useless.' As I pressed upon him draughts of stimulants, he intimated that he would take them if I wished; but he believed all was useless. On my asking him if he suffered much, he replied, 'dreadfully.' The rapidly increasing gasping soon overpowered his ability to swallow, or to speak, except in monosyllables, few in number, which I could not collect; but, whatever might be the degree of his suffering (and great it must have been), there was no failure of his mental vigour or composure. Indeed, so perfect was his consciousness, that in the midst of these last agonies he intimated to me very shortly before the close, with his accustomed courteousness, a fear lest he should fatigue me by his pressure; and when his family, one after another, gave way in despair, he followed them with sympathizing looks, as they were obliged to be conveyed from the room. This was his last voluntary movement; for immediately a general convulsion seized him, and he quickly expired."

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* Chandler's Authentic Account, p. 23.

O! how inconceivably blest is the change, when, at the moment of utmost agony, the soul enters the regions of endless joy; passes from the land of the dying to the land of the living; from the society of saints to the blissful presence of the King of Saints, where knowledge, illumination, purity and love, flow for ever and ever from the Inexhaustible Fountain! Such is the ineffable reward which awaits all the faithful followers of the Lamb. "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory."

Nothing, I feel, would be more presumptuous than for me to attempt to portray fully the literary, intellectual, or religious character of my inestimable friend. I have known, and still know, many whom I greatly value, many whom I cordially love and admire, many from whom I have learnt much and might have learnt more, but from my incapacity to receive what they were ready to impart; but I have known none in whom so many elements of mental and moral greatness were so happily combined as in Mr Hall; none whose converse and whose diversified knowledge have so constantly interested, charmed and instructed me; none whose transcendent qualities excited so high and overawing a veneration, yet none whose humility and cordiality, exquisitely blending with genius and piety, inspired so unhesitating a confidence. His profound acquaintance with the mind and heart, and his corresponding faculty of tracing and separating the springs of human action, gave him an unusual influence with the present race as a sacred orator: while he seems to be one of the few men whose creative intellect, and whose singular ability in the development of religious truth, and the illustration and confirmation of many principles of universal and increasing interest, qualify them to operate with as extensive an influence in moulding the intellectual and moral character of succeeding generations.

His varied and extraordinary powers, thus diffusively applied to the most momentous subjects, will be seen from his "Works," which are now collected, that they may constitute his noblest monument, the most enduring tribute to his memory.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—(See page 14).

MISCELLANEOUS GLEANINGS FROM MR HALL'S CONVERSATIONAL REMARKS.

I am perfectly well aware that no memoranda can convey an adequate idea of the vivacity, originality and brilliancy, of Mr Hall's conversational powers. It was usually easy to remember the sentiments which he expressed, and sometimes the images, whether sportive or tasteful, by which he illustrated them; but the beautiful language in which his remarks in conversation were clothed, could seldom be recalled, except when he fully communicated his meaning in a very short, but happily turned phrase.

This note, therefore, while it may serve to record some of his sentiments and opinions on interesting topics, must be understood as giving a very faint notion of his manner of expressing himself, except in those cases where the language, at once brief, clear and characteristic, fixed itself indelibly upon the memory.

The connected series, first presented, has been kindly transmitted by the Rev. Robert Balmer, of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and is selected from his recollections of the substance of three or four conversations which he had with Mr Hall in the years 1819 and 1823.

In the course of some remarks on various theological writers of our own times, he said, "Dr Smith is the best Biblical critic with whom I am personally acquainted; and I should think him one of the most learned theologians now alive." On my asking, If he did not consider Archbishop Magee superior in ability, and equal in learning, to Dr Smith? he replied, with his usual decision, "Not nearly equal in learning, sir; I do not suppose that Archbishop Magee knows any thing about the German critics, with whom Dr Smith is intimately acquainted, and from whom, notwithstanding all their absurdity and impiety, much may unquestionably be learned. There is one thing," he added, "in Dr Smith's work, much to be lamented; and that is, the tone of excessive lenity maintained towards his opponents. In consequence of this, his reasonings will not produce an effect proportioned to their intrinsic force; and his readers are tempted to regard the opinions which he refutes with far less horror than they deserve. The proper tone in theological controversy is, I imagine, somewhere between Bishop Horsley's intolerable arrogance and asperity, and Dr Smith's unwarrantable softness and urbanity."

On informing him, that I had been perplexed with doubts as to the extent of the death of Christ, and expressing a wish to know his opinion, he replied, "There, sir, my sentiments give me the advantage of you; for on that point I entertain no doubts whatever: I believe firmly in 'general redemption;' I often preach it, and I consider the fact that 'Christ died for all men' as the only basis that can support the universal offer of the Gospel."—"But you admit the doctrine of election, which necessarily implies limitation. Do you not think that election and particular redemption are inseparably connected?"—"I believe firmly," he rejoined, "in election, but I do not think it involves particular redemption; I consider the sacrifice of Christ as a remedy, not only adapted, but intended for all, and as placing all in a salvable state; as removing all barriers to their salvation, except such as arise from their own perversity and depravity. But God foresaw or knew that none would accept the remedy, merely of themselves, and therefore, by what may be regarded as a separate arrangement, he resolved to glorify his mercy, by effectually applying salvation to a certain number of our race, through the agency of his Holy Spirit. I apprehend, then, that the limiting clause implied in election, refers not to the purchase but to the application of redemption." This representation seemed to me, at the time, to be encumbered with considerable difficulties; and I was not sure that I correctly apprehended it. Not choosing, however, to request Mr H. to repeat or elucidate his statements, I asked him if he could refer me to any book where I should find what he regarded as the Scripture doctrine on the subject, stated and illustrated. He referred me to a book to which Dr Smith, of Homerton, had, not many days before, referred me, in answer to a similar question; "Bellamy's True Religion Delineated."

In the course of our conversation respecting the extent of Christ's death, Mr Hall expatiated at considerable length on the number and variety of the Scripture expressions, in which it seems to be either explicitly asserted or necessarily implied, that it was intended not for the elect exclusively, but for mankind generally, such as, "the world," "all," "all men," "every man," &c. He made some striking remarks on the danger of twisting such expressions from their natural and obvious import, and on the absurdity of the interpretations put on them by some of the advocates of particular redemption. He mentioned, especially, the absurdity of explaining "the world," John iii. 16, to signify the elect world, as the text would then teach that some of the elect may not believe. He noticed farther, that the doctrine of general redemption was not only asserted expressly in many texts, but presupposed in others, such as "Destroy not with thy meat," &c. and "Denying the Lord that bought them;" and that it was incorporated with other parts of the Christian system, particularly with the universal offers and invitation of the Gospel.

On the question of church government, Mr H.'s sentiments seemed to me undecided and somewhat inconsistent; and by many they would have been regarded as latitudinarian. He expressed his doubts whether any one form or model was delineated in the New Testament, as obligatory in all ages and in all circumstances; and said, that he was much disposed to adopt the maxim, "Whatever is best administered is best." In another conversation, when mention was made of a church, which, along with its minister, had been guilty of a scandalous irregularity in a matter of discipline, I stated what would be done in such circumstances among Presbyterians, and put the question, Will the neighbouring churches and ministers not interfere? Mr H. intimated that they ought to remonstrate and advise; but that any claim to jurisdiction would, in his apprehension, be altogether unwarrantable; adding that the independence of churches appeared to him a principle expressly sanctioned by the word of God.

With regard to the question of "Terms of Communion," we had repeated conversations. On this subject he spoke with uncommon interest and animation; and seemed surprised at the arguments of those who were opposed to his views. I recollect, in particular, the effect produced on him, when I stated that I had heard Dr Lawson, of Selkirk, declare, that he would not admit a Roman Catholic, not even Fenelon or Pascal, to the table of the Lord: Mr H., who had been previously reclining on three chairs, instantly raised himself on his elbow, and spoke without intermission and with great rapidity for nearly a quarter of an hour; expatiating on the amazing absurdity and presumption of rejecting those whom Christ receives, and of refusing to hold communion on earth with those with whom we hope to associate in heaven. During all this time his manner was exceedingly vehement, his other arm was in continual motion, and his eyes, naturally most piercing, were lighted up with unusual brilliancy.

It was interesting and amusing to observe how Mr Hall's exquisite sensibility to literary beauty, intermingled with, and qualified the operation of his principles and leanings, both as a Christian and Dissenter. Of this, I recollect various instances; but shall give only one. While conversing respecting Archbishop Magee, his talents, sentiments, conduct, &c., I quoted, as a proof of his high church principles, a remark from a charge then newly published: it was to this effect: That the Roman Catholics have a church without a religion; the Dissenters have a religion without a church; but the establishment has both a church and a religion. Mr Hall had not heard the remark before, and was exceedingly struck with it. "That, sir," he exclaimed, smiling, "is a beautiful saying. I have not heard so fine an "observation for a long time. It is admirable, sir." You admire it, I presume, for its point, not for its truth. *H.* "I admire it, sir, for its plausibility and cleverness. It is false, and yet it seems to contain a mass of truth. It is an excellent stone for a churchman to pelt with."

After speaking of Antinomians, of whom it appeared there were then several in the neighbourhood of Leicester: "Pray, sir," said he, "have you got any Antinomians in Scotland?" None, I replied, who avow themselves such. There are individuals in the congregations who have what I consider a morbid aversion to practical preaching, and to a minute enforcement of duty; but almost all our people who know and care any thing about religion, will tell you that, although the believer is delivered from the law as a covenant of works, he is subject to it as a rule of life. "That," said Mr H. "is precisely what I expected. Your ministers and your people have too much information to be ensnared by such impieties. Antinomianism is a monster which can live only in darkness; bring light on it and it expires."

The following opinions were expressed by Mr H. respecting various writers in theology. I give them in the form of dialogue, inserting, of course, such questions and remarks of my own as led to his observations. Let it be remembered at the same time, that they are only fragments, as, in many instances, I do not now recollect more than a third or fourth part of what was said.

B. May I ask, sir, what writers you would most recommend to a young minister. *H.* "Why, sir, I feel very incompetent to give directions on that head; I can only say that I have learned far more from John Howe, than from any other author I ever read. There is an astonishing magnificence in his conceptions. He had not the same perception of the beautiful, as of the sublime; and hence his endless subdivisions." *B.* That was the fault of his age. *H.* "In part, sir; but he has more of it than many of the writers of that period, than Barrow, for example, who was somewhat earlier. There was, I think, an innate inaptitude in Howe's mind for discerning minute graces and proprieties, and hence his sentences are often long and cumbersome. Still he was unquestionably the greatest of the puritan divines."

After adverting to several of Howe's works, Mr H. said, in reference to his 'Blessedness of the Righteous:' "Perhaps, Baxter's 'Saint's Rest' is fitted to make a deeper impression on the majority of readers. Baxter enforces a particular idea with extraordinary clearness, force and earnestness. His appeals to the conscience are irresistible. Howe, again, is distinguished by calmness, self-possession, majesty and comprehensiveness; and for my own part, I decidedly prefer him to Baxter. I admire, exceedingly, his 'Living Temple,' his sermon on the 'Redeemer's Tears,' &c.: but, in my opinion, the best thing he ever wrote, is his defence of the sincerity of the Gospel offer. I refer to the treatise, called, the 'Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men, with his Counsels, Exhortations, and whatever other means he used to prevent them.' This I regard as the most profound, the most philosophical, and the most valuable of all Howe's writings."

B. 'Do you think highly of Dr Owen?' *H.* "No, sir, by no means. "Have *you* read much of Owen, sir; do you admire him?" *B.* 'I have read his Preliminary Exercitations to his great work on the Hebrews; his exposition of particular verses here and there; his book on church government; and some of his smaller treatises. I do not greatly admire him, nor have I learned much from him.' *H.* "You astonish me, sir, by your patience. You have accomplished a Herculean undertaking in reading Owen's Preliminary Exercitations. To me he is intolerably heavy and prolix." *B.* 'I do think, sir, there are many valuable ideas in his writings; but as a reasoner, he seems to me singularly illogical; for he often takes for granted the thing to be proved,' *H.* "I quite concur with the latter part of your statement. As a reasoner, Dr Owen is most illogical, for he almost always takes for granted what he ought to prove; while he is always proving what he ought to take for granted; and after a long digression, he concludes very properly with, 'This is not our concernment,' and returns to enter on something still farther from the point."

I remarked that Jonathan Edwards' theory was opposed to our consciousness and our indestructible feelings; for whenever we blamed ourselves for having acted wrong, we had an irresistible belief, not only that we could have acted otherwise, if we had chosen, but that we could have willed otherwise. To all this, Mr H. readily assented, adding some remarks respecting two of Edwards' distinctions: the distinction between liberty to will, and liberty to act according to our own will; and that between natural and moral necessity. Respecting the one of these, (I do not precisely remember which), Mr H. made the following ludicrous but characteristic observations.

"That distinction, sir, lies at the basis of Edwards' theory; but it is not original. It is to be found in the works of Dr Owen: I think it certain that Edwards found it there, buried, like the rest of Owen's ideas, amid a heap of rubbish: and finding it there, he did what Owen had not strength of arm to do, took a firm grasp of it, and dragged it into light. It proved a monster, and ought to have been smothered; but Edwards found it would be useful to frighten the enemies of divine sovereignity and free grace, and, therefore, instead of smothering it, he nursed it."

Mr Hall made some inquiry respecting Dr Henry, the historian, once a minister in Berwick, and afterwards colleague of Dr Macnight, the commentator, in one of the churches in Edinburgh: I informed him, that from all I have ever heard, I believed Dr Henry must have been a very dry and uninteresting preacher This led to a reference to the well-known anecdote relative to these two individuals; according to which, the one when coming to church on a Sabbath morning, having got his clothes wet by a heavy rain, asked his colleague to officiate for him. "Go into the pulpit," said the other, "and you will be dry enough." Some doubt being expressed which of the two it was, to whom this remark was made, Mr Hall observed; "I suppose, sir, it was applicable to both." Immediately checking himself, he added, "And yet, I should think, that to an intellectual audience, an audience that had any relish for Scripture exposition, Macnight must have been interesting, if the discourses which he preached resembled his published writings." 'Pray, sir,' I said, 'do you admire Macnight as a commentator?' "Yes, sir," he replied, "I do, very much; I think it would be exceedingly difficult, indeed, to come after him in expounding the apostolic epistles. I admit, at the same time, that he has grievous deficiencies: there is a lamentable want of spirituality and elevation about him. He never sets his foot on the other world if he can get a hole to step into in this; and he never gives a passage a meaning which would render it applicable and useful in all ages, if he can find in it any local or temporary allusion. He makes fearful havoc, sir, of the text on which you preached to-day. His exposition of it is inimitably absurd." The text referred to was Ephesians i. 8. "Wherein he hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence;" and the "wisdom and prudence" are explained by Macnight, not of the wisdom of God, as displayed in the scheme of redemption, but of the wisdom and prudence granted to the apostles to enable them to discharge their office.

Mr Hall repeatedly referred to Dr ——, and always in high admiration of his general character. The following are some remarks, respecting that extraordinary individual. "Pray, sir, did you ever know any man who had that singular faculty of repetition possessed by Dr —? Why, sir, he often reiterates the same thing ten or twelve times, in the course of a few pages. Even Burke himself had not so much of that peculiarity. His mind resembles that optical instrument lately invented; what do you call it!" *B.* 'You mean, I presume, the kaleidoscope.' *H.* "Yes, sir, it is just as if thrown into a kaleidoscope. Every turn presents the object in a new and beautiful form; but the object presented is still the same. Have you not been struck, sir, with the degree in which Dr —— possesses this faculty!" 'Do you not think, sir,' I replied, 'that he has either far too much of this faculty, or that he indulges it to a faulty excess!' *H.* "Yes, sir, certainly; his mind seems to move on hinges, not on wheels. There is incessant motion, but no progress. When he was at Leicester, he preached a most admirable sermon, on the necessity of immediate repentance; but there were only two ideas in it, and on these his mind revolved as on a pivot."

On metaphysics and moral philosophy, we talked at great length; but I cannot now give a tolerable specimen of his acute and eloquent remarks. One of his observations, however, I do remember, which struck me at the time, as exceedingly just and happy. Much had been said respecting the utility or inutility of metaphysical studies, and respecting the fact that they as yet had led to no useful discoveries. I made some such remark as this, that admitting such studies did not terminate in profitable discoveries, still they were advantageous as a field for cultivating and invigorating the mental powers. Mr H. said, "An *arena*, not a *field*. Metaphysics yield no fruit. They are not a field, they are only an arena, to which a man who has got nothing to do, may go down sometimes, and try his skill in intellectual gladiatorship. This, at present, is their chief recommendation."

Of the literary characters respecting whom we conversed, there was none whom he praised so highly as his friend sir James Mackintosh, and the following fragments will convey some idea of Mr Hall's estimate of that distinguished and lamented person. "I know no man," he said repeatedly and emphatically, "equal to Sir James in talents. The powers of his mind are admirably balanced. He is defective only in imagination." At this last statement, I expressed my surprise, remarking that I never could have suspected that the author of the eloquent oration for Peltier was deficient in fancy. "Well, sir," said Mr H. "I don't wonder at your remark. The truth is, he has imagination, too; but, with him, imagination is an acquisition rather than a faculty. He has, however, plenty of embellishment at command; for his memory retains every thing. His mind is a spacious repository, hung round with beautiful images, and when he wants one he has nothing to do but reach up his hand to a peg, and take it down. But his images were not manufactured in his mind; they were imported." *B.* 'If he be so defective in imagination, he must be incompetent to describe scenes and delineate characters vividly and graphically; and I should apprehend, therefore, he will not succeed in writing history.' *H.* "Sir, I do not expect him to produce an eloquent or interesting history. He has, I fear, mistaken his province. His genius is best adapted for metaphysical speculation; but, had he chosen moral philosophy, he would probably have surpassed every living writer." *B.* 'I admired exceedingly some of his philosophical papers in the Edinburgh Review, his articles, for instance, on Madame de Stael's Germany, and on Dugald Stewart's Preliminary Dissertation; but there seemed to me a heaviness about them, and I do think that Mr Jeffrey could expound a metaphysical theory with more vivacity and effect.' *H.* "With more vivacity, perhaps, but not with equal judgment or acuteness. He would not go so deep, sir; I am persuaded that if Sir James Mackintosh had enjoyed leasure, and had exerted himself, he would have completely outdone Jeffrey and Stewart, and all the metaphysical writers of our times."

Of Dugald Stewart Mr H. spoke slightingly; and it seemed to me that he was somewhat prejudiced against that amiable and accomplished philosopher, in consequence of unfavourable reports which had reached him respecting Mr Stewart's religious sentiments. "He is," said Mr H. "a pleasing, but a feeble writer. I would never compare him with any of our great metaphysicians; with Malebranche, or Locke, or Berkeley, or even with Tucker. Read had a more vigorous and original mind than Stewart; and Campbell, I suspect, was superior to both. If Campbell had devoted his attention to mental philosophy, he could have done all that Read or Sewart has accomplished; but neither of them could have written the 'Preliminary Dissertations' to his work on the Gospels. There is also too much egotism and parade about Dugald Stewart. He is always polishing away at the corner of a subject; but he could not rear a system of his own."

This comparison Mr Hall followed out at considerable length, and in language exceedingly beautiful and magnificent; which, however, I cannot now recall. With regard to Stewart's style, Mr H. observed, "That it was unquestionably one of the finest philosophical styles that ever was written; that Mr S. had carried embellishment farther into the region of metaphysics than any author that had preceded him; and that his embellishment was invariably consistent with perfect sobriety of taste."

Of Dr Thomas Brown, Mr Hall observed, "That he was a man of more genius, but less judgment, than his predecessor; that his style, with all its beauties, was far inferior to Stewart's, as a vehicle for philosophical speculation; that it was deficient in clearness and precision; and so exceedingly diffuse, that all that was valuable in the four volumes of his lectures might be condensed into one." I remarked that Dr Brown was often the victim of his own ingenuity; that, in point of candour, he was immeasurably inferior to Stewart; that the former would never agree with any writer, if he could possibly differ from him, and that the latter would never differ from any one, if he could possibly agree with him. Mr H. acquiesced in substance in these remarks, and proceeded to comment on Dr B.'s amazing boldness and originality. He characterized briefly several of his lectures, stating that those which had most deeply interested him, and which he thought among the best, were the 'Lectures on Immateriality and the Immutability of the Soul.'

Mr H. mentioned that he had read a considerable portion of Kant's works. On my remarking that I knew nothing of that philosopher, except from Dr Thomas Brown's article upon him, in an early number of the Edinburgh Review, and from Madame de Stael's book on Germany; that I should suppose his writings to be utterly unintelligible and uninteresting; Mr H. replied, "It is certainly no great loss to be ignorant of Kant's works. His philosophy is a system of scepticism." In answer to his question, "whether I had read much of Madame de Stael's works," I informed him that I had read her "Remarks on Rousseau," one of her novels, and her book on Germany. *H.* "Did you read her book on Germany from beginning to end!" *B.* "I did." *H.* "I admire your patience more and more, sir." He added that he had looked into Madame de Stael's Germany; that on finding some philosopher, a well-known idealist, (I cannot at this moment recollect who it was), spoken of as an opponent of the ideal theory, he had thrown aside the book in disgust; supposing that very little could be learned from a writer so ill informed as to be capable of such a blunder. He seemed very reluctant to allow that many of her remarks were acute and ingenious; and when something was said about the flights of her fancy, he said, "that, for his part, he could not admire her flights, for to him she was generally invisible; not because she ascended to a great height above the earth, but because she invariably selected a foggy atmosphere."

To the preceding selections from Mr Balmer's communication, may be added a few of Mr Hall's Remarks, rapidly thrown off on various occasions, taken from the letters of different friends.

On the return of the Bourbons to France, in 1814, a gentleman called upon Mr Hall, in the expectation that he would express himself in terms of the utmost delight on account of that signal event. Mr Hall said, "I am sorry for it, sir. The cause of knowledge, science, freedoom and pure religion, on the Continent, will be thrown back half a century; the intrigues of the Jesuits will be revived; and Popery will be resumed in France with all its mummery, but with no power, except the power of persecution." This opinion was expressed about six weeks before the issuing of the Pope's bull for the revival of the order of the Jesuits in Europe, 7th August 1814.

A few years afterwards, Mr Hall, on an allusion being made to the battle of Waterloo, remarked, "I have scarcely thought of the unfulfilled prophecies, since that event. It overturned all the interpretations which had been previously advanced by those who had been thought sound theologians, and gave new energy to the Pope and the Jesuits, both of whom seemed rapidly coming to nothing, as the predictions seemed to teach. That battle, and its results, seemed to me to put back the clock of the world six degrees."

Notwithstanding his decided sentiments as a whig and a reformer, he manifested through life a reverence for ancient institutions, rank, and illustrious descent. He was present in Westminster Abbey at Handel's Commemoration, and saw the King (George III.) stand up in one part of the performance of the Messiah, shedding tears. Nothing, he said, had ever affected him more strongely. "It seemed like a great act of national assent to the fundamental truths of religion." He was most acurately acquainted with the descents and dependencies of our principal noble families.

More than once have I heard him, with affectionate respect, mention Dr Ryder, the present Bishop of Lichfield, whom he had known as a pious and useful parish clergyman in the neighbourhood of Leicester. "He has not been injured," said Mr H., "by promotion; he is the same man as a bishop, that he was as the laborious parish priest; to such a bishop, we may apply the apocalyptic title, 'an angel of the church.' We may say of him what St John says of Demetrius, that he 'has good report of all men, and of the truth itself.'"

Speaking of Mrs H. More's writings, (about twenty years ago), he eulogized them very highly. He thought that she and Mr Wilberforce had done more for the cause of Christianity, by writing, than any other persons living. Somebody mentioned a review of one of her books in the ———, written by Miss ——. "Miss ——, sir," said Mr Hall, "Miss —— think of reviewing Mrs More! Sir, it is like throwing soft peas against a rock."

On being asked if he had read the Life of Bishop Watson, then (in 1818) recently published, he replied that he had, and regretted it, as it had lowered his estimate of the bishop's character. Being asked, why? he expressed his reluctance to enlarge upon the subject; but added, "Poor man, I pity him! He married public virtue in his early days, but seemed for ever afterwards to be quarrelling with his wife."

He did not like Dr Gill as an author. When Mr Christmas Evans was in Bristol, he was talking to Mr Hall about the Welch language, which he said was very copious and expressive. 'How I wish, Mr Hall, that Dr Gill's works had been written in Welch.'—"I wish they had, sir; I wish they had, with all my heart, for then I should never have read them. They are a continent of mud, sir."

John Wesley having been mentioned, he said, "The most extraordinary thing about him was, that while he set all in motion, he was himself perfectly calm and phlegmatic: he was the quiescence of turbulence."

He spoke of Whitfield as presenting a contrast in the mediocrity of his writings to the wonderful power of his preaching: of the latter there could be no doubt, however; but it was of a kind not to be represented in writing; "it is impossible to paint eloquence."

Speaking of Mr ——'s composition: "Yes, it is very eloquent, but equally cold; it is the beauty of frost."

"Poor Mr —— [a nervously modest man], seems to beg pardon of all flesh for being in this world."

Some one observing to Mr Hall that his animation increased with his years, — "Indeed: then I am like touch-wood; the more decayed, the easier fired."

Lord Byron was mentioned.—"I tried to read Childe Harold, but could not get on, and gave it up."—'Have you read the fourth canto, sir, which is by far the best!'—"Oh no, sir, I shall never think of trying."—'But, sir, independently of the mere poetry, it must be interesting to contemplate such a remarkable mind as Lord Byron's.'—"It is well enough, sir, to have a general acquaintance with such a character; but I know not why we should take pleasure in minutely investigating deformity."

OBSERVATIONS

ON

MR HALL'S CHARACTER AS A PREACHER.

BY JOHN FOSTER.

The biographical and literary illustrations of Mr Hall's character and performances, expected from the highly qualified Editor of his works, and from the eminent person who has engaged for a part of that tribute to his memory, may render any formal attempt in addition liable to be regarded as both superfluous and intrusive; the public, besides, have been extensively and very long in possession of their own means of forming that judgment which has pronounced him the first preacher of the age: and again, so soon after the removal of such a man, while the sentiments of friendship and admiration are finding their natural expression in the language of unrestrained eulogy, it is hardly permitted to assume a judicial impartiality. From these considerations it has been with very great reluctance that I have consented, in compliance with the wishes of some of Mr Hall's friends, to attempt a short description of what he was in the special capacity of a preacher; a subject which must indeed be of chief account in *any* memorial of him; but may also admit of being taken in some degree separately from the general view of his life, character, and writings.

For more reasons than that it must be one cause, added to others, of an imperfect competence to describe him in that capacity, I have to regret the disadvantage of not having been, more than very occasionally, perhaps hardly ten times in all, a hearer of Mr Hall till within the last few years of his life. It appears to be the opinion of all those attendants on his late ministrations, who had also been his hearers in former times, (and from recollection of the few sermons which I heard many years since my own impression would be the same), that advancing age, together with the severe and almost continual pressure of pain, had produced a sensible effect on his preaching, perceptible in an abatement of the energy and splendour of his eloquence. He was less apt to be excited to that intense ardour of emotion and utterance which so often, animating to the extreme emphasis a train of sentiments impressive by their intrinsic force, had held dominion over every faculty of thought and feeling in a large assembly. It is not meant, however, that a considerable degree of this ancient fire did not frequently appear glowing and shining again. Within the course of a moderate number of sermons there would be one or more which brought back the preacher of the times long past, to the view of those who had heard him in those times.

I have reason to believe, that this representation of his diminished energy should be nearly limited to a very late period, the period when an increased, but reluctant, use of opiates became absolutely necessary, to enable him to endure the pain which he had suffered throughout his life, and when another obscure malady was gradually working towards a fatal termination. For at a time not more than seven or eight years since, I heard in close succession several sermons delivered in so ardent an excitement of sentiment and manner as I could not conceive it possible for himself, or any other orator to have surpassed. Even so lately as within the last four or five years of his life, the recurrence of something approaching to this was not so unfrequent as to leave any apprehension that it might not soon be displayed again.

There was some compensation for the abatement of this character of force and vehemence, supplied by a certain tone of kindness, a milder pathos, more sensibly expressive of benevolence towards his hearers, than the impetuous, the almost imperious energy, so often predominant when an undepressed vitality of the physical system was auxiliary to the utmost excitement of his mind.

There seems to be a perfect agreement of opinion that a considerable decline of the power or activity of his *imagination* was evident in the latter part of his life. The felicities of figure and allusion of all kinds, sometimes illustrative by close analogy, often gay and humorous, sometimes splendid, less abounded in his conversation. And in his public discourses there appeared to be a much rarer occurrence of those striking images in which a series of thoughts seemed to take fire in passing on, to end in a still more striking figure, with the effect of an explosion. So that, from persons who would occasionally go to hear him with much the same taste and notions as they would carry to a theatrical or mere oratorical exhibition, and caring little about religious truth and instruction, there might be heard complaints of disappointment, expressed in terms of more than hinted depreciation. They had hardly any other idea of eloquence, even that of the pulpit, than that it must be *brilliant;* and they certainly might happen to hear (at the late period in question) several of his sermons which had not more than a very moderate share of this attraction. But even such persons, if disposed to attend his preaching regularly for a few weeks, might have been sure to hear some sermons in which the solidity of thought was finely inspirited with the sparkling quality they were requiring.

But whatever reduction his imagination may have suffered from age, and the oppression of disease and pain, it is on all hands admitted that there was no decline in what he valued far more in both himself and others, and what all, except very young or defectively cultivated persons, and inferior poets, must regard as the highest of mental endowments—the intellectual power. His wonderful ability for comprehending and reasoning; his quickness of apprehension, his faculty for analyzing a subject to its elements, for seizing on the essential points, for going back to principles and forward to consequences, and for bringing out into an intelligible and sometimes very obvious form, what appeared obscure or perplexed, remained unaltered to the last. This noble intellect, thus seen with a diminished lustre of imagination, suggested the idea of a lofty eminence raising its form and summit clear and bare toward the sky, losing nothing of its imposing aspect by absence of the wreaths of tinctured clouds which may have invested it at another season.

It is to be observed, that imagination had always been a subordinate faculty in his mental constitution. It was never of that prolific power which threw so vast a profusion over the oratory of Jeremy Taylor or of Burke; or which could tempt him to revel, for the pure luxury of the indulgence, as they appear to have sometimes done, in the exuberance of imaginative genius.

As a preacher, none of those contemporaries who have not seen him in the pulpit, or of his readers in another age, will be able to conceive an adequate idea of Mr Hall. His personal appearance was in striking conformity to the structure and temper of his mind. A large-built, robust figure, was in perfect keeping with a countenance formed as if on purpose for the most declared manifestation of internal power, a power impregnable in its own strength, as in a fortress, and constantly, without an effort, in a state for action. That countenance was usually of a cool unmoved mien at the beginning of the public service; and sometimes, when he was not greatly excited by his subject, or was repressed by pain, would not acquire a great degree of temporary expression during the whole discourse. At other times it would kindle into an ardent aspect as he went on, and toward the conclusion become lighted up almost into a glare. But, for myself, I doubt whether I was not quite as much arrested by his appearance in the interval while a short part of the service, performed without his assistance, immediately before the sermon, allowed him to sit in silence. With his eyes closed, his features as still as in death, and his head sinking down almost on his chest, he presented an image of entire abstraction. For a moment, perhaps, he would seem to awake to a perception of the scene before him, but instantly relapse into the same state. It was interesting to imagine the strong internal agency, which it was certain it was then employed on the yet unknown subject about to be unfolded to the auditory.

His manner of public prayer, considered as an exercise of thought, was not exactly what would have been expected from a mind constituted like his. A manner so different in that exercise from its operation in all other employments could hardly have been unintentional; but on what principle it was preferred cannot be known or conjectured. It is to the *intellectual* consistence and order of his thoughts in public prayer that I am adverting, in uncertainty how far the opinion of others may have been the same: as to the *devotional* spirit, there could be but one impression. There was the greatest seriousness and simplicity, the plainest character of genuine piety, humble and prostrate before the Almighty. Both solemnity and good taste forbade indulgence in any thing showy or elaborately ingenious in such an employment. But there might have been, without an approach to any such impropriety, and as it always appeared to me, with great advantage, what I may venture to call a more *thinking* performance of the exercise; a series of ideas more reflectively conceived, and more connected and classed, if I may express it so, in their order. Many of the conceptions were not, individually, presented in that specific expression which conveys one certain thing to the apprehension; nor were there, generally speaking, those *trains* of petitionary thought, which would strongly fix, and for a while detain, the attention on each distinctly, in the succession of the subjects of devotional interest.

No one, I may presume, will be so mistaken as to imagine that *pieces of discussion*, formal developments of doctrine, nice casuistical distinctions, like sections of a theological essay, are meant in pleading that it must be of great advantage for engaging attention, exciting interest, and inducing reflection, that instead of a rapidly discursive succession of ideas, the leader of the devotions should often dwell awhile on one, and another important topic, and with a number of accumulated sentiments specifically appropriate to each; in order that its importance, thus exposed and aggravated, may constrain the auditory to reflect how deeply they are concerned in that one subject of petition. Any one pernicious thing deprecated—a spiritual evil, a vice of the heart or life, an easily besetting temptation, a perilous delusion into which men are liable to fall, or a temporal calamity,—and so, on the other hand, any one of the good gifts implored,—might thus be exposed in magnified and palpable importance before the minds of the people.

Will it be objected that this would tend to a practice not consistent either with the comprehensiveness of religion, or with the generality of scope requisite to adapt the prayer to the aggregate interests of a very mixed assemblage; that it would be to confine the attention to a few selected particulars of religion, losing the view of its wide compass; and to reduce the prayer which should be for all the people collectively regarded, to a set of adaptations to certain supposed individual cases, or small classes, singled out in the congregation, to the exclusion, in effect, of the general body? I may answer that, in perfect safety from shrinking into such speciality and exclusiveness, the great element of religion may be resolved into particular subjects and adaptations in public prayer. Particular parts of divine truth may come in view as suggesting matter of distinct and somewhat prolonged petition, conceived in terms that shall constantly and closely recognize the condition of the people. A man well exercised in religion, and well acquainted with the states and characters of men, might recount to himself a greater number of such topics than the longest book in the Bible comprises chapters; and would see that each of them might beneficially be somewhat amplified by thoughts naturally arising upon it; that one of them would be peculiarly appropriate to one portion of the assembly, another of them adapted to several conditions, and some of them commensurate with the interests of all. In one prayer of moderate length he might comprehend a number of these distinguishable topics, thus severally kept in view for a few moments; and varying them from time to time, he might bring the concerns which are the business of prayer, in *parts*, and with special effects, before the minds of the people, instead of giving the course of his thoughts every time to the guidance of entirely accidental and miscellaneous suggestion. I might ask, why should *sermons* be constructed to fix the attention of a mixed congregation on distinct parts of religion, instead of being, each in succession, vaguely discursive over the whole field? I would not say that the two exercises are under exactly the same law; but still, is there a propriety, that in a discourse for religious instruction some selected topics should stand forth in marked designation, to work one certain effect on the understanding or the feelings, and *no* propriety that any corresponding principle should be observed in those prayers which may be supposed to request, and with much more than a passing momentary interest, such things as that instruction would indicate as most important to be obtained?

But besides all this, there is no hazard in affirming, that prayers which do not detain the thoughts on any certain things in particular take very slight hold of the auditors. Things noted so transiently do not admit of a deliberate attention, and seem as if they did not claim it; the assembly are not made conscious how much they want what is petitioned for; and at the close would be at a loss to recollect any one part as having awaked a strong consciousness that *that* is what they have *themselves* in a special manner to pray for when alone.

Such observations are, under small limitation, applicable to Mr Hall's public prayer. The succession of sentences appeared almost casual, or in a connexion too slight to hold the hearer's mind distinctly, for a time, to a certain object. A very large proportion of the series consisted of texts of Scripture; and as many of these were figurative, often requiring, in order to apprehend their plain sense, an act of thought for which there was not time, the mind was led on with a very defective conception of the exact import of much of the phraseology. He did not avail himself of the portion of Scripture he had just read, as a guiding suggestion of subjects for the prayer; and very seldom made it bear any particular relation to what was to follow as the subject of the discourse.

One could wish that, with the exception of very peculiar cases, *personalities*, when they must be introduced, should be as brief as possible in public prayer; especially such as point to individuals who are present, and whose own feelings, one should think, would earnestly deprecate their being made conspicuous objects of the prolonged attention of the congregation. Mr Hall's consideration for individuals standing officially, or brought incidentally, in association with an assembly, often led him to a length and particularity in personal references, which one could not help regretting as an encroachment on the time and the more proper concerns of the exercise, and as a sanction lent by an example of such high authority to a practice which leads the thoughts quite away from the interests in common; tempting the auditors into an impertinence of imagination about the persons so placed in exhibition, their characters, domestic circumstances, and so forth; with possibly a silent criticism, not much in harmony with devotion, on some flaw of consistency between the terms which the speaker is now employing, and those which he may be heard, or may have been heard, to use in other times and places respecting the same individuals. In the laudatory tone and epithets into which he inevitably glides (for he never adverts to any *faults* of the persons thus prominently held in view, with prayer for their correction), it is hardly possible for him, while the matter is kept long under operation, to avoid changing its colour, from that of reverence towards God into that of compliment to a fellow mortal and fellow sinner.

If there was a defect of concentration, an indeterminateness in the direction of thought, in Mr Hall's public prayers, the reverse was conspicuous in his preaching. He surpassed perhaps all preachers of recent times in the capital excellence of having a definite purpose, a distinct assignable subject, in each sermon. Sometimes, indeed, as when intruders had robbed him of all his time for study, or when his spirits had been consumed by a prolonged excess of pain, he was reduced to take the license of discoursing with less definite scope, on the common subjects of religion. But he was never pleased with any scheme of a sermon in which he could not, at the outset, say exactly what it was he meant to do. He told his friends that he always felt "he could do nothing with" a text or subject till it resolved and shaped itself into a topic of which he could see the form and outline, and which he could take out both from the extensive system of religious truth, and, substantially, from its connexion with the more immediately related parts of that system; at the same time not failing to indicate that connexion by a few brief clear remarks to show the consistency and mutual corroboration of the portions thus taken apart for separate discussion. This method assured to him and his hearers the advantage of an ample variety. Some of them remember instances in which he preached, with but a short interval, two sermons on what would have appeared, to common apprehension, but *one* subject, a very limited section of doctrine or duty; yet the sermons went on quite different tracks of thought, presenting separate views of the subject, related to each other only by a general consistency. His survey of the extended field of religion was in the manner of a topographer, who fixes for a while on one separate district, and then on another, finding in each, though it were of very confined dimensions, many curious matters of research, and many interesting objects; while yet he shall possess the wide information which keeps the country at large so comprehensively within his view, that he can notice and illustrate, as he proceeds, all the characters of the relation of the parts to one another and to the whole.

The preacher uniformly began his sermons in a low voice, and with sentences of the utmost plainness both of thought and language. It was not, I believe, in observance of any precept of the rhetoricians, or with any conscious intention, that he did so; it was simply the manner in which his mind naturally set in for the consideration of an important subject. This perfect plainness of the introduction, quietly delivered in a voice deficient in tone and force, and difficult to be heard at first by a large part of the congregation, occasioned surprise and disappointment sometimes to strangers drawn by curiosity to hear "the celebrated orator," in the expectation, perhaps, of powerful sallies, flourishes, and fulminations. "Can this be he?" has been the question whispered between some two such expectants, seated together. A short comment on the facts in Scripture history found in connexion with the text, or which had been the occasion of the words; or on circumstances in the condition of the primitive church; or on some ancient or modern error relating to the subject to be proposed; would give, within the space of five or ten minutes, the condensed and perspicuous result of much reading and study. Sometimes he would go immediately to his subject, after a very few introductory sentences. And the attentive hearer was certain to apprehend what that subject was. It was stated precisely, yet in so simple a manner, as to preclude all appearance of elaborate definition.

The distribution was always perfectly inartificial, cast in order of the least formality of division that could mark an intelligible succession of parts, very seldom exceeding the number of three or four; which set forth the elements of the subject in the merest natural form, if I may express it so, of their subsistence. Generally, each of these parts was illustrated in two or three particulars, noted as first, second, and perhaps third. He never attempted, never thought of, those schemes of arrangement in which parts are ingeniously placed in antithesis, or in such other disposition as to reflect cross-lights on one another, producing surprise and curious expectation, with a passing glance of thought at the dexterity of the preacher who can work them in their contrasted positions to one ultimate effect. It is not denied that such ingenious and somewhat quaint devices of arrangement have had their advantage, in the hands of men who made them the vehicles of serious and important sentiment, really desirous not to amuse, but to attract and instruct. They catch attention, make the progress and stages of the discourse more sensible by the transitions between points apparently so abruptly asunder, and leave more durable traces in the memory than, it was often complained, could be preserved of Mr Hall's sermons. But such a mode was entirely foreign to the constitution and action of his mind. He never came on his subject by any thing like manœuvre; never approached it *sideways;* never sought to secure himself resources in particular parts, corners and adjuncts, against the effects of a failure in the main substance; never threw out the force of a subject in off-sets; never expended it in dispersed varieties. He had it in one full single view before him, the parts lying in natural contiguity as a whole; and advanced straight forward in pursuance of a plain leading principle; looking to the right and the left just so far as to preserve the due breadth of the illustration.

This is meant as a description generally applicable to the earlier and middle portions of the discourse, which were often, as regarded in a purely intellectual view, much the most valuable[*]. It was highly interesting, even as a mere affair of reason, independently of the religious object, to accompany this part of his progress; from the announcement of his subject (sometimes in the form of a general proposition founded on the text, oftener in a more free exposition), onward through a series of statements, illustrations and distinctions, till an important doctrine became unfolded to view, full in its explication, and strong in its evidence. In this progress he would take account of any objections which he deemed it of consequence to obviate, meeting them without evasion, with acuteness and exact knowledge, available to the point. Every mode and resource of argument was at his command; but he was singularly successful in that which is technically denominated *reductio ad absurdum*. Many a specious notion and cavil was convicted of being not only erroneous, but foolish.

He displayed, in a most eminent degree, the rare excellence of a perfect conception and expression of every thought, however rapid the succession. There were no half-formed ideas, no misty semblances of a meaning, no momentary lapses of intellect into an utterance at hazard, no sentences without a distinct object, and serving merely for the continuity of speaking; every sentiment had at once a palpable shape, and an appropriateness to the immediate purpose. If now and then, which was seldom, a word, or a part of a sentence, slightly failed to denote precisely the thing he intended, it was curious to observe how perfectly he was aware of it, and how he would instantly throw in an additional clause, which did signify it precisely. Another thing for curious observation was, that sometimes, in the middle of a sentence, or just as it came to an end, there would suddenly occur to him some required point of discrimination, some exception perhaps, or limitation, to the assertion he was in the act of making; or at another time, a circumstance of reinforcement extraneously suggested, a transient ray, as it were, from a foreign and distant object; and then he would, at the prompting of the moment, intimate the qualifying reference in a brief parenthesis in the sentence, or by a reverting glance at the end of it.—In these last lines of the description, I have in view the more closely intellectual parts of his public exercises, the parts employed in the ascertainment and elucidation of truth. There will be occasion, toward the close of these notices, to attribute some defect of discrimination and caution to other parts or qualities of his sermons.

It were superflous to say, that Mr Hall's powerful reasoning faculty, and his love and habit of reasoning, went into his preaching; but I may be allowed to observe, that the argumentative tenor thence prevailing through it, was of somewhat different modification from the reasoning process exhibited in the composition of some of the most distinguished sermon-writers. To say that he had much, very much, of the essence and effect of reasoning without its forms, will perhaps be considered as unqualified praise. Certainly we have a good riddance in the obsoleteness of the cumbrous and barbarous technicalities of logic, in use among schoolmen, and of which traces remain in the works of some of our old divines, especially of the polemic class. But, divested of every sort of technicality, a natural and easy logic (easy, I mean, for the hearers' or readers' apprehension) may pervade a discourse in such manner, that it shall evidently have more of the consistence of a contexture than of an accumulation. The train of thinking may preserve a link of connexion by the dependence of the following thought on the foregoing; that succeeding thought not only being just in itself, and pertinent to the matter in hand, but being so still more specially in virtue of resulting, by obvious deduction, or necessary continuation, from the preceding; thus at once giving and receiving force by the connexion. It is of great advantage for the strength of a discourse, when it is so conceived as to require the not unfrequent recurrence of the signs, "for," "because," "if—then," "consequently," "so that," and the other familiar logical marks of conjuction and dependence in the series of ideas.

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[*] There was a remission of strict connexion of thought toward the conclusion, where he threw himself loose into a strain of declamation, always earnest, and often fervid. This was of great effect in securing a degree of favour with many, to whom so intellectual a preacher would not otherwise have been acceptable; it was this that reconciled persons of simple piety and little cultivated understanding. Many who might follow him with very imperfect apprehension and satisfaction through the preceding parts, could *reckon* on being warmly interested at the latter end. In that part his utterance acquired a remarkable change of intonation, expressive of his own excited feelings.

This will not be mistaken to mean any thing like a long uninterrupted process, as in a mathematical demonstration carried on in a rigorous strictness of method, and with a dependence of the validity of some one final result on the correctness of each and every movement in the long operation. No lengthened courses of deduction are required or admissible in popular instruction; the discourse must, at no distant intervals, come to pauses and changes, introducing matters of argument and illustration which are chosen by the preacher for their general pertinence and effectiveness to the subject, rather than by any strict logical rule of continuity; and he is not required to answer a captious question of a disciple of the schools whether this topic, and this again, be in the most exact line of sequence with the foregoing. It is sufficient that there be an obvious *general* relation, connecting the successive portions of the discourse; so that each in the succession shall take along with it the substantial effect of the preceding. But through the extent of each of these portions, the course of thinking might be conducted in a certain order of consecutive dependence, which should make the thoughts not merely to coincide, but to verify and authenticate one another while they coincide in bearing on the proposed object. And such a mode of working them into evidence and application, would give them a closer grapple on the mind.

There will be testimony to this from the experience of readers conversant with the best examples; for instance, the sermons of South, which, glaringly censurable as many of them are on very grave accounts, are admirable for this linked succession, this passing to a further idea by *consequence* from the preceding, and not merely by that principle of relation between them, that they both tend to the same effect. Yet, at the same time, so far is he from exhibiting a cold dry argument, like Clarke in his sermons, that his ratiocination is abundantly charged with what may be called the matter of passion; often indeed malicious and fierce, sometimes solemnly impressive; at all events serving to show, that strong argument may be worked in fire as well as in frost. It has always appeared to me, that Mr Hall's discourses would have had one more ingredient of excellence, if the rich and strong production of thought, while pressing, as it always did, with an united impulse toward the point in view, had been drawn out in a sequence of more express and palpable dependence and concatenation. The conjunction of the ideas would sometimes appear to be rather that of contiguity than of implication. The successive sentences would come like separate independent dictates of intellect, the absence of which would indeed have been a loss to the general force, but not a breach of connexion. It must be observed, however, that when special occasions required it, he would bring into exercise the most severe logic in the most explicit form. Many fine examples of this are found in his controversy on Terms of Communion. And such would, at times, occur in his sermons.

Every cultivated hearer must have been struck with admiration of the preacher's mastery of language, a refractory servant to many who have made no small efforts to command it. I know not whether he sometimes painfully felt its deficiency and untowardness for his purpose; but it *seemed* to answer all his requirements, whether for cutting nice discriminations, or presenting abstractness in a tangible form, or investing grand subjects with splendour, or imparting a pathetic tone to expostulation, or inflaming the force of invective, or treating common topics without the insipidity of common-place diction. His language in the pulpit was hardly ever colloquial, but neither was it of an artificial cast. It was generally as little *bookish* as might consist with an uniformly sustained and serious style. Now and then there would be a scholastic term, beyond the popular understanding, so familiar to himself, from his study of philosophers and old divines, as to be the first word occurring to him in his rapid delivery. Some conventional phrases which he was in the habit of using, (for instance, "to usher in," "to give birth to," &c.) might better have been exchanged for plain unfigurative verbs. His language in preaching, as in conversation, was in one considerable point better than in his well-known and elaborately composed sermons, in being more natural and flexible. When he set in reluctantly upon that operose employment, his style was apt to assume a certain processional stateliness of march, a rhetorical rounding of periods, a too frequent inversion of the natural order of the sentence, with a morbid dread of degrading it to end in a particle or other small-looking word; a structure in which I doubt whether the augmented appearance of strength and dignity be a compensation for the sacrifice of a natural, living, and variable freedom of composition. A remarkable difference will be perceived between the highly-wrought sermons long since published, and the short ones now printed, which were written without a thought of the press; a difference to the advantage of the latter in the grace of simplicity. Both in his conversation and his public speaking, there was often, besides and beyond the merit of clearness, precision, and brevity, a certain felicity of diction: something which, had it not been common in his discourse, would have appeared the special *good luck* of falling without care of selection on the aptest words, cast in elegant combination, and producing an effect of beauty even when there was nothing expressly ornamental.

From the pleasure there is in causing and feeling surprise by the exaggeration of what *is* extraordinary into something absolutely marvellous, persons of Mr Hall's acquaintance, especially in his earlier life, have taken great license of fiction in stories of his extemporaneous eloquence. It was not uncommon to have an admired sermon asserted to have been thrown off in an emergency on the strength of an hour's previous study. This matter has been set right in Dr Gregory's curious and interesting note (prefixed to Vol. I.) describing the preacher's usual manner of preparation; and showing that it was generally made with deliberate care*. But whatever proportion of the discourse was from premeditation, the hearer could not distinguish that from what was extemporaneous. There were no periods betraying, by a mechanical utterance, a mere recitation. Every sentence had so much the spirit and significance of present immediate thinking, as to prove a living dictate of the speaker's mind, whether it came in the way of recollection, or in the fresh production of the moment. And in most of his sermons, the more animated ones especially, a very large proportion of what he spoke must have been of this immediate origination; it was impossible that less than this should be the effect of the excited state of a mind so powerful in thinking, so extremely prompt in the use of that power, and in possession of such copious materials.

Some of his discourses were of a calm temperament nearly throughout; even these, however, never failing to end with a pressing enforcement of the subject. But in a considerable portion of them (a large one, it is said, during all but a late period of his life) he warmed into emotion before he had advanced through what might be called the discussion. The intellectual process, the explications, arguments, and exemplifications, would then be animated, without being confused, obscured, or too much dilated, by that more vital element which we denominate sentiment; while striking figures, at intervals, emitted a momentary brightness; so that the understanding, the passions, and the imagination of the hearers, were all at once brought under command, by a combination of the forces adapted to seize possession of each. The spirit of such discourses would grow into intense fervour, even before they approached the conclusion.

In the most admired of his sermons, and invariably in all his preaching, there was one excellence, of a moral kind, in which few eloquent preachers have ever equalled, and none ever did or will surpass him. It was so remarkable and obvious, that the reader (if having been also a hearer of Mr Hall) will have gone before me when I name—oblivion of self. The preacher appeared wholly absorbed in his subject, given up to its possession, as the single actuating principle and impulse of the mental achievement which he was as if unconsciously performing:—*as if* unconsciously; for it is impossible it could be literally so; yet his absorption was so evident, there was so clear an absence of every betraying sign of vanity, as to leave no doubt that reflection on himself, the tacit thought, 'It is I that am displaying this excellence of speech,' was the faintest action of his mind. His auditory were sure that it was as in relation to his subject, and not to himself, that he regarded the feelings with which they might hear him.

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* Once, in a conversation with a few friends who had led him to talk of his preaching, and to answer, among other questions, one respecting this supposed and reported extemporaneous production of the most striking parts of his sermons in the early period of his ministry, he surprised us by saying, that most of them, so far from being extemporaneous, had been so deliberately prepared that the words were selected, and the construction and order of the sentences adjusted.

What a contrast to divers showy and admired orators, whom the reader will remember to have seen in the pulpit and elsewhere! For who has not witnessed, perhaps more times than a few, a pulpit exhibition, which unwittingly told that the speaker was to be himself as prominent, at the least, as his sacred theme? Who has not observed the glimmer of a self-complacent smile, partly reflected as it were, on his visage, from the plausive visages confronting him, and partly lighted from within, by the blandishment of a still warmer admirer? Who has not seen him swelling with a tone and air of conscious importance in some specially *fine* passage; prolonging it, holding it up, spreading out another and yet another scarlet fold, with at least a temporary stop to survey the assembly, as challenging their tributary looks of admiration, radiating on himself, or interchanged among sympathetic individuals in the congregation? Such a preacher might have done well to become a hearer for a while;—if indeed capable of receiving any corrective instruction from an example of his reverse; for there have been instances of preachers actually spoiling themselves still worse in consequence of hearing some of Mr Hall's eloquent effusions; assuming, beyond their previous sufficiency of such graces, a vociferous declamation, a forced look of force, and a tumour of verbiage, from unaccountable failure to perceive, or to make a right use of the perception, that his sometimes impetuous delivery, ardent aspect, and occasionally magnificent diction, were all purely spontaneous from the strong excitement of the subject.

Under that excitement, when it was the greatest, he did unconsciously acquire a corresponding elation of attitude and expression; would turn, though not with frequent change, toward the different parts of the assembly, and, as almost his only peculiarity of action, would make one step back from his position (which, however, was instantly resumed) at the last word of a climax; an action which inevitably suggested the idea of the recoil of heavy ordnance*. I mention so inconsiderable a circumstance, because I think it has somewhere lately been noticed with a hinted imputation of vanity. But to the feeling of his constant hearers, the cool and hypocritical equally with the rest, it was merely one of those effects which emotion always produces in the exterior in one mode or another, and was accidentally become associated with the rising of his excitement to its highest pitch, just at the sentence which decisively clenched an argument, or gave the last strongest emphasis to an enforcement. This action never occurred, but when there *was* a special emphasis in what he said.

Thus the entire possession and actuation of his mind by his subject, evident in every way, was especially so by two signs: First; that his delivery was simply and unconsciously governed by his mind. When it was particularly animated, or solemn, or pathetic, or indignant, it was such, not by rule, intention, or any thought of rhetorical fitness; but in involuntary accordance with the strain of the thought and feeling. In this sense, he "spake as he was moved: and consequently nothing in his manner of delivery was either out of the right place, or *in* it by studied adjustment†.

The other indication of being totally surrendered to the subject, and borne on by its impetus when the current became strong, was (in perfect contrast to what is described above) the rapid passing by and passing away, of any striking sentiment or splendid image. He never detained it in view by reduplications and amplifying phrases, as if he would not let it vanish so soon; as if he were enamoured of it, and wanted his hearers to be so for his sake; as if he wished to stand a while conspicuous by its lustre upon him. It glistened or flashed a moment and was gone.

The shining points were the more readily thus hastened away, as they intimately belonged to that which was passing. They occurred not as of arbitrary insertion, but with the appropriateness of a natural relation. However unexpectedly any brilliant idea might present itself, its impression was true and immediate to the purpose. Instead of arresting and diverting the attention to itself, as a thing standing out, to be separately admired for its own sake, it fell congenially into the train, and augmented without disturbing the effect. The fine passage would, indeed, in many instances, admit of being taken apart, and would in a detached state retain much of its beauty: but its greatest virtue was in animating the whole combination of sentiments. Mr Hall's imagination always acted in direct subservience to his intellectual design.

A seriousness of spirit and manner, was an invariable characteristic of his preaching, whatever were the topic, or occasion, or place, or preceding social intercourse, or temporary mood of his feelings. As his conversation often abounded with wit, in the strictest sense of the term, with the accompaniment of humour, both frequently playing into satire (in which he was not a little formidable), it has been justly wondered that nothing of this kind appeared in his sermons. I now wish I had ventured to ask him how this happened; whether it was that he had determined, on principle, to forbid himself all strokes and sparkles of that amusing faculty, as in every case detrimental to the effect of preaching; or that no witty turns or fancies did really ever occur to him during that exercise. However the case might be, all the repeaters of his witty vivacities and severities have forborne, as far as I ever heard, to report any one of them as a sentence of a sermon. No more than a single instance is within my own recollection of any thing devious on this side from his accustomed tenor; it was a most biting sarcasm at the hypocritical cant of those wealthy persons who pretend a concern for the promotion of the Christian cause, but, under the affectation of a pious trust in Providence for that promotion, take good care to hold fast all but some parsimonious driblets of their money.

The absorbing seizure of his faculties by his subject, when it was prosecuted at uninterrupted length, carried him sometimes, I suspected, into a peculiar and extraordinary state of mind for a public speaker. It appeared to me not unfrequently that his ideas pressed into his view so much in the character of living realities, that he lost all distinct sense of the presence of the congregation; so that he had for a while no more than a general and almost unconscious recognition of them as listening to him. His look at such times was that of a person so withdrawn to something within, that he is evidently taking no notice of what his eyes appear to fall upon. In confirmation that the case was so, I remember instances in which, being asked, after the service, whether he had not been grievously annoyed by an almost incessant and most thoughtlessly unrepressed coughing in many parts of the congregation, with other offensive and more voluntary noises, which had destroyed a third part at the least of his sentences for the hearing of a great proportion of the assembly, he said he had not been at all aware there was any such annoyance. It needs not to be observed, to those who have heard him, how necessary it was rendered by the defect of clear strong sound in his voice, when not forcibly exerted, that no other sounds should interfere.

At other times, however, he was in every sense present to his auditory, and spoke to them in pointed address; especially when a hortatory application at the end made them all feel that he was earnestly desirous to instruct, impress, and persuade. I may have occasion to advert again, with a somewhat different reference, to the circumstance of his mental abstraction.

It has been observed that he had the command of ample and various resources for illustration and proof. The departments from which he drew the least might be, the facts and philosophy of the material world. His studies had been directed with a strong and habitual preference to the regions of abstraction and metaphysics. And he furnished a fine example of the advantage which may be derived from such studies to the faculty for theological and moral discussions, by a mind at the same time too full of ardour, sentiment and piety, to be cooled and dried into an indifference to every thing but the most disembodied and attenuated speculation. The advantage, as exemplified by him, of the practice and discipline of dealing with truth in the abstract, where a severe attention is required to apprehend it as a real subsistence, to see and grasp it, if I may so speak, in tangible forms, might be noted as twofold. First, (that which has been anticipated in former remarks), the utmost precision in every thing he uttered. He could express each dictate of thought in perfect freedom from doubt whether it might not be equivocal; whether it might not be of loose import and vague direction, instead of strictly to the point; whether it might not involve some latent inconsistency within itself or in its immediate conjunction with another idea; whether it were exactly the very thing he intended. It was of complete formation in his understanding; it had its including line and limit, instead of being confused with something else. As it was once happily said by himself of Johnson, "he shone strongly on the angles of a thought." The consequence of his rigorous habits of thinking thus came with eminent value into discourse addressed and intelligible to ordinary good sense, where there was no obvious intervention of that refined speculation which was nevertheless contributing, in effect, so much to the clearness and strength of its consistence. What was of philosophic quality in its most immediate agency, became a popular excellence in its result.

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* In sermons plainly and almost exclusively exegetical, or in which bodily disorder repressed his characteristic energy, he would often keep nearly one posture, looking straight forward, during the whole service. At all times, his gesture was clear of every trace of art and intention. Indeed he had scarcely any thing of what is meant by gesticulation or action in the schools of oratory. It was what he never thought of for himself, and he despised its artificial exhibition in others, at least in preachers.

† I remember, at the distance of many years, with what a vivid feeling of the ludicrous he related an anecdote of a preacher, long since deceased, of some account in his day and connexion. He would, in preaching, sometimes weep, or seem to weep, when the people wondered why, as not perceiving in what he was saying any cause for such emotion, in the exact places where it occurred. After his death. one of his hearers, happening to inspect some of his manuscript sermons, exclaimed, "I have found the explanation; we used to wonder at the good doctor's weeping with so little reason sometimes, as it seemed. In his sermons, there is written here and there in the margins, 'Cry here;' now I verily believe the Doctor sometimes mistook the place, and that was the cause of what appeared so unaccountable."

But secondly: besides the distinctness and precision of all the particulars of thought in detail, that exercise of abstract speculation had brought him into possession and mastery of those general principles, in virtue of which these particular sentiments must have their authority. It is not at all necessary in any ordinary course of instruction, to be continually tracing the particular back, for its verification, to the general; but it is a great advantage to be able to do so when it *is* necessary, as it sometimes will be. He could do this; he knew from what original truths could be deduced the varieties of sentiment which the speaker utters in unqualified assertion, as not liable to be questioned. Any of them, not self-evident, he could have abstracted into a proximate principle in a generalization, and that again resting on a still deeper or ultimate one. He had seen down to the basis, and therefore was confident of the firmness of what he stood upon; unlike a man who is treading on a surface which he perceives or suspects to be hollow, and is ignorant and fearful of what there may be underneath. Or, to change the figure, he could trace the minor outermost ramifications of truth downward into the larger stems; and those larger into the main trunk and the root. This conscious ability of the preacher, or any other discourser, to sustain upon first principles what he is advancing with the freedom of unhesitating assertion and assumption, will impart a habitual assurance of safety while he is expatiating thus in what may be called the outward, free, and popular exposition of his subject.

It is presumed that this representation of the use he made, in sermons, of his power and habits of abstract speculation, may suffice to prevent a notion, in the minds of any of our readers who may seldom or never have heard him, that he was in a specific sense a philosophical or metaphysical preacher. He did often indeed (and it was a distinguishing excellence equally of his talking, preaching and writing) point to some general principle, and briefly and plainly show how it authorized an opinion. Occasionally, in a more than usually argumentative discourse, he would draw out a more extended deduction. He would also cite from the doctrines of philosophy, with lucid application, some law of the human mind (for instance, and especially, that of association). But still it was far more a *virtual* than a formal result of his abstruser studies that pervaded his preaching.

His intimate acquaintance with many of the greatest authors, whom he had studied with a sentiment of reverence, and whose intellectual and religious wealth was largely drawn into his own capacious faculties, contributed to preclude an ostentation of originality. His sermons would make, on cultivated hearers, a general impression of something new, in the sense of being very different, by eminent superiority, from any common character of preaching; but the novelty would appear less to consist in absolute origination, than in the admirable power of selection and combination. It was not exhibited in a frequency of singularly bold prominent inventions, in the manner of the new mountains and islands sometimes suddenly thrown up on tracts of the globe; but rather in that whole construction of the performance by which the most appropriate topics, from whatever quarter, were brought into one array, were made imposing by aggregation, strong by unity of purpose, and often bright by felicitous apposition; in short, were so plastically ordered as to assume much of the character of a creation. It is probable that if his studies had been of slighter tenor, if his reading had been less, or more desultory, if his faculties had been suffered to run more loose, his discourses would have more abounded with ideas starting out, as it were singly, with an aspect like nothing ever seen before. His mental ground was cultivated too industriously and regularly for substantial produce, to leave room for those often beautiful wild-flowers, which spring spontaneously in a fertile half-wrought soil. His avowed indifference to poetry might be taken as one indication of a mind more adapted to converse with the substantialities of truth, than to raise phantoms of invention. Perhaps the most striking feature of his originality was seen in his talent (like the chemistry which brings a latent power into manifestation and action) of drawing from some admitted principle hitherto unthought-of inference, which affects the whole argument of a question, and leads to a conclusion either new or by a new road.

While he availed himself in his sermons of the powers and means of reason, he constantly referred, I believe with an increased explicitness in the more advanced periods of his ministry, to Revelation as the supreme and final authority. No preacher, or writer on subjects of divinity, was ever more faithful to the principle that all doctrines professing to be Christian, must, both in their statement and proof, be founded on the Scriptures, whatever further light or corroboration they may admit from independent reason, or from matter of fact. It is understood that it cost him, at an early season of his life, a great effort, with respect to some particular opinions, to subdue his speculative disposition to such an uncompromising submission to that authority, as to renounce not only the presumptions which place themselves in contravention to the Scriptures, but all the expedients of a forced or evasive interpretation of them. But the submission became absolute and perpetual. And in this spirit he maintained through life so assiduous a practice of studying the Bible, that he acquired a remarkable facility for citing from every part of it, in the course of his preaching, the passages most pertinent for evidence or enforcement of whatever he was advancing. It would often strike the hearers that probably no texts could have been found in the whole book more exactly to the purpose. Though he studied the Scriptures critically, he was sparing of learned criticism in the pulpit; never resorted to it but when he saw a question of some importance involved in a right or wrong construction or interpretation; and then with the greatest possible brevity. In some few of the instances he might seem to rest too much of the weight of an argument on the acceptation of a single insulated expression; for he was not, from his ability to bring a copious induction of texts in proof of a doctrine, the less tenacious of any and every one which he thought could be vindicated for an assertion or implication of it by a correct interpretation.

In his choice of subjects, a prevailing desire to do good directed him most frequently to those, or to select parts and views of those, that present themselves as of chief importance on the common field of Christianity. When he took what appeared an insulated subject, of a peculiar and somewhat curious cast, he would seldom fail, while illustrating it in a manner appropriate to itself, to bring it at last, and by an unforced incidence, to coalesce with or merge in some grand generality or cardinal doctrine of Christian faith. This method contributed to maintain a consistency in the doctrine and tendency of his diversified ministrations.

He insisted with the utmost emphasis on the principle that Christianity, instead of being merely a circumstantial modification, or clearer exposition, or augmented sanction, or supplemental adjunct of religion conceived as in its original subsistence in the relation between the Creator and a race not involved in moral evil, is an absolutely distinct and peculiar economy, appointed for a race that *is* in that disastrous condition, and constituted upon the essentially altered relation, the relation between man as a depraved guilty being and his Maker. In his judgment any theory which does not acknowledge Christianity in this express character, positively rejects it; with the guilt, to him who dares this rejection, of insulting the Almighty, and the calamity of being self-doomed to meet the righteous Judge on an interdicted ground, a fatal ground, therefore, where justice will be apart from mercy. From his conviction of the importance of this principle of the peculiarity of the Christian economy, he brought continually in view the doctrines which *constitute* its peculiarity. The scheme of mediation; the Mediator's character, in the various views and lights in which it can be displayed, of dignity and humiliation, of majesty and benignity; his vicarious sacrifice for the atonement of sin; were the subjects of his very marked and habitual preference. On the last of them he enlarged in such extent and frequency, that, with the same perfect conviction as himself of its vital and transcendant importance, I sometimes thought that there was hardly a due proportion yielded to the correlative subjects—to that extent and peremptoriness of the requirements of the divine law, that condition of the human nature, that actual existence and stupendous amount of guilt, which are the *cause* that there is a *necessity* for an atonement.

His practice, just noticed, of prosecuting the discussion of particular subjects, while in a manner strictly appropriate to each as a separate theme, yet also with a bearing toward an ultimate combination with some essential principle of Christianity, conduced to keep almost constantly in view the evangelical principles, those which are peculiarly characteristic of the mediatorial economy; for these were very commonly the points to which the various courses of thought running through his different sermons were made to tend, and where they fell in confluence.

His system of theological tenets (*creed* is an ill-favoured term) was strictly orthodox, on the model of what has come to be denominated Moderate Calvinism. With the other conspicuous points, the doctrine of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the atonement, and justification by faith alone, he held the more distinctively Calvinistic doctrine of predestination; though I cannot answer for the precise terms in which he would have stated it; but I presume he would have accepted those employed in the articles of the Church of England. In preaching he very rarely made any express reference to that doctrine; and his recognition of it by implication was too indistinct for toleration from the rigidly Calvinistic hearers of any preacher not privileged by talents and public favour to bear down all censorial pretensions.

Under our total ignorance of divine decrees, our ignorance of all but the *general* purpose of the Almighty in the promulgation of the gospel, he considered that men are to be addressed as rational beings, on subjects of which, unless they will practically renounce that property of their nature, they must apprehend the vast importance; subjects which, as well as appealing to their coolest reason, ought to be of mighty force to press on the conscience and the passions; to which it were, consequently, the last absurdity to decline summoning that reason, and arousing these passions. He was therefore exempt from all those restrictions, in respect to the mode of presenting and urging the overtures of redemption, which have been imposed on some good men of the Calvinistic faith by a concern for systematic consistency. He took the utmost liberty in his strain of inculcation; exhorting, inviting, entreating, expostulating, remonstrating; in language of nearly the same tenor as that which might be employed by an Arminian preacher; with the exception, of course, of that notion of free-will, which recurs with such laborious iteration in the preaching of that order, and which was excluded from his faith equally by theological and philosophical reasons. This non-advertence in his sermons to the Calvinistic tenet, was not from any secret consciousness that the belief of it is essentially incongruous with his free strain of inculcation; it was not that he might enjoy a license for inconsistency through the device of keeping one of two incompatible things out of sight; but he judged that neither the doctrine itself, nor the process of reasoning to prove the belief of it consistent with the most unrestricted language of exhortation, could be made a profitable part of popular instruction. He deemed it authority enough for his practice, independently of all abstracted reasoning on the subject, that he had the example of the divinely inspired preachers urging the demands of the gospel on the unbelievers and the wicked, in the most unmeasured terms of exhortation, the predestinating decrees of heaven set out of the question; and that in modern experience it is a notorious fact, that those preachers of the Calvinistic school (for one memorable example, Whitfield) who have nevertheless availed themselves of this freedom to the utmost extent, have been incomparably more successful in effecting the great object of preaching, than those who have somewhat presumptuously, charged themselves with so much responsibility respecting the unknown determination of the Almighty, that they must not call men to faith and repentance lest they should contravene his sovereign purposes.

Perhaps it would not have been expected from Mr Hall's great capacity, that he should be habitually indisposed to dwell or expatiate long near the borders of the remoter, darker tracts, of the regions of religious contemplation. Such, however, appears to have been the fact. If the cause were inquired, undoubtedly one thing that withheld or withdrew him was, a consideration of usefulness, a preference for what was most adapted to be beneficial to his own religious discipline and to the best interests of others. He was amply informed and warned, by his knowledge of the history of philosophy and theology, of the mischiefs of a restless, presumptuous, interminable speculation, a projection of thought, beyond the limits of ascertainable truth. But there was a cause more radical in his mental constitution. That constitution was not predominantly either imaginative or contemplative; it was *intellectual*, in the strictest sense; in the (perhaps arbitrary) sense, that the matter of his speculations must be what he could distinctly understand, what he could survey in such form and order as to admit of propositions and reasons; so that the speculative process lost its interest with him if carried into a direction, or if exceeding the limit, where it could no longer be subjected to the methods of proof; in other words, where it ceased to comprehend and reason, and turned into conjecture, sentiment and fancy. He seemed to have no ambition to stretch out his intellectual domain to an extent which he could not occupy and traverse, with some certainty of his movements and measurements. His sphere was very wide, expanded to one circle beyond another, at each of which in succession he left many other men behind him, arrested by their respective limits; but he was willing to perceive, and even desirous to verify, his own ultimate boundary; and when he came to the line where it was signified to him, "Thus far, and no further," he stopped, with apparently much less of an impulse than might have been expected in so strong a spirit, to seek an outlet, and attempt an irruption into the dubious territory beyond.

With a mind so constituted and governed, he was less given than many other men of genius have been to those visionary modes of thought; those musings exempt from all regulation; that impatience of aspiration to reach the vast and remote; that fascination of the mysterious, captivating by the very circumstance of eluding; that fearful adventuring on the dark, the unknown, the awful; "those thoughts that wander through eternity," which have often been at once the luxury and the pain of imaginative and highly endowed spirits, discontented with their assigned lot in this tenebrious world. No doubt, in his case, piety would have interfered to restrain such impatience of curiosity, or audacity of ambitious thinking, or indignant strife against the confines of our present allotment, as would have risen to a spirit of insubordination to the divine appointment. And possibly there were times when this interference was required; but still the structure of his faculties, and the manner of employing them to which it determined him, contributed much to exempt him from that passion to go beyond the mortal sphere which would irreligiously murmur at the limitation. His acquiescence did not seem at least to cost him a strong effort of repression.

This distinction of his intellectual character was obvious in his preaching. He was eminently successful on subjects of an elevated order, which he would expand and illustrate in a manner which sustained them to the high level of their dignity. This carried him near some point of the border of that awful darkness which encompasses, on all sides, our little glimmering field of knowledge; and then it might be seen how aware he was of his approach, how cautiously, or shall I say instinctively, he was held aloof, how sure not to abandon the ground of evidence, by a hazardous incursion of conjecture or imagination into the unknown. He would indicate how near, and in what direction, lay the shaded frontier; but dared not, did not seem even tempted, to invade its "majesty of darkness."

This procedure, in whatever proportion owing to his intellectual temperament or to the ascendancy of religion, will be pronounced wise for a *general* practice. If, however, he could have allowed himself in some degree of exception, it would have been gratifying to a portion of his hearers. There are certain mysterious phenomena in the moral economy of our world, which compel, and will not release, the attention of a thoughtful mind, especially if of a gloomy constitutional tendency. Wherever it turns, it still encounters their portentous aspect; often feels arrested and fixed by them as under some potent spell; making an effort, still renewed and still unavailing, to escape from the appalling presence of the vision. Now it was conceived, that a strenuous deliberate exertion of a power of thought like his, after he had been so deeply conversant with important and difficult speculations, might perhaps have contributed something to alleviate this oppression. Not, of course, that it should be dreamed that his, or any still stronger human intelligence, should be able to penetrate with light the black clouds which overshadow our system. But it was imagined possible for such force of reason to impart somewhat of an extenuating quality to the *medium* through which they are beheld, and through which they might then be beheld with a less painful and total prostration of spirit. It might have been an invaluable service, it was thought, if his whole strength and resources had been applied to display comprehensively the nature, the extent, the solidity of the ground on which faith may rest with a firm confidence in the goodness of the sovereign Governor, notwithstanding all the strange and awful phenomena of our economy[*].

This disinclination to adventure into the twilight of speculation was shown in respect to subjects of less formidable mystery, of solemn indeed, but rather attractive than overawing character. For instance, the mode, the condition, of that conscious existence after death, of which, as a fact, he was so zealous an assertor against the dreary dogma which consigns the soul to insensibility in the separate state; if indeed it *be* any existent state of an intelligence when all we know of its attributes is abolished. It would have been gratifying, and might have been beneficial for serious impression, to see some gleams of his vigorous thought thrown upon the border of that scene of our destiny, so obscure, but at the same time so near, and of transcendent interest; to see the reserved and scattered intimations of the sacred oracles brought into combination, and attempted to be reduced to something approaching to the form of a theory; to see how far any conjectural imaginations could be accompanied by reasons from analogy, and any other principle of probability; with a citation, perhaps, of certain of the least arbitrary and fanciful of the visions of other inquisitive speculators, commented on as he would have commented. But he did not appear to partake of the intense curiosity with which the inquiries and poetical musings of some pious men have been carried into the subject. He seemed, beyond what might have been expected in relation to a matter which lies across the whole breadth of our prospect, and so closely at hand, content to let it remain a *terra incognita* till the hour that puts an end to conjecture. It will be understood that this is mentioned, not with any meaning of animadversion, but as exemplifying that peculiarity of his mental character by which he appeared disinclined to pursue any inquiries beyond the point where substantial evidence fails. The regret of some of his hearers was, that he should not oftener be willing to exert his whole strength to try whether that point be really fixed where it appears and is assumed to be. They would have been gratified to see him undertaking sometimes the discussion of subjects, which they would have deprecated any attempt upon by men of ordinary ability. While so superior a mental engine, if I may be allowed the expression, was in their hands, they wished they could *make the most* of its powers.

I have deferred to the last, some additional observations, which I shall attempt with considerable difficulty; partly from a doubt whether I may be able to render them plainly intelligible; and partly from apprehension that they may not please some of those who most admired Mr Hall, of whose talents, however, no man's admiration was higher than mine.

The general purport of what I would say is this, that while his preaching was superlatively excellent in many of its qualities, it was not, from a defect in certain important ones, the best adapted for salutary efficacy. A short indication of what I would allege would be, that it was too general and theoretic; that it presented things too much in unbroken breadth and mass; that it was apt to exceed, in the most eloquent parts, the allowed license of exaggeration; that it was not kept in due relation to the realities of life; that while it was most excellent in the discrimination of topics, sentiments, arguments, it did not discriminate and individualize human characters; that therefore it did not maintain an intimate commerce with the actual condition of the hearers.

It were superfluous to repeat how pre-eminently he displayed, in the perspicuous and convincing statement, development and confirmation of truth, the primary excellence of preaching, as it is of all instruction; or how earnestly the practical interest of the doctrine was often enforced toward the conclusion of his sermons. The defect, which, nevertheless, I am wishing to mark as not excluded by such rare merit, was, that (as a general fact, and with exceptions) his preaching did not bring and keep the people under a closely *disciplinary* process. It allowed them too much of the privilege of the spectators of a fine and well ordered series of representation, of such a nature, that they can look on at ease from any similar disturbance to that of the king in Hamlet, at sight of the acted garden-scene.

A consideration of the whole design of preaching might suggest something approaching to a model of what would seem the most probably calculated to attain its several ends, in combination to one grand purpose. We may regard the preacher as holding a kind of comprehensive jurisdiction over the spiritual and moral condition of the congregation, who are a mingled assemblage of all varieties of that condition. Should not, then, the best mode of ministration, for beneficial effect, be that which applies itself to this condition, not only either generally in the mass, or as viewed in the two divisions of religious and irreligious, but also with a special recognition of those varieties?

I need not here say so self-evident a thing as that the *generalities* of religion should be often presented; that the Christian doctrines should be stated and illustrated; that, in a word, the *theory* of Christianity, as a whole, and in its principal branches, should be kept conspicuous in the people's view. But while justice is done to the subjects of general consideration in religion, what a large account there is of more particular matters, on which, and on each of which, it is most important to call men's reason and conscience into exercise. There are the various causes, distinguishable and assignable ones, which frustrate the exhibition of religious truth, and may be so commented on as to show *how* they frustrate it. There is the sad catalogue of the perversities and deceits of the heart; there are the distortions and presumptions of prejudice; the principles, which, in disguised form perhaps, and afraid of audacious avowal, but of malignant essence, react against the divine authority; the subterfuges of insincerity; the various ways in which men evade conviction, falsify in effect the truth to which they assent in terms, or delude themselves in their estimates of their own spirit and conduct. There is the estrangement from reflection, the extreme reluctance to honest self-examination. There is also in the majority of a large congregation, many of those who make a direct profession of personal religion not excepted, an indistinct apprehension, and a lax application, of the principles and rules of Christian morality. These last, together with the state of men's notions and habits in relation to them, are within the province of the religious instructor; unless the universally, cogently and even minutely preceptive character of revelation be a grand impertinence.

It is of the utmost importance that things like these should occupy a large space in the ministration. They claim to be made the subject of the preacher's best exertion, to show what they are, by illustration verified upon the actual state of human beings, and how they interfere with religion in all its doctrines and applications. There is not one of those here noted (and many more might be specified) that would not be, apart, a matter of the most useful discussion for the longest sermon. And if this be true, the majority of the evangelical teachers of our congregations seem very far from being aware (in respect especially to what belongs to the moral department of the great Christian school) of the extent of either the resources or the duties of their office.

But besides the propriety of discoursing on such things formally and at large, there is a valuable use to be made of them in a secondary and more incidental way, by adverting to them, any of them, as the case may require, in short and pointed reference, when any lesson of the religious discipline can by means of them be more strongly fastened on men's minds; on minds which will play loose from its hold if such expedients be not employed to strike and grasp them. Through whatever subject (except the most exclusively speculative) the Christian instructor can direct his course, considerations relating to such matters are, some or other of them, near at hand, to admonish him of something which, if he do not take account of it, will keep him off from obtaining possession of the inner man. And therefore it would be well that, instead of passing by these considerations unnoticed, and prosecuting with exclusive attention the pure

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[*] It may be mentioned, in further explanation of the indisposition noted above, that in spite of the long and often severe persecution of bodily pain, his temperament was cheerful and buoyant He had a remarkable facility of finding or making sources and occasions of pleasurable feeling, and averting his mind from gloomy subjects; insomuch that he appeared to be, even on the mere strength of this temperament, much less subject than might have been expected of so enlarged a capacity of thought, to be invaded by the dark and fearful forms which those subjects can assume.

rationale of his subject, he should admit them to interfere with his progress, should implicate such of them as come most immediately on his track with the train of his observations; sometimes with a short interruption and suspension of that train, in order to take in and insist on an accessory consideration which may turn the subject with a more special pointedness on the hearers than would be done by its strictly regular prosecution. He might thus, without losing sight of the *general* objects of his discourse, give it a particularity, a pressure at critical points, a distinctness of arrest on the attention and conscience.

Now Mr Hall had, both by the cast of his mind and his addiction to prolonged speculative studies, an inaptitude to such a manner of preaching. His subject took the form of an intellectual theme, homogeneous, continuous, and nowhere allowing a diversion from its order, or a breaking up among its topics to turn any of them for a few moments to a peculiar and insulated use; or admitting the intervention of any thing which would bring the progress to a stand. The channel of his thoughts was so straight on, and the current so full and rapid, that there could be no refluxes and eddies. He entered on his subject with a clear prospect over it to the end; the interest, to himself, of his movement in prosecution of it, was in throwing his mind still forward on the next succeeding part, with a propulsion augmented by each as he passed through it; and he would have been impatient of any thing that should check or turn aside his career. He could not remit and draw in, to stay awhile, so to speak, with some one important observation, to give it individually an aggravated stress, to kindle it into an intense light, deliberately held close to the minds before him, penetrating to the recesses as a trial of the spirit, revealing unsuspected, or but slightly suspected, qualities in the feelings, the motives, the habits; and indicating unthought-of relations between these and the principles of Christianity, the rules of duty, or the conditions of safety. Still pressing vigorously onward, he could not make a pause to revert unexpectedly on what he had just said; and by an appeal to the hearers for its truth, or by a brief strong inference from it, render it more impressive than it could be as hastily passing away. He could not abate his movement so as to address them with a pointed interrogation, solemn or familiar, in a manner as if waiting for a reply; thus breaking in upon any tendency there might be to their yielding themselves to be carried along in a pleasing reverie of admiration and vague assent; drawing them into something like a mental dialogue with him on the point, and awaking them to reflect whether they should make, or were making, any application of it to themselves. That extraordinary degree of withdrawment from recognition of the local scene, when his mind was in its full race, which has been noticed before rather as a circumstance of manner than as affecting the character of his preaching, contributed much to what is here attempted to be described. He did feel, I repeat, a benevolent interest for the congregation, as a *general* sentiment, and at times it would manifest itself expressly and even pathetically; but I still deem it a fact, that during a large proportion of his public exercise, and especially in the seasons of highest excitement, *the subject itself*, as a subject, was the grand interest. It was by *that* that he was filled, possessed, and borne along, with no more than a very general consciousness of being in communication with an auditory. The train of his thoughts, therefore, swept on at a certain altitude, as it were, in the air, rather than proceeded on a level and in contact with the people, in a series of arresting inculcations and inquisitions.

I have said that he did not *individualize* human characters. While he had a deep insight into the structure of human nature as a species, his preaching would sometimes have suggested the remark that was made on a certain philosopher, that "he understood *man* but not *men*"—I say, his *preaching*; for a different apprehension was received from his conversation. He had been acquainted less or more with a very extensive variety of persons, including most of the differences seen in society; had a remarkably exact remembrance of them; and showed, by his characteristic descriptions and anecdotes, that he was not a superficial, though he was not a studiously intentional, observer. At all times he was interested by facts, witnessed or related, which exemplified a leading property, or a peculiar modification, of this strange nature of ours. It was therefore a cause of wonder, notwithstanding all that was so apparent of his habits of abstraction and generalization, that so many forms of the good and evil of humanity, accumulated within the ample magazine of his materials, should not be brought into service, divested, of course, of the peculiarities that would betray individual portraiture, and a little idealized into representatives of classes, but still of such genuine living features, that the people might recognize them as things in actual existence. Forms of character thus discriminately shaped from matter of fact, would stand forth exposing what human nature is, not merely as a *general* subject for religious and moral treatment, but also in those special modifications to which the discipline should be applied. It may then be applied with a peculiar, and, in the hands of an able man, a striking appropriateness; it will be seen to be fitted to the part; and there can be no question whether its force and probable efficacy will be much in proportion to this evidently specific pertinence. By this practice he who is desirous that truth may strike, stands much nearer to his mark, leaving less room for the shaft to pass harmlessly by in a slanting direction, than if he took a general aim from a distance. Let the blended mass of human character be thus resolved into classes, not so small certainly that the address, in order to be appropriate to each, must be frittered into minute and almost trifling particulars, yet so circumscribed that it may bear on each in one definite manner, and many persons will be made to find their own place, and find themselves brought to account, who would remain quite at their ease under a theoretic generality in the administration of the religious and moral jurisdiction; who might even approve and applaud the very lecture by which they were arraigned and condemned, in perfect impunity from any whisper of the admonition, "Thou art the man." It was to be regretted that the singularly compact conformation, and the speculative and abstract propensity, of Mr Hall's mind, should so much have precluded his great talents and excellent purpose from this resource for augmenting the efficacy of preaching. It might be anticipated from the nature of the case, and it was verified by observation, that too many of the attendants witnessed some of the brightest displays rather with the feeling of looking at a fine picture than of being confronted by a faithful mirror; and went away equally pleased with a preacher that was so admirable, and with themselves for having the intelligence and taste to admire him.

There was cause for observation on his manner of placing in contrast the two great divisions, the righteous and the wicked, Christians and men of the world. There should be some essential test of the difference; but then what to do with all those appearances among the professedly better class, which betray so much likeness, after all, to the worse! Nothing can be more perplexing to a thoughtful beholder of men as they are, who, in disregard of all system, *must* take these signs for what they plainly import; and what they plainly import is, that whatever be the essentially distinguishing principle of the separation, there are, in numbers, whom he may not in a judgment of charity pronounce to be no Christians, many grievous and habitual approximations to those who confessedly are none. At times, the whole subject will almost assume, under his view, the appearance of an affair of *gradation*, from the maximum on one side, and the minimum on the other, divided by no wide interval at the point of approach. If he be a public teacher of religion, and in that capacity under a solemn responsibility for the estimates to be entertained of the Christian character, and of themselves, by his hearers, he will have a severe exercise for his caution and discrimination. He may overlook, if he will, the unhappy mixture and competition of evil with the good in the better division of actual human characters; and indulge himself in the pleasure of constructing and setting up a golden image (not like that which, with a portion of gold, was composed for the greater part of baser materials, as low as clay) the radiant *ideal* of all the Christian graces and virtues assembled in harmony and perfection. But to what end? Is it that the people, when they recover themselves to consideration, may, with grief on the part of the pious and benevolent, and with malignant pleasure on the part of the profane, adjudge the greater proportion of those who have a general acceptance as religious persons, not to be truly such? Or is it, that persons sincerely intent on religion, actuated in some considerable degree by its spirit, but painfully conscious of a vast disparity to the pattern so splendidly exhibited, should therefore resign themselves to despondency! Or what else? What else?—unless, after looking up to this consummate pattern, the teacher, taking a descending track of thought, shall exert his best judgment to show, through several degrees cautiously followed downward, how the genuine principle may exist where there is much at variance with it; insisting, at each grade, on the manner in which it is essential for that principle to act, in proof that it is really there, notwithstanding the offensive things that keep their place with it; and solemnly protesting against the fatal propensity to find a ground of safety at the last and lowest point at which it may be hoped, that the principle may still be not absolutely incompatible with that with which it is inconsistent?

It appeared a serious defect in Mr Hall's preaching, that he practically took on him too little of this responsibility. In temporary oblivion of the rule that theoretic description should keep existing fact so much in view that a right adjustment may be made between them, he would expatiate in eloquent latitude on the Christian character, bright and "full-orbed" in all its perfections, of contempt of the world, victory over temptation, elevated devotion, assimilation to the divine image, zeal for the divine glory, triumphant faith, expansive charity, sanctity of life; without an intimation, at the time or afterwards, that all this, so sublime if it were realized, so obligatory as the attainment toward which a Christian should be, at whatever distance, aspiring, is yet unhappily to be subjected, in behalf of our poor nature, to a cautious discussion of modifications and degrees; especially when the anxious question comes to be, *What deficiencies prove a man to be no Christian?*

Now a hearer, left to some coolness of thought, was tempted to say to himself, What do the people think of this? —if indeed they *do* think, if they be not beguiled away from reflection. How does it strike the many persons in this large assembly, who, respectable perhaps as men of the world, make no pretension to what is meant by personal religion; and how those others who despise or hate it, and would hardly endure to hear any thing about it but for the sake of the eloquence which they think might have been more worthily employed[*]! Are they carrying out, in imagination, this brilliant picture into the real world, where they have observed and descried, with no little vigilance, the culpable tempers, habits and proceedings, the inconsistencies, weaknesses and errors, of many whom the preacher himself would be the last man to pronounce altogether destitute of piety! But if they do make this invidious use of the description, will they not with pernicious self-complacency assume—not exactly that all are alike, but—that none are Christians, or that super-emphatically they must be "few that be saved," if absolutely *this alone* be Christianity? Why *let* them go off with this mischievous advantage?

And how does it strike the persons here, who stand in the recognized accepted class of the religious! Have they, while hearing this elevated strain, any such thing as reflection on themselves? Is their conscience lulled by what might seem adapted in all reason to alarm it? Have they no secret monition—are the very serpents themselves that infest a corrupt and but imperfectly renovated nature, so charmed into stillness that there is no consciousness—of many things which this grand examplar shines but to expose and condemn! What! is there no internal voice to accuse them, any of them, of such things as a proneness to an excessive love of the world, as coldness of devotion, reluctance to duty, insubordination to the divine will, lapses into a besetting sin, the indulgence of evil tempers, selfish competition with fellow-mortals, frequent forgetfulness of hereafter? If there be not; if their admiration of the beautiful image of Christian excellence in the abstract carry them away from all consciousness of what is unlike it in themselves, it is quite time to come down to a strain that shall turn their thoughts homeward, and bring them into a consideration of what they are virtually doing in admiring such a model; shall excite them to reflect, if they so admire one and another feature of it, what they should think of this and the other circumstance in their actual condition. It would be well to bring them to the questions of, What is the difference? and, Why such a difference? and, What would be the right feeling under the self-conviction of such a difference? Let them not be suffered to regard this bright model merely as the ideal representation of something so unattainable on earth, that they are absolved from any serious consideration whether, and how, they have formed a judgment of what *is* attainable and *must* be attained; what they are really wishing to attain; what they think they *have* attained; why it is no more; what are the conscious evils yet unsubdued; what they deem the proportion of those evils to be to the better part; how they measure that proportion, and ascertain the predominance of the good; and whether they be disposed to content themselves with that state of the case.

But if, on the contrary, this bright exhibition of the Christian character, instead of playing harmlessly over them like an aurora borealis, has sent his rays deeply into their souls, and is bringing more plainly to their own view the evils working there, the sinful propensities, the spiritual disorders of whatever class, with the addition of the moral and practical ones resulting externally, in what manner are they adjusting that very serious contrast, so as to maintain a confidence that, nevertheless, on the whole the case is safe! No doubt it must be, by making very large allowances for the sad imperfection of our nature. But would it not be well for the Christian instructor to endeavour to take that somewhat hazardous process out of the hands of their self-love, by interfering himself in the adjudication of what may be conceded to a fallen nature, on such conditions as shall not essentially invalidate the demands of religion?

As the last observation I would take the liberty to make, I may note the same prevailing inadvertence to the realities of life in Mr Hall's manner of representing the *happiness* conferred by religion; premising, as a thing somewhat of a piece with this particular, that he would sometimes indulge in language hardly consonant to either theory or experience in what, undesignedly, it seemed to imply of the *facility* of entering, by a transition of spirit and action, on the Christian life. I will confess he did appear to me, in reference to this matter, to lose sight too much, when he surrendered himself to the animated current of his sentiments, of the desperate and obstinate alienation of the human soul from its Creator. It was not that he did not most fully believe this to be the condition of our nature, on the evidence of both Scripture and notorious fact; or that he did not hold, according to the strictest Calvinistic construction, the doctrine of the necessity of a special divine agency for men's conversion to a new spiritual state; but that, when his mind was kindled at the attractions and glories of religion, he would forget, for the time, both how lost are those attractions on a corrupt nature, and what a dreadful combination of influences there is to retain it in its aversion.

But to revert to the specified topic, the representation of the *happiness* of the Christian character. He would describe with a prolonged effusion of beautiful sentiment and language, the delightful confidence in the divine favour, the harmony and communion of the pious spirit with its God and Saviour, the independence on sublunary things, the superiority to the cares and distractions of life, the serenity of trust in Providence under the greatest trials or most menacing presages, the cordial invariable acquiescence in the divine dispensations, the victory over the fear of death, the unclouded prospect into eternity. Now it needs not to be said that such *would* be the felicities of a condition exalted to the absolute perfection of Christianity; or that the religious instructor should point to these elevations, as the eminence toward which it is the tendency of religion to draw the human spirit, and toward which a Christian is to aspire, however remote his utmost ascent may be from reaching it. He may do well to cite from the memorials of good men, some of the examples most remarkably approaching to a practical evidence, that such is the felicity which it is in the nature of religion to impart. And he will have at once to reprove those who, regarding such a privileged existence as something like a visionary scene suspended in the sky, rather than a state partially attainable by mortals, are resting with a dull acquiescence in the poverty of religious enjoyment; and to console and animate those whose earnest aspirations are repressed by the consciousness how little they attain. But if, in describing the happiness of a Christian, he take it at its highest degree, to which the experience of the most devout men has risen only at some favoured seasons (at least if they had much to do with the world's concerns), and spread out the representation in imagery all formed of the finest elements, omitting to advert to the actual state of good men, so beset and overrun with things which deny them to be so happy, it would be inevitable for the supposed cool-minded hearer to have his thoughts once more looking off to matters of fact. He would say to himself, "It may be taken as certain, that many among the sincere Christians in this assembly are in circumstances which must make them listen to this unqualified representation with pain or with incredulity. Some of them are harassed, without the possibility of escape, by the state of their worldly affairs; perhaps suffering or dreading disasters beyond the reach of prudence to prevent; anxiously awaiting a critical turn to events; vexed beyond the patience of Job by the untowardness, selfishness, or dishonesty encountered in their transactions. Some are enduring the cares and hardships of poverty. Some are distressed by bad dispositions among their nearest kindred; perhaps by anticipations, grievous in proportion to their piety, of the conduct and ultimate destiny of their children. Some may have come here for an hour who are fixed in the sad situation of witnessing the slow but certain progress of persons, whose life is on all accounts most important to them, in a descent toward the grave. Some are experiencing, while strenuously maintaining, a severe conflict between the good and evil in their own minds. Some may be in mortifying recollection of lapses into which they have been betrayed. Some are of melancholic temperament; and while striving to keep hold of their faith and hope, are apt to see whatever concerns their welfare in an unfavourable view in every direction, and especially in looking forward to death. Some, of contemplative disposition, are often oppressed, even to a degree of danger to their piety, by the gloom which involves the economy of the world, where moral evil has been predominant through all the course of time. In short, it is probable that the much larger proportion of the religious persons now present are in no condition to allow a possibility of their yielding themselves in sympathy with the spirit of this celebration of the happiness of religion. Would it not, then, be a more useful manner of illustrating this subject, to carry it into a trial on the actual circumstances of the Christian life; to place it, with appropriate discriminations, by the side of real situations of good men; to show that, notwithstanding all, religion *can* insure a *preponderance* of happiness; to demonstrate *how* it can do so; to point out the most efficacious means, in each case respectively, and urge their diligent use; to suggest consolations for deficient success, with a note of admonition respecting such of its causes as require that reproof be mixed with encouragement; all the while keeping in view that condition of our existence on earth, which renders it inevitable that the happiness created even by religion, for the men most faithfully devoted to it, should not be otherwise than greatly incomplete?"

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[*] I recollect the instance of a gentleman expressing, at the conclusion of the public service, the highest admiration of the preacher, and adding, "What pity Mr Hall's great talents had not been destined to the bar or the House of Commons, where he would have made so capital a figure."

These observations have grown to a length beyond my intention or expectation; and I should have been better pleased if I could have felt assured, that a far less protracted criticism might suffice for an intelligible description of the nature and operation of certain things, in the character of Mr Hall's ministration, which I had presumed to think not adopted, in the proportion of its eminent intellectual superiority, to practical effect.

It is not to be exacted of the greatest talents that they have an equal aptitude to two widely different modes of operation. Nor is any invidious comparison to be made between the respective merits of excelling in the one and in the other. But, indeed, it were impossible to make any comparative estimate that *should* be invidious to Mr Hall, if the question were of intellect, considered *purely as a general element of strength*. To attain high excellence in the manner of preaching, which I have indicated as what might be more useful than his, though it require a clear-sighted faculty, disciplined in vigilant and various exercise, is within the competence of a mind of much more limited energy and reach than Mr Hall's power and range of speculative thought.

At the same time it is not to be denied, that such a mode of conducting the minstration, whatever were the talents employed, were they even of the highest order, would demand a much more laborious and complicated process than it cost our great preacher to produce his luminous expositions of Christian doctrine, with those eloquent, but too general, practical applications into which the discussion changed toward the close. Indeed, there is reason to believe that, besides the circumstances which I have noted as indisposing and partly unfitting him to adapt his preaching discriminatively to the states and characters of men as they are, another preventing cause was, a repugnance to the kind and degree of labour required in such an operation. For some passages found in his writings appear to prove that his conception of the most effective manner of preaching was very considerably different from his general practice. I repeat, his *general* practice; for it would be wrong to dismiss these comments without observing that he did, sometimes, discuss and illustrate a topic in a special and continued application to circumstances in the plain reality of men's condition. And when he did so it was with striking and valuable effect. I shall, for instance, never forget the admiration with which I heard a sermon, chiefly addressed to the young, from the text, "For every thing there is a time." Nothing could exceed the accuracy of delineation, and the felicitous management of language, with which he marked the circumstances, conjunctures and temptations of real life: the specific interests, duties, dangers, vices; the consequences in futurity of early wisdom or folly; and the inseparable relation of every temporal and moral interest to religion; with an inculcation of which, conceived in faithful appropriateness to the preceding topics, he closed in a strain of what merited to be irresistible pathos. Sermons of a tenor to class them with this, were heard at intervals, not so wide but that the number might be somewhat considerable within the space of two or three years. It should be observed, however, that their construction was still not wholly diverse from his general manner. The style of address was not marked by rises and falls; did not alternate between familiarity and magisterial dignity; was not modified by varying impulses into a strain which, as was said of Chatham's eloquence, was of every kind by turns. It was sustained, unintermitted, of unrelaxing gravity, in one order of language, and after a short progress from the commencement, constantly rapid in delivery. But still those sermons were cast in the best imaginable compromise between, on the one hand, the theoretic speculation and high-pitched rhetoric to which he was addicted, and, on the other, that recognition of what men actually are in situation and character, to which his mind did not so easily descend. They were the sermons which the serious and intelligent hearers regretted that people of every class, in many times the number of the actual congregation, should not have the benefit of hearing; and which it is now their deep and unavailing regret that he could not be induced to render a lasting, I might say a perennial, source of utility to the public.

I cannot be aware whether the opinions, or feelings less definite than opinions, of readers who have had the advantage of hearing Mr Hall, will coincide with the observations ventured in these latter pages. Those who have heard him but very occasionally, will be incompetent judges of their propriety. I remember that at a time very long since, when I had not heard more perhaps than three or four of his sermons, I did not apprehend the justness, or, indeed, very clearly the import, of a remark on that characteristic of his preaching which I have attempted to describe, when made to me by his warm friend, and most animated admirer, Dr Ryland; who said that Mr Hall's preaching had, with an excellence in some respects unrivalled, the fault of being *too general*; and he contrasted it with that of Mr Hall's father, who had erred, he thought, on the side of a too minute particularity.—But whether these strictures be admitted or questioned, I will confidently take credit with every candid reader, for having, as in the character of historian, and disclaiming the futile office of panegyrist, deliberately aimed at a faithful description of this memorable preacher, as he appeared during that latter period of his public ministrations, to which my opportunity of frequent attendance on them has unfortunately been confined.

I can hardly think it should be necessary to protest against such a misunderstanding of these latter pages as should take them to imply, that Mr Hall's preaching was not eminently useful, notwithstanding those qualities of it which tended to prevent its being so in full proportion to the mighty force of mind which it displayed. Its beneficial effects is testified by the experience of a multitude of persons, of various orders of character. Intelligent, cultivated, and inquiring young persons, some of them favourably inclined to religion, but repelled by the uncouth phraseology, and the meanness and trite commonplace illustration, in which they had unfortunately seen it presented; some of them under temptations to scepticism, and others to a rejection of some essential principle of Christianity, were attracted and arrested by a lucid and convincing exhibition of divine truth. Men of literature and talents, and men of the world who were not utterly abandoned to impiety and profligacy, beheld religion set forth with a vigour and a lustre, and with an earnest sincerity infinitely foreign to all mere *professional* display, which once more showed religion worthy to command, and fitted to elevate, the most powerful minds; which augmented the zeal of the faithful among those superior spirits, and sometimes constrained the others to say, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." Men of sectarian spirit were cheated of a portion of their bigotry, or forced into a consciousness that they ought to be ashamed of it. And, as a good of a more diffusive kind, numbers of people of the common order were held under a habitual impression of the importance of religion; and the enumeration would, I believe, be very considerable if it could be made, of individuals indebted to his ministry for those effectual convictions which have resulted in their devotement to God, and their happiness in life and death.

It is very possible, that those parts which I have so much dilated on, with the view of representing how a different manner might have been more useful, will, by some persons, be acknowledged to be correctly described as matter of fact, without agreeing with my opinion as to the degree in which they were defective for usefulness. But at all events, and whatever the just exception may be to an unqualified eulogy, it is exactly by those whose discernment the least permitted them to be undiscriminating in their admiration, that the deepest regret is felt for the departure of that great and enlightened spirit. The crude admiration which can make no distinctions, never renders justice to what is really great. The colossal form is seen through a mist, dilated perhaps, but obscured and undefined, instead of standing forth conspicuous in its massive solidity and determinate lineaments and dimensions. The less confused apprehension of the object verifies its magnitude while perceiving its clear line of circumscription. The persons who could see where Mr Hall's rare excellence had a limit short of the ideal perfection of a preacher, would, by the same judgment, form the justest and the highest estimate of the offerings which, in his person, reason and genius consecrated to religion—of the force of evidence with which he maintained its doctrines, of the solemn energy with which he urged its obligations, and of the sublimity with which he displayed its relations and prospects.

By those persons, the loss is reflected on with a sentiment peculiar to the event, never experienced before, nor to be expected in any future instance. The removal of any worthy minister, while in full possession and activity of his faculties, is a mournful occurrence ; but there is the consideration that many such remain, and that perhaps an equal may follow where the esteemed instructor is withdrawn. But the feeling in the present instance is of a loss altogether irreparable. The cultivated portion of the hearers have a sense of privation partaking of desolateness. An animating influence that pervaded, and enlarged, and raised their minds is extinct While ready to give due honour to all valuable preachers, and knowing that the lights of religious instruction will still shine with useful lustre, and new ones continually rise, they involuntarily and pensively turn to look at the last fading colours in the distance where the greater luminary has set.

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON
HISTORY
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

THE REFORMED RELIGION IN FRANCE.

BY

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CHAPTER I.

Causes of the early Progress of the Reformation in France—Influence of the Vaudois—Corruption of the Gallican Church—Indifference of the Public Authorities to Religious purity—Luther refers his Controversy with Eckius to the Judgment of the Sorbonne—Its Determination against him—Reformed Preaching in the Diocese of Meaux—Punishment of the Offenders—Cruel Martyrdom of Jean Le Clerc—Singular Theatrical Representation before Francis I.—Martyrdom of Louis Berquin—The German Protestants communicate the League of Smalcalde to Francis I.—Monkish Fraud at Orleans—Hopes of the French Reformed—The Year of Placards—Expiatory Procession—Fierce Edict and cruel Executions—Francis temporizes with the German Protestants—His Duplicity—Sketch of Calvin's History.

The Annals of an oppressed and struggling Church are far more likely to afford events of powerful interest than those of a dominant Hierarchy; for it is in seasons of distress and suffering, of privation, contumely and persecution, that the loftier passions of our nature are most strongly elicited. No portion of Christendom has undergone severer trials for the sake of Truth than Protestant France; and none, therefore, may reward our inquiries with a richer harvest of varied and attractive incident.

It is little necessary to ask what few gleams of faint and scattered light preluded, in that country, the glorious day-spring which burst upon all Europe at the commencement of the XVIth century. Some glimmerings, but scarcely of so great brightness as has occasionally been asserted, may have broken in upon the darkness of the plains below, through the passes of the Alpine valleys. But it must be remembered that the Vaudois, who dwelt apart in that secluded Goshen, were confined to the narrow limits of their own fastnesses; that they possessed little ability, and probably much less wish, of adding proselytes to a Faith which, if better known and more widely extended, might attract more frequent and more cruel persecutions than those from which they had occasionally suffered. The influence of those remote shepherds, therefore, could be but slight and local; and we may trace the causes of the early admission into France of the Reformed Doctrine and its rapid subsequent diffusion, to the deep sense with which great part of the nation was impressed, of the gross corruption of its existing Church, rather than to any previous acquaintance with a better Creed. The disease was acutely felt, and a remedy, therefore, when proffered, was eagerly accepted; not with a direct knowledge of its medicinal qualities, nor of the specific virtues of the salutary herbs from which it was extracted, but with a confident belief that God was the physician who administered the cup, and therefore that it must be mighty to save—*Speak the word only, and thy servant shall be healed.*

This feeling, however, was not general; nor did it exist, for the most part, among the powerful of the land. Louis XII. indeed, some time before the epoch at which our narrative will commence, had paid a distinguished tribute to the moral excellence of the Vaudois; when, having been stimulated to their extermination by the bigotry of Pius III., he wisely and generously first instituted an inquiry into the habits of the accused. The result of that investigation demonstrated the pureness and inoffensiveness of the mountaineers; and the King swore by all the saints that, notwithstanding their Heresy, they were far better men than either himself or any of his other subjects. The same Prince at one time also had been forward in expressing detestation of the tyranny of the Pontificate, and a fixed resolve that it should be overthrown; and *Perdam Babylonis nomen* was the legend of a golden coin which he struck at Naples, in the heat of his contest with Julius II. But they were Civil interests and secular rights alone which he regarded; and no doubts as to Religious Truth can be discovered in either of these transactions. The Vaudois might be guileless and virtuous after their fashion; but nevertheless they were Heretics: the Pope was a monster of temporal ambition, whom, as such, it was the policy of the Kings of the Earth to restrain; but the Babylon which Louis vowed to destroy was not the Spiritual Babylon, *Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations, drunken with the blood of the Saints and the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus.* The Monarch of France was fully prepared to strip Rome of her *fine linen, and purple and scarlet decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls,* but he was not equally prepared to *come out of her himself, and to invite his people also to come out of her, that they be not partakers of her sins, and that they receive not of her plagues.*

It was in a similarly worldly spirit that the Parliament of France remonstrated so vigorously, not many years afterwards, when Francis I., soon after his accession, had consented to an abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. That Treaty, into the obscure origin of which this is not the fitting place to inquire, had preserved to France, even from the XIIIth century, the free election of her own Prelates: and had thus averted from her the simoniacal collations of the Papacy, and the long train of abuses incident to foreign patronage. The young King, however, allured by the specious hope of establishment in Italy, through alliance with Leo X., rashly agreed to purchase his aid by the surrender of those most important privileges, Dec. 14, 1515. When the Concordat of Bologna, by which the new Spiritual relations with the Holy See were arranged, had been read in the Council of Lateran, avowed by Francis, and presented by him to his Parliament of Paris for registration, the proposal was met by an indignant remonstrance and appeal. Bitter, however, as is the language employed in that Memorial against the "damnable ambition" and the "detestable avarice" of the Romish See, the violence which it was ever insatiably offering against all human rights, its exactions, its usurpations, its pestiferous nominations of unfitting ministers to the destruction of souls, and its plague-spot of simony; not one syllable is addressed against its far more crying perversion of Scripture, its abandonment of the sincerity of the Gospel, and its apostacy from the true institution of Christ.

Again, when Tetzel, by dint of frontless assurance and false Latin, was replenishing the Treasury of the Vatican, and cheating simple-hearted sinners into a fancied barter of Salvation for gold, it was not against the flagitious doctrine of Indulgences in general that the Faculty of Paris lifted its cry (1518); but against a single proposition, which affected the balance of accounts, and the value received in this retail huckstery of souls. "Whoever," says an ancient Canon revived for the immediate purpose, "whoever drops a *teston* into the coffer for the Crusade, in behalf of a soul now in Purgatory, delivers that soul, so that it infallibly proceeds at that very moment to Paradise. Therefore, by paying ten *testons* for ten souls, or a thousand *testons* for a thousand souls, all those souls respectively, without doubt, pass directly to Paradise." This proposition said the assembled Doctors, is false, scandalous, rashly asserted, and to be rejected for peace of conscience sake. But mark the rule which they substituted in its stead. "It is not infallibly certain that all souls indifferently which are in Purgatory, upon the payment of ten sols sterling into the coffer for the Crusade, immediately, and without doubt, pass into Paradise. The question must be referred to God, who accepts according to pleasure, the treasure of the Church, applied to the aforesaid souls." This proposition we are assured, is true, consonant with the opinions of all Doctors of Law, both human and divine, and affording encouragement to the piety of the faithful. The object here, then, was to check the lavish contributions diverted into foreign channels by the fears of Purgatory and the hopes of Paradise; not by any means to deny the inexhaustible treasure of superabundant merits, of which the Pope asserted that he held the keys. These he was at liberty to enjoy, and even to sell in moderation; but he was not to establish a monoply, nor to exclude all other traders from the market. No one, it was thought, would grudge a penny for the redemption of his grandsire's soul from the pain of cleansing fires, provided that after the disbursement he was quite certain of receiving his pennyworth; and thus all the pence in France would in time find their way to Rome. But once raise a shadow of suspicion, a misgiving, however faint, a doubt, however slender, that the money is not *quite* safely invested; that there may be some flaw in the title of the estate purchased; that there is no absolute warranty, no downright pledge of assurance; but that after all it is an adventure, a lottery, a game of chance, and a speculation in which they are engaged; and those chapmen who before would have paid down on the nail, will look twice at their penny, consider the value of ready money, and perhaps walk away with it still in their pockets. It was in this manner, on questions affecting their power and their purses, and not on any others, that the spiritual and Lay Authorities of France, at the season of Luther's appearance, raised opposition to the extravagant pretensions of Rome.

Slight, however, as was the preparation which had been made for their growth and culture, two years had scarcely elapsed from the public avowal of his principles, before Luther submitted them to the solemn cognizance of the French Divines; and the result, as might be expected, was a peremptory and unequivocal condemnation. In the dispute which the Saxon Reformer maintained with the Romanist champion, Eckius, at Leipsic, the controversy consumed twenty days (July 1519); during which the points agitated concerned the Papal Supremacy, Purgatory and Indulgences, regarding which last question Eckius himself, we are told, was jocose. Hoffman, Rector of the University of Leipsic, who presided as Moderator, having declined to pass judgment between the disputants, a reference was mutually agreed upon to the Universities of Erfurt and of Paris. To this arrangement Luther willingly consented; induced, as it appears, by a declaration which the Sorbonne had published two years before, affirming Councils to be superior to the Pope; and perhaps tempted also by some rumours which had been conveyed to him, and which were perfectly true, that he was not destitute of admirers among the French Ecclesiastics. Great then must have been his surprise and disappointment, when, after a gestation of one-and-twenty-months (April 15, 1521), the Parisian Faculty was delivered of a fierce denunciation of his opinions. "Many impious men and liars," said the Divines, "arose during the youth of the Church, such as Hermogenes, Philetus, and Hymenæus: after them appeared Ebion, Marcius and Apelles; then Sabellius, Manichæus and Arius; and in its more advanced age, and nearer our own times, Waldo, Wiclif and John Huss. In the present days also, has sprung from that generation of vipers certain sons of evil, born of the handmaiden and illegitimate, yea, children, of the Devil; among whom one of the principal is Martin Luther, if we may trust that it is a real name which appears on the titles of many writings attributed to him. He, indeed, like Hiel, who laid again the foundations of Jericho, in spite of the curse of Joshua, has revived several ancient Heresies, and added others which are new. He also elevates his own judgment above that of all Universities; he despises the opinions of the holy Doctors of the Church; and, as the summit of impiety, he endeavours to weaken the decision of Councils: as if God, reserving truths necessary to Salvation for Luther alone, had concealed them hitherto from the Church! as if Christ had left his spouse even till these times in the darkness and blindness of error! What impious and shameless arrogance, not so much deserving to be refuted by argument as to be repressed by bonds, censures, fire and flames!" The *Determination* (as it is called) then enumerates the various Heretics whom Luther has followed in the several Works which pass under his name, for the doubt respecting their genuineness is gravely maintained throughout the Instrument. The last of these Works, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, is affirmed to rival the Koran in falsehood. "Whoever may be its author, he is assuredly a pernicious enemy of the Church of Christ, an execrable awakener of sleeping blasphemies, approving, commending and extolling in that single volume every insane monster of Heresy who has preceded him." In conclusion, the Sorbonne avows, that "having carefully examined, and fully discussed the whole mass of doctrine attributed to Luther, it declares and adjudges it to abound with detestable errors, pernicious both to Faith and Morals. All he has written is so couched as to seduce the unlearned and to injure the wise; it impiously derogates from the authority of the Church, and of the Priestly Order; it is avowedly schismatical, opposed to Holy Scripture, and blasphemous against the Holy Spirit. Therefore, as highly mischievous to the Christian commonwealth, it should be exterminated and openly committed to the flames, and the author should be compelled by every possible judicial means to a public abjuration."

The decree which we have thus abridged, was attacked by Melancthon, and not with his customary gentleness. In an *Apology* for Luther, he characterizes the judgment of the Sorbonne as abounding with the fury of women and the impotence of Monks; and he attributes its composition to some hired scribbler. That not *all*, however, of the Ecclesiastics in France assented to Luther's condemnation, was soon evident by some occurrences in the Diocese of Meaux. Briconnet, Bishop of that see was among the few exemplary Prelates of his day. Zealously alive to the Spiritual interests of his flock, he not only personally laboured among them without ceasing, but he invited also, as public teachers, many of the most devout and learned graduates of the neighbouring University of Paris. Several of these colonists of his Diocese were already deeply imbued with the New Learning; and the chief were Faber and Farel, who contributed by their preaching to scatter abroad the good seed recently vivified in their own bosoms. The Cordeliers whose profits and congregations were sensibly diminished by the settlers whom Briconnet had imported, vigilantly observed and harshly represented both the conduct and the teaching of those Ministers; and when the Bishop supported his Clergy with somewhat of incautious warmth, and represented the Friars to be cheats, hypocrites and Pharisees, the Friars in return, denounced the Ministers to the Parliament of Paris as Heretics, and the Bishop himself as their fosterer. The Parliament took serious cognizance of the complaint (1525); arrested such of the Ministers as had not seasonably withdrawn from the approaching storm, together with the most zealous of their followers, and cited the Bishop to a personal appearance. The orthodoxy of the latter was readily established; and he was dismissed, after a gentle admonition to observe greater discretion for the future, and the payment of a sum of money equivalent to the expense of prosecuting the less fortunate prisoners.

Clear proofs of their Heresy were adduced; most of them were scourged through the public thoroughfares of Paris, branded with a hot iron at Meaux, and afterwards banished.

The venerable Faber, then in his eighty-fifth year, sought an asylum with the King's sister, Margaret Queen of Navarre, ever a beneficent patroness of men of letters, and an early convert to the Sacramentarian doctrine.[*] He survived under her protection at Nerac till his hundredth year. Farel escaped to Geneva, where he afterwards became well known as the chief friend and colleague of Calvin. Jaques Povent, a disciple of Faber, having relapsed after abjuration, was burned alive on the Greve, and perhaps may be considered the Protomartyr of the French Reformation.

Jean le Clerc, a woolcomber, who had affixed a paper to the gate of the Cathedral at Meaux, reviling Indulgences, and calling the Pope Antichrist, was among those who were whipped and branded. When his mother, no less zealous than himself, perceived the wound seared upon his forehead by the burning iron, she exclaimed, "Christ and his marks for ever!" Her son retired to Metz, where an illjudged act of iconoclastic zeal soon exposed him to a barbarous and most disproportionate punishment. One evening, seizing a dead man's bone in the Cemetry of St Louis, he shattered the nose of an image of the Virgin, the diadem with which she was crowned, the head of the infant Jesus in her arms, the head and hands of a canonized Prebendary of the Cathedral, and the arm of a wooden image of St Fiacre. These offences are thus particularized because his Judges professed in some manner to assimilate their sentence to his crime, when they condemned him to the most savage mutilations. His nose and right hand were first cut off, two or three circles of red-hot iron were placed round his temples, and he was finally burned alive.

Notwithstanding these severe punishments inflicted on the heretics at Meaux, it by no means appears that the French government, immediately before that explosion, regarded the progress of the reformers with a very serious eye; and indeed, the perplexity of the Vatican furnished materials for the amusement of the court of the reigning monarch, Francis I. In 1524 the king himself was present, and did not refuse to smile at a light interlude represented in one of the saloons of his own palace; the plot of which, as it has been handed down to us, could scarcely be agreeable to any very zealous Romanist. In this *tragedy*, as it is strangely termed, when the curtain drew up, the Pope appeared seated on a lofty throne, crowned with his tiara, and encircled with a throng of cardinals, bishops and mendicant friars. In the middle of the hall was a huge pile of charcoal, smouldering, and scarcely betraying any sign of the flame which lurked beneath, till it was approached by a venerable gray-haired man with a mask imitating the features of Reuchlin. At first he appeared as if alarmed at the unexpected sight of the large and brilliant company of ecclesiastics; but speedily recovering himself, he addressed them on church abuses, and the necessity of reform; and then, approaching the embers, he roused them with his staff, and revealed the glowing charcoal underneath. As Reuchlin withdrew, Erasmus entered, and was immediately recognized by the cardinals, with whom he seemed on terms of old acquaintance. In his speech on the diseased condition of the church, he did not probe the wound to its core, but soothed and mitigated its virulence by mild and lenitive applications; not declaring himself avowedly for either party, deprecating any sudden change in matters of so deep a moment, and strenuously recommending time as the most able physician. When he sat down behind the cardinals they paid him distinguished attention, evidently dreading his opposition no less than they coveted his support. Next appeared a true counterpart of the Talus of Spenser, a man all iron both in body and soul. He was intended for Hutten, and bursting out into a furious declamation, he taxed the conclave, which he set at nought, as the authors of all corruption in religion; and openly denounced the Pope as Antichrist, the ravager and destroyer of Christendom. Seizing a pair of bellows, he hurried to the embers and blew them violently into a flame so fierce as to terrify the holy college. While, however, he was still blowing and fuming, he fell down dead on the spot; and the cardinals, suppressing all marks, either of grief or joy, carried him away without any funeral service. Lastly, entered one in motley, whose monkish garb declared him to be Luther. Like a second Isaac, he bore a pile of logs upon his shoulder, and cried out, "I will make this little fire shine through the whole world, so that Christ, who has well nigh perished by your devices, shall be restored to life in spite of you!" Then, tossing the logs upon the charcoal, he kindled them into a blaze, which illuminated the whole chamber, and seemed to shine to the very uttermost ends of the earth. Thereat the monster of a monk (*monstrosus cœnobites*) broke hastily away, and the Pope and cardinals, quaking with fear, thronged together in close deliberation.

Then the Pope, with many tears, demanded assistance and advice in a short and piteous speech. When he had concluded, up rose one of the mendicants, a round, big-bellied, and sleek-headed little brother, who proffered ready aid to the pontiff. The holy father's diploma, heretofore, he said, had constituted the members of his order defenders of the true faith, and inquisitors into heretical pravity. If St Peter would but a second time rely upon them, and place all the burden upon their shoulders, they would pledge themselves to carry the matter through to his entire satisfaction. The cardinals hailed this proposal with acclamations, and urged upon his holiness that those men who had dealt so well with John Huss at Constance, were of all other the most fit agents whom he could select for the present dangerous crisis. "Brethren," said the Pope, addressing the mendicants, "if indeed you will repeat your great work as at Constance, boundless are the rewards which you may expect. Your fourfold order shall no longer wear rags, but be richly dressed, ride on horses and in litters, throw purple robes on their shoulders, carry mitres on their brows, and be fed moreover with the fattest bishopricks. Go and prosper; stay our falling dominion, and for the safety of us all first extinguish this fire, kindled the Lord knows how." The friars, at the word, hurried to the flames, and pouring on them a vast quantity of neat wine, raised them at once to so fearful a height that the whole conclave was stupified, and the mendicants themselves fled with terror. When the cardinals had recovered a little, they addressed a supplication to the Pope. "Most holy father, to thee is given authority both in earth and heaven; quench the fire with thy malediction that it may not overpower us. We know that there is not any element in creation which must not subside at thy word. Heaven and earth obey thee; at thy bidding even purgatory absolves or retains the souls of the departed. Wherefore, by thy saintly office, attack this fire with sound anathemas, lest we become a byeword and a reproach." "Cursed be he," was the Pope's apostrophe, in consequence, to the fire, "who lighted thee! Darkness come over thee; night surround thee, that thou mayest no longer burn! May he who piled thee with fuel be stricken with the sores of Egypt, incurably in his lower bowels. May God strike him with darkness, and blindness and madness, so that he may fumble in noon-day, even as a blind man fumbles in his night!" When the hapless Pope discovered that the fire was insensible to his curses, and that he was powerless against the elements, he expired in a paroxysm of rage, and at the sight the whole assembly broke up, convulsed with laughter. Would that the many hours of religious persecution which marked the reign of Francis I. had been devoted instead to equally harmless buffoonery! But the wish is as idle in this instance, as that which was similarly breathed by the Roman satirist. We approach a real tragedy.

Louis Berquin, a gentleman of Picardy, employed in the honourable office of king's advocate, had been convicted some time back of having translated into French certain writings of Luther; and as he obstinately declined to retract his adherence to the obnoxious doctrines, he would even then have been led to the stake, but for the intercession of powerful friends. Arrested a second time, about the season of the disturbance at Meaux, it seemed as if he must encounter certain destruction. Nevertheless, so energetic were the representations offered in his behalf by Queen Margaret of Navarre, to her brother, Francis I., at that moment prisoner in Madrid, that the king exercised from his distant confinement the length of arm for which royalty is proverbial, and commanded a suspension of the process. It was not, however, till the return of the monarch from his captivity, and even then with a sullen and reluctant obedience, that the parliament allowed Berquin to be discharged from the Conciergerie. When Francis sent the provost of Paris to demand his release, and in case of refusal to force the gates of his dungeon, the magistrate was denied all positive answer, and coldly informed that he might execute his commission. A few years later, when the king was closely occupied by the troubles of Italy, and the ambitious schemes projected in the League of Cambrai, he forgot or abandoned his former client; and the long protracted and persevering vengeance of the parliament was then fully gratified.

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[*] The student of Ecclesiastical History need not be informed that Lutheran and Sacramentarian are designations of two parties strongly opposed to each other on the doctrine of Consubstantiation; but the terms appear to have been used indiscriminately for the early French Reformed, till both were superseded by that of Huguenot. It might be that the Romanists were ignorant to which of the two parties the Heretics belonged; or it might be also that the first French converts were divided between Luther and Zuinglius.

1529. Of the charges upon which Berquin was condemned, few particulars have reached us; for Erasmus, from whom we derive a minute account of his behaviour at the stake, professes his own unacquaintance with them; and on one point alone declares his confidence—that whatever might be his imputed errors, Berquin was convinced in his heart that he maintained the truth. The victim was about forty years of age; so pure and blameless in life that scandal had never rested on his name; towards his friends he exhibited singular gentleness of affectation; towards the poor and needy unbounded charity. To the external ordinances of the church he paid all due observance, attending regularly to days of fasting or of festival, to Mass and sermons, and to whatever else might contribute to edification. Free from guile, liberal in disposition, upright in principles, he neither inflicted nor provoked injury; neither was there any thing in his whole life unbecoming of true Christian piety. His friends were probably mistaken when they declared him to be most alien from the doctrines of Luther; they were right, doubtless, when they added, that his chief crime was the ingenuous avowal of dislike to certain troublesome Divines, and Monks not less savage than stupid. Some of the heterodox propositions noted in one of his publications were, a declaration that the scriptures ought to be read to the people at large in the vernacular tongue; a remonstrance against the invocation of the Virgin Mary, often substituted in sermons in lieu of that of the Holy Ghost; a denial that she was the fountain of all Grace; and a wish that certain expressions which in the Vesper service, contrary to the unvarying tenor of scripture, designated her as "our life and hope," should be restricted to the Son, to whom they properly appertained.

The process against Berquin was submitted to the decision of twelve Judges, who, as the day of sentence approached, committed him to prison, an evil omen of their intended severity. He was condemned in the first instance, after public abjuration of his heresy and the burning of his books by the executioner, to be bored through the tongue and committed to perpetual imprisonment. Astonished at a sentence thus harsh and unmerited, he spoke of an appeal to the king and to the Pope; and his persecutors, indignant at the menace, informed him that since he declined their original award, they would effectually prevent his power of appeal by condemning him at once to the flames. Six hundred armed men surrounded the Place de Greve on the day of his execution. A bystander, close to the stake when Berquin approached it, perceived in him no change of countenance, no gesture betraying agitation. "You would have said," are the strong words employed, "that he was meditating in his library upon his studies, or in the church upon his God." Not even when the executioner read aloud, in a hoarse voice, his accusation and sentence, did he show one symptom of diminished fortitude. When ordered to dismount from the cart, he descended cheerfully without a moment's delay. His bearing, however, by no means indicated that stony want of feeling which brutal hardihood sometimes generates in atrocious criminals, but was rather the effect of a tranquil spirit, at peace with God and with itself. The few words which he attempted to utter to the people, were rendered wholly inaudible by the shouts of the soldiery, instructed to drown his last speech if he should attempt to deliver one; and so effectually had the representations of the priests steeled the hearts of the ignorant spectators, that when he was strangled at the stake, (the only mercy accorded to him), not a single "Jesu!" was heard from the populace; ready as they always were to bestow such aspirations on murderers and parricides. "Thus much," says the bearer of that "great injured name," from whom we have borrowed the above narrative,—who never failed in wisdom to detect folly and iniquity, or in honesty to visit them with the ridicule which he thought their best corrective,—"Thus much have I to relate to you concerning Berquin;—if he died with a sound conscience, as I verily hope he did die, tell me in return whose end could be happier*!"

Great as was the discouragement which the German Protestants, (the name recently assumed by the Lutherans), must have received from these acts of the French Government, nevertheless the declaration of Charles V., by which he secured the election of his brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans, seemed to present an opportunity of uniting at least their *political* interests with those of Francis I. 1531. On the formation of the celebrated League of Smalcalde, Envoys were accordingly despatched to Paris, who represented the covert design of Austria to transform the Empire into an hereditary Monarchy; and the crafty policy by which she was arraying the Catholics and the Protestants against each other, in order, by the common weakness resulting from their dissensions, to disqualify both parties from opposing her own schemes of immeasurable ambition. "Argument," said the zealous Deputies, not arms, must persuade to unity in Religion: we have long demanded a General Council; for even the staunchest supporters of Rome admit that she needs some reform; nor are we so bigoted to our own particular system, but that we will cheerfully abandon it if another be shown to us more accordant with the gospel and with the usages of the Primitive Church. All that we solicit is, that you will close your ears to the calumnies by which we are defamed; that you will regard with suspicion the representations of the Pope, ever interested in the maintenance of abuses; and the insidious blandishments of the Emperor, who seeks your destruction no less than our own. If you reject us, we may perish; but the hour will not long be delayed in which you will regret the loss of allies, almost pointed out by nature for your benefit." These were bold words, but it was the policy of Francis not to disapprove them. He answered in general terms, carefully avoiding any mention of religious controversy; cordially united with the Protestants in a refusal to acknowledge Ferdinand's election; applauded their intention of submitting to a General Council, the assembling of which he would not cease to urge upon the Pope; and excused himself from sending immediate succour, on account of the strict alliance in which he was engaged with the King of England, whose previous consent it was necessary to obtain; but promised so soon as that approval should be granted, an event of which he felt no doubt, that he would despatch an Ambassador to Smalcalde, with full powers to negotiate a close union.

This reply of Francis I. was held as a good omen by the German Protestants. It seemed also, by an occurrence which took place about the same time, that the French reformed were not wholly excluded from the pale and protection of the law; and a nefarious fraud practised in relation to their sect, at Orleans, was *almost* visited with severe punishment upon its contrivers. One midnight, while the brethren of a Monastery in that city were assembled at Nocturns, their devotion was interrupted by an unusual and inexplicable noise. The immediate and general conjecture resolved the sounds into the work of an evil spirit; and the Exorcist of the convent was accordingly called upon to employ his adjurations; but there was no voice, neither did any one answer in return. At last when the spirit was asked whether it was dumb? a loud noise was renewed and accepted as a token of its powers of communication. The marvel was too astounding to be concealed; but the fathers, anxious, as it would seem, for an impartial confirmation of their own belief in the diabolical agency, stated to many of the chief citizens of Orleans that a singular event had occurred in their Monastery, and, without entering into its particulars, invited them to be fellow witnesses of it at the following midnight. The ghost was no less punctual in attendance at the appointed hour than were the citizens; and when it again disturbed the service, it was required to answer "yes" or "no" to the catechism of the Exorcist, by a prescribed number of knockings. Was it the soul of any person buried in the church beneath?—Affirmed. After the recitation of many names, was it the soul of the wife of the Mayor?—Affirmed. Was it damned, and for what sins? for avarice, uncleanness, pride, lack of charity, or, finally, for Lutheranism? All these offences but the last were denied; and the charge of Heresy being fully admitted, and a wish expressed to have the body disinterred from consecrated ground, the Monks required the lay witnesses to sign a testimonial to the confession of Lutheranism and damnation. The citizens demurred, out of respect for their Mayor; but the Monks, without waiting for the certificate, conveyed the Host and all their relics elsewhere, and resolved not to perform Mass any longer in a place thus profaned. The ordinary, as was usual, took cognizance of these proceedings; visited the Convent; ordered exorcisms to be performed in his own presence; and with no inconsiderable penetration, notwithstanding the opposition of those best acquainted with the ghost, stationed persons in the roofing of the church to seize it if it should appear. No traces, however, of the Evil Spirit were to be discovered.

Notwithstanding this failure in immediate detection, the Mayor of Orleans had strong reason to believe that revenge had prompted the Monks to concert some juggling trick by which they hoped to destroy his reputation. His wife, when on her death-bed, had given strict injunctions that her funeral should be privately performed, in order to avoid the throng of begging Friars who traded in attendance upon those solemnities. The widower had conformed to the request of the deceased; and moreover had presented the Franciscans, in whose church she was buried, with no more than six pieces of gold. These causes of offence were increased yet farther, by a refusal to permit the monks to appropriate a large portion of fuel from a wood which the mayor had recently felled in the neighbourhood; and their indignation at these repeated disappointments had not by any means been dissembled. The mayor framed a memorial grounded upon these facts, and laid it at the foot of the throne, praying for examination of the reputed ghost. But the Monks protested against the royal jurisdiction; and a commission of delegates from the Parliament of Paris was appointed to determine their cause. For a long time no insight could be obtained into the case; till some incautious expressions, dropped by a novice, excited suspicion; and the desired avowal was obtained upon his receiving assurances of immunity, and of removal beyond the power of his guilty employers, who had threatened him with speedy death if he should betray their secret. Two of the Friars, it appeared, one of whom was the exorcist himself, had tutored this youth how to enact the ghost by noises and knockings, and then, having concealed him in the vaultings of the church roof, they easily executed the remainder of their stratagem. Even when thus convicted, the Franciscans persisted in denying the authority of the tribunal by which they had been condemned; and when conveyed to Orleans, in order to undergo a punishment far too light for their crime, the troublous season which ensued prevented its infliction. They were sentenced to do penance in the Cathedral, and to make a public confession of their guilt at the place of common execution. During their previous imprisonment, they were daily visited, cherished, comforted, and supported, by numerous partizans; especially by women, who followed them from Paris to Orleans with plentiful tears and cordial marks of sympathy. The great outcry raised against the Lutherans in the year which followed, increased the favour of the populace towards these pitiful jugglers; and although it is said that the king had fully determined upon razing their monastery to the ground, the feeling of the times manifested itself so strongly in their behalf, that it was thought better in the end to remit all farther penalty and to release them from confinement.

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* Erasmus, *Epist.* clx.

This willingness of the Parliament to do justice even against Monks; the favourable reception of the Protestant deputies, joined to the intercourse which, during the years immediately following, Francis avowedly maintained with them; his intimate alliance with Henry VIII., now a declared schismatic from Rome; and the general tone of his court, in which his sister Queen Margaret, and the ruling favourite, the Duchess d'Etampes, took no pains to conceal their partiality to the Sacramentarians, had encouraged an ardent hope in that sect, that the king himself was at least tolerant; and they attributed the occasional punishment of their brethren, solely to the zeal and importunity of the Bishops and chief magistrates. Ere long, however, the indiscretion of perhaps a few heated individuals, fatally undeceived them. [Oct. 18, 1534.] On one and the same night, were affixed in the streets of Paris, and of various other chief towns of France, and on the gates of the very Palace at Blois, at that time the residence of the court, numerous violent and ill-judged placards, reflecting upon the mass and the doctrine of the Real Presence. Francis might be careless respecting the ostensible object of attack; but his Councillors persuaded him that a movement thus simultaneous, in many different parts of the kingdom, betokened a combination which it was necessary should be suppressed. Four-and-twenty known Sacramentarians were accordingly arrested in Paris; and pains were taken to spread abroad an absurd rumour, (which, on account of that very absurdity, was doubtless more readily admitted by the gaping rabble,) that these miserable men had plotted to surprise the Catholic population during Mass, and to put men, women, and children, indiscriminately, to the sword. In order to increase the effect of a *coup d'etat*, by which the king resolved to convince his own subjects, his Italian allies, and, above all, the Pontiff, whose confidence it was most important that he should secure, how great was his attachment to the true faith, how rooted was his abhorrence of heresy, he hastened to the capital in the depth of a severe winter. [Jan. 19, 1535.] There, he arranged an expiatory procession; in which himself, his Queen, the Princes of the blood, the Peers of France, the great officers of the crown, and the resident ambassadors of foreign courts, personally assisted. An image of St. Genevieve, the patroness of the city, never exhibited unless in seasons of heaviest public calamity, was committed to the guardianship of the town butchers, who, from time immemorial, had asserted the privilege of that holy custody. Three days' prayer and fasting prepared them for their sacred charge; and when they appeared abroad, their path was cleared by apparitors, but not without difficulty, from the eager throng which pressed upon their steps; for happy was he among the spectators who could touch the propitious idol with the tip of his finger, with his cap, or even with his handkerchief. The costly shrine of St. Margaret, the precious reliquaries of the *Saincte Chapelle* and of the other Parisian churches, were carried abroad by bearers who walked with naked feet, and wore no other clothing than long shirts. The archbishop of Paris held the consecrated Host, the canopy over which was borne by three sons of Francis, and by the Duke de Vendome. Next appeared the king himself, carrying a torch in his hand, and supported by the cardinals of Bourbon and of Lorrain; to the latter of whom he delivered the torch, at every halt of the procession, while he clasped his hands, knelt humbly on the ground, and implored the mercy of Heaven upon his people.

In a nearly contemporary ecclesiastical history may be found a very curious and picturesque account of this solemnity. The patience of the reader might be exhausted, if we were to marshal before him the unnumbered personages who figured in the *procession generalissime*, as it is called; if we were to particularize the interminable heads, bodies, and members of canonized mediators, which, for the first time since they had been deposited in the *Saincte Chapelle*, were now exhibited to popular gaze in the streets; but we cannot refrain from enriching our pages with a single passage in which the music of the King's Swiss Guards is described as follows: "Their drums and fifes called to remembrance not the war of man with man, but that waged by man against God himself; so that they excited a piteous and Christian shuddering in all hearts. To these fearful drums succeeded the dulcet tones of hautboys, violins, cornets, and other musical instruments, distinct from the trumpets which flourished right melodiously. Joined with these were the choristers of the Royal Chapel on the right, and of *La Saincte Chapelle* on the left, fulfilling their duty to the utmost, by praising God in motets, artfully composed in honour of the holy sacrament. It seemed as if the good king had wished to assemble in one all kinds of music, in order to recreate and console the spirits of Christians greatly troubled (*ennuyez*) on account of the dishonour wherewithal God had been visited, and to give them hope of His speedy assistance."

At the conclusion of this solemn puppet-show Francis dined with the archbishop; and after the banquet, addressed the assembly in a speech expressive of the acute anguish which he felt at the outrage offered to the King of Kings by perverse men, unworthy of the name of men, who had blasphemed the Supreme Being, and publicly outraged the most august of His mysteries, His true body, and true blood. While his words were interrupted by the frequent sobs and groans of his auditors, he urged them in continuation, to denounce, without pity, all whom they knew to be heretics. "Before God," he exclaimed, kindling with devotion, "if my right arm were gangrened I would cheerfully cut it off and cast it from me; and if my own sons were unhappy enough to be seduced by these detestable novelties, I myself would be the first to furnish proofs of their guilt." On the moment, a proclamation was drawn up, and issued, commanding all French subjects, on pain of being considered accomplices, to lay informations against every heretic whom they could discover, his harbourers and concealers. The reward, on conviction of any of these criminals, was a fourth part of the property of the condemned; and finally, as the press had been the great engine of recent offence, its operations for the present were declared to be entirely suspended. Nor was this tyrannical edict considered sufficient; the day of mummery was to conclude with a spectacle of unparalleled horror. Francis, the most chivalrous knight and accomplished prince of his days, (fertile as those days were in valour and in magnificence,) stopped at six different places of execution, in which an equal number of victims of fanaticism were tarrying his arrival, in all the bitterness of preparation for an agonizing death. As if the ordinary terrors of the stake were inadequate for the punishment now required, these martyrs, bound to the extremity of long poles were alternately lowered to, and withdrawn from the blazing pile, till the ropes by which they were fastened caught fire, snapped asunder, and plunged their already half-burned limbs into the devouring flame.*

A few weeks only, however, elapsed before Francis discovered the full extent, not of the moral guilt, but of the great political fault which he had committed. Many Germans who had taken up their abode in Paris, terrified at the savage executions which they had witnessed, and at the encouragement offered to informers, hastily quitted the kingdom, and on their return home, communicated their fears to their astonished countrymen. The emperor quickly perceived that a panic thus seasonably propagated might be used with advantage in dissolving the connection between Paris and the leaguers of Smalcalde. He insinuated that the professions of amity advanced by Francis had been employed solely as a blind; that his implacable enmity to the German name had wreaked itself, by punishments unheard of among the most barbarous heathens, upon such natives as he had decoyed within his power; that the Protestants might readily determine how far a prince could be sincere in Christian faith, who in the same hour leagued himself with the infidel Turk (as the king of France had recently done), and committed to death of unequalled torture, those who differing from him on a few points of doctrine, still were brethren confessing the same gospel, and worshipping the same Redeemer. Thus astutely, when it served his purpose, could Charles extenuate the great disruption from Rome, which, at other seasons, he was equally well skilled to portray in its fullest ruggedness and separation.

No sooner had Francis learned the consternation which his severe measures had produced in Germany, than he sought to counteract their ill effects. A new edict restrained the magistrates from admitting fresh denunciations, and restored the press to its former activity. In an *Apology* addressed to the Protestant cities and princes of the empire, he represented his alliance with the Turk as a mere commercial treaty, authorized from time immemorial by the precedent of Venice. He affirmed that the few fanatics whom he had punished, had endeavoured to excite a sedition in his capital, and that public safety had demanded a rigorous example; that in permitting the law to take its extreme course, he had only trodden in the steps of the German princes themselves, who, in like manner, had suppressed the ana-baptists, when they were scattering the seeds of revolt under the cloak of religion; that not a single German had been included among the criminals; and that it was not possible that any true Protestant should feel less abhorrence against the impious blasphemers who reviled the Body and Blood of their common Saviour, than had been excited in himself. These representations were followed up by a special mission to the confederates at Smalcalde. William of Bellay, the envoy selected, was personally intimate with many of the deputies, and he adroitly depicted his master as a skilful and by no means an intolerant theologian. He assured them that the Sacramentarians who had been put to death, were enthusiasts not to be honoured with the name of Protestants; that the king had profoundly examined the recent confession of Augsburg, in which (although *not coinciding in every point*) he admitted that there was much sound thinking and acute reasoning on matters of the greatest import. For instance, that regarding papal supremacy, purgatory, the celibacy of the priesthood, monastic vows, and the administration of the Sacrament in both kinds, his views so far coincided with those of the reformers, that there could be little doubt of a final good understanding. In conclusion, Bellay invited them either to admit certain French divines to a conference at Smalcalde, or else to allow some of their own body to return with him for a like purpose to France. Melancthon and many others earnestly wished to embrace the latter proposition; but the elector of Saxony, from a prudent misgiving that Francis looked far more anxiously for a temporal than a spiritual union, repressed the ardour of his confiding and unsuspicious friends. Nor was he deceived in his anticipations; for Bellay, ere he departed, manifested the true object of his diplomacy by proposing a formal alliance against the emperor. The offer was received coldly, and the ambassador retired disconcerted.

Little indeed was Francis to be trusted. At the same moment at which Bellay was thus negotiating with the Protestants at Smalcalde, his brother, the archbishop of Paris, was engaged on a mission to the Vatican; in which, with a hope of rendering Paul III. favourable to the views of the king of France for the recovery of Milan, the envoy was instructed to represent in the strongest possible colours the signal mark of attachment which his master had so lately exhibited to the true and ancient church. In this attempt, also, the king was frustrated; and, in order that no part of these transactions might be without its share of duplicity, the archbishop, who in secret if not absolutely favourable, was most unusually indulgent to the New Learning, was recompensed by the Pope for the disappointment of his mission by the presentation of a cardinal's hat.

Meantime, while the followers* of Luther continued to acquire strength and numbers in Germany, they almost disappeared in France under the superior influence of a native reformer. John Calvin was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in 1509, and imbibed or increased a strong attachment to Protestantism in the college of Forteret at Paris. A speech, replete with Lutheran maxims, pronounced on one occasion by the rector of that college, was traced, at least in part, to the pen of Calvin; who, in order to escape a threatened arrest, fled to Angouleme. During his concealment in that town, he found sufficient access to books to compose the most elaborate and methodical work which had hitherto been written illustrative of the reformed principles, his *Christianæ Religionis Institutio;* that bold treatise appeared in print for the first time at Basle, in 1536, prefaced with a long, fearless, learned, and eloquent remonstrance to Francis I., whose hands were yet reeking with the blood of martyrs to Protestantism.

The early travels and various residences of Calvin are much disputed; and their adjustment matters but little in this place, since his historical and ecclesiastical importance depends altogether upon his final settlement at Geneva. That city, long struggling against the encroachments of the dukes of Savoy and of its own bishops, to whom the emperors had given a large share of temporal power under the title of princes of Geneva and its environs, was roused to new exertions for liberty at the epoch of the reformation. Its inhabitants uniting themselves in a solemn compact with those of Friburg and Basle, assumed the title of *Eidgenossen* or Sworn Confederates; one of the conjectural sources of the better known party name *Huguenot*, applied afterwards to the Protestants of France. So powerful had the Genevese rendered themselves in the year 1526, that the duke of Savoy abandoned his pretensions to sovereignty. Within nine years from that date, the reformed doctrine also had become so entirely naturalized among them, that it was proclaimed the religion of the state; the popish bishop was excluded, and Calvin, by that time notorious for his zeal, his talents, and his intrepidity, received an invitation to fix his residence in the city as a public teacher of religion. The earnest adjuration of William Farel (whom we have already seen at Meaux, and who had been one of the most ardent promoters of the late revolution at Geneva), was not likely to be without effect upon a disposition so fitted to receive strong impressions as that of Calvin; and, when he was solemnly warned that unless he became a fellow-labourer in the vineyard of Geneva, the curse of God would attend him whithersoever he went, it was but natural that his kindled imagination should accept the fervid wish of his friend as a special call from heaven. But the city was at that moment feverish and unsettled, in its first subsidence after a great religious and political change. Factious and fiery spirits were found in it, not yet prepared to bow down to discipline; strong passions roamed abroad unwilling to be controlled, and the stern and uncompromising temper of the new pastor was ill adapted to soothe them into repose and submission. Scarcely a year had passed from his first settlement before the inflexible severity with which Calvin pressed certain indifferent matters, as if they were essential, and the ill-judged pertinacity with which he sought to feed with strong meat that infant church which required the milk of babes for its sustenance, occasioned his forcible ejection. The points in controversy speak for themselves. In opposition to a decree of the synod of Lausanne, he refused to allow the observance of any holidays excepting Sundays, to admit baptismal founts to be placed within his churches, and to administer the Sacrament with unleavened bread. Resistance to these harmless customs, wholly uninfluential as was their admission or rejection, upon purity either of faith or practice, appeared to Calvin of sufficient moment to justify the sacrifice of his newly embraced spiritual charge; and, in obedience to a decree of the Syndics, he retired in banishment to Strasburg.*

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* Gerdesius *ut supra*, where we learn that the horrible practice of cutting out the tongues of the heretics, before they were led to execution, in order to prevent them from addressing the spectators, was first introduced during this persecution. Felibien very calmly describes these horrors, as if they formed a part of the dessert at the royal banquet; *apres le diner on brusla les Heretiques condamnez. Hist. de Paris, liv.* xx. *vol.* ii. p. 1033.

During his absence, men's thoughts and opinions grew calmer; the heat generated by sudden and rapid transitions had time to abate; and the want of a commanding and presiding mind which might arrange, fashion, and consolidate the hitherto jarring elements of their Ecclesiastical Polity, directed the wishes of the Genevese once again to Calvin. On his side, it was not likely that difficulty should arise. A restoration sought for by his disciples ensured him unlimited dominion; the spiritual government of a distinguished and now independent City, was in itself a most honourable charge; and the prospect of future success in the labour of holiness, of pouring the full light of the Reformation over France, immediately adjoining and as yet but partially illuminated, might awaken in Calvin's bosom, a glorious hope that he was set apart as the chosen Apostle of his native Country. He accepted the proffered charge accordingly, and his brilliant visions were in great part realized. Never was more despotic sway established over men's wills and consciences than that which he erected in Geneva; and, although he failed to introduce his scheme as the dominant Religion of France, it became the real model, as himself was the virtual High Priest, of every separate Reformed congregation within the limits of that Kingdom.

CHAPTER II.

Nature of the Calvinistic Church Polity established in France—Clement Marot's Psalmody—Adopted by the Calvinists—Alliance between the Church of Geneva and the Vaudois—The Vaudois publish a Confession—Decree of the Parliament of Provence against the Merindolese—Report on their habits—Suspension of the Decree—Chaussonnée and the Rats—Persecution by the Baron d'Oppeda—Massacre at Cabrieres and Merindol—Death of Francis I.—Rise and great power of the House of Guise—Public entry of Henry II. into Paris—Burning of Heretics—edict of Chateaubriand—Martyrdom of Louis de Marsac—Abuses in the French Church—First Calvinistic Church in France—Reformed Colony at Rio Janeiro—Treachery of Villegagnon—Outrage upon a Meeting-house in Paris—Anthony, King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, attend a Procession of the Reformed—Arrest of Francis d'Andelot—His Imprisonment and Release—1st National Synod of the French Reformed Church—Its Confession and Canons of Discipline.

An examination of the differences in Religious Faith between Calvin and his brother Reformers would be misplaced in these pages; and it is not here that we need enter into the subtle and interminable mazes of doctrinal controversy. His Creed, which differs widely in many respects from some opinions frequently inculcated in his name, may be most accurately learned from the *Christian Institution* which we have already mentioned; and, for his Discipline, it is more our object to state what he *did*, than to inquire whether it was the best which might have been done.

For the maintenance of his own personal authority, no system assuredly could be better calculated than that which he arranged; nor would it be just on that account to condemn him as labouring chiefly for his own aggrandizement. That Calvin was influenced in part by ambition it would be idle to deny, for what man has ever produced great effects upon his species, if wholly devoid of that passion? a passion, when purified and defæcated, amongst the noblest engrafted on our nature. And Calvin's ambition *was* thus sublimed. The work which he took in hand was not his own work, but that of his Master; in order to perform it to the utmost, an extraordinary measure of power was necessary, and he, therefore, omitted no effort to obtain, no vigilance to preserve his supremacy. That he did not mistrust his own use of that power can never be a matter of surprise; that he saw its danger if transmitted to others, is evident from his not having recommended a successor, and from Beza's immediate advice after his friend's death, that the office of President should be allowed to expire with him. The infallibility, in all but name, which he maintained while alive, was too precious and too perilous a legacy to be bequeathed to a successor.

The chief distinction of Calvin's ritual worship from that of Luther was found in its extreme plainness; a simplicity in too many instances degenerating into absolute nakedness. Not only were images and pictures excluded from his sacred edifices, as idols and abominations, but the decent majesty of devotion was violated by the rejection of almost every outward adjunct. The peculiar vestments which discriminated the Priest from the Layman were torn away; the soul-awakening tones of the organ were silenced; a frugal meal eaten at a plain table was substituted for the more ceremonious administration of the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour. It seemed as if Calvin believed that the senses were no longer the channels through which the Mind received its knowledge and exhibited its operations; and that to omit paying the homage of the body was the genuine mode of worshipping God in spirit. The flight of her Bishop prevented the continuance of Episcopacy in the Church of Geneva, although it by no means appears that Calvin himself was an enemy to that institution; and it would be difficult to establish a necessary connection between his polity, from which it was excluded by compulsion, and later voluntary Presbyterianism. The caprice of the Congregation was allowed to regulate the salaries of the Ministers, who were thus placed under the control of the very persons whom it was their duty to teach and to reprove, in season and out of season, through good report and evil report; and upon whom, if it were only on that account, they ought to be wholly independent. Besides the Minister, each Church appointed Deacons, who acted as treasurers and almoners; and Elders, who filled the office of censors and guardians of public morals. Auricular confession indeed was abolished, but the inquisition of the Consistory formed by the union of the above three authorities, the Ministers, the Deacons, and the Elders, might prove equally dangerous, and was certainly far more tyrannical than the Romish custom. Once in every month this formidable band assembled; received the denunciations of the Elders; summoned their erring brethren before their bar; took cognizance of their frailties; sentenced them to public penances; and enrolled their shame in everduring registers. A synod composed of deputies from the several consistories met annually to decide on matters of general interest; and in cases of extreme necessity, an appeal lay to a council to which representatives were furnished by all the provinces embracing Calvinism.

One, and that an important part of the Genevan worship, was supplied from France; and details, more copious than our limits permit us to borrow, of the origin of congregational Psalmody, and its adoption by the Calvinists, are very amusingly given by Warton.* Clement Marot, who held a post about the royal household of France, had hitherto dedicated his facile powers of elegant versification to subjects always light, frequently licentious. Notwithstanding the freedom both of his life and writings, he early embraced the reformed religion; was imprisoned for heresy during the captivity of Francis I. in Madrid, and twice afterwards was compelled to take refuge in Geneva to escape similar arrest. It was about the year 1540 that, renouncing his former themes, he put forth a metrical French version of the first fifty Psalms; and in the dedication to Francis I., after drawing a parallel between that king and David, which, it may be thought, must have cost him no slight struggle with conscience to compose, he very strikingly exhibited the grotesque mixture of Ethnical and Christian images, at that time present to his fancy. God, he says, was the Apollo who tuned David's harp; the Holy Spirit was his Calliope; his two-forked Parnassus was the summit of the crystalline heaven; and his Hippocrene was the deep fountain of grace. But, alas! the vein of Marot flowed quite diversely from that of the Hebrew poet-king, and when he ceased to sing of earthly love he ceased also to sing melodiously. The model which he furnished was faithfully copied, not many years afterwards, by the framers of our English Psalmody; and the merits of the French bard may be accurately estimated, when we add, that, in his devotional strains, Marot was the Apollo, the Calliope, the Parnassus, and the Hippocrene of Sternhold and Hopkins.

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* Farel retired together with Calvin. We hear much of him afterwards from Meurisse. On one occasion, when a Cordelier was preaching on "the perpetual virginity of the mother of God," and that which the bishop of Madaura, with a singular choice of epithets, terms *l'amoureuse incarnation* of our Saviour, Farel having interrupted the sermon and denied the assertion, lost his hair and beard under the nails of the women present, who would have killed him but for the seasonable appearance of a detachment of soldiers.—*Hist. de l'Hérésie dans Metz*, p. 67.

* History of English Poetry, § xiv.

Nevertheless, bald as was Marot's version, it was the work of a popular court-poet; it was in rhyme easily adapted to the *vaudevilles* and ballad-tunes of the day; and the translator, perhaps, was not a little surprised to hear every chamber of the palace, and every street in Paris, re-echoing with his sacred songs, frequently accompanied by the fiddle, soon after their publication. As no attempt was made to introduce them into the ritual of the Church, the Sorbonne approved their orthodoxy, and thus unwittingly gave additional keenness to a weapon soon to be turned against themselves.

Calvin, as we have before stated, had banished the ancient Ecclesiastical music, and it is probable that he soon perceived the necessity of a substitute, which might impart some warmth to the general frigidity of his service. Marot's version appeared most seasonably for his purpose. It was so plain and prosaic that every peasant might easily understand, and commit it to memory. All resemblance to the Romish antiphonal chant, which Calvin rejected as superstitious and unedifying, was carefully avoided, by setting the words to simple and monotonous tunes, equally removed from science and from sweetness, but in which every individual of the Congregation might take a part. Beza completed the task which Marot had begun; their joint Psalms were appended to the Catechism of Geneva; passed from the lips of the gallants of France to those of the herdsmen of Swisserland and the citizens of Flanders; became one of the most distinguishing characters of Calvinism; and called down a severe Interdict from the Faculty of Paris, by which they had not long since been as formally sanctioned.

Among other alliances by which Calvin had strengthened his rising Church was a union with the Vaudois, those forerunners of the Reformation who from time immemorial had preserved the Faith and usages of primitive Christianity, in the depth of their tranquil valleys in Piedmont. Already, more than once during the XVth century, had these inoffensive mountaineers been denounced by Rome, and subjected to persecution by the Dukes of Savoy; but when the rashness of Charles V., in 1536, subjected the larger part of the dominion of those Princes to the sway of France, the Vaudois for a season enjoyed repose. Their chief safety, however, depended upon their obscurity; and could they have been content to be forgotten, they might have remained unharmed. But proud of connexion with the new and flourishing Church of Geneva, and perhaps over-estimating its power of temporal aid, they soon abandoned their cautious policy of concealment, and for the first time printed and published a Confession of Faith and a Liturgy. A rejection of the doctrine of human merits, of traditions, of the infallibility of the Pope, of prayers for the dead, and of many other Romish practices stigmatized as superstitious and idolatrous, was little likely to pass uncensured by the French Prelacy; and, accordingly, in 1540, the Archbishop of Aix denounced to the Parliament of Provence certain portions of his Diocese as heretical. Beyond their valleys, the Vaudois had extended themselves through some districts of Provence, in which they had colonized the large town of Merindol, and about thirty villages, the chief of which was Cabrieres. Eighteen of the inhabitants of the first-named place, having neglected a summons of the Parliament, were declared contumacious, and sentenced to perpetual banishment; and a Decree of extermination was pronounced against their place of abode. "Whereas," so recites this barbarous Edict, "the town of Merindol is a notorious retreat and receptacle of all those who profess the doctrines of certain damnable Sects, the Court orders that it shall be rendered desert and uninhabitable; that every house in it shall be burned or demolished; and that all buildings, coverts, and woods, within two hundred paces of its circuit, shall be razed to the ground."

The Governor of Provence refused to execute this savage ordinance without express authority from the king; and Francis, when applied to, before sanctioning the cruelty, directed inquiry to be made into the habits and manners of those whom he was requested to destroy. It might be thought that the report drawn up by William de Bellay, his former envoy to Smalcalde, and now governor of Provence, would have ensured protection on grounds not less of policy than of humanity. "The Vaudois," replied that high officer, "differ from our communion in many parts of their creed, but they are irreproachable in their morals, laborious, sober, benevolent, and of unshaken loyalty. Agriculture is their pride and sole occupation; and so marvellous is their industry, that, in numerous cases in which landed proprietors have been contented with a small quit-rent, or have granted renewable leases on long terms, estates formerly rated at four crowns per annum have produced three hundred and fifty; the tenants all the while having cheerfully and regularly paid their dues both to the crown and to the landholder. Hospitality is one of their proverbial virtues, and not a beggar is ever known in their settlements. It must be confessed, however, that they rarely enter our churches; and if they do so, they pray with their eyes fixed on the ground, casting no regard on any of the Saints; they do not use holy water, nor do they acknowledge the benefit derived from pilgrimages and *neuvaines*,[*] nor say Mass either for the living or the dead." The utmost indulgence obtained from Francis, in consequence of this simple and touching relation of patriarchal manners, was a short respite. The villagers were commanded to appear before the Archbishop of Aix within three months, and to solicit from him reconciliation with the Church. In default of such obedience, the Parliament of Provence was authorized to proceed against them with the utmost rigour; and all civil and military officers were enjoined to afford co-operation. "I do not burn heretics in France," said the king, "in order that they may be nourished in the Alps."[†] The given period elapsed without the required submission of the Vaudois; and years rolled on, and yet the royal ordinance for their destruction remained unfulfilled. The cause of that forbearance, although ludicrous, is too illustrative of the follies which the Romish Church occasionally mingled with its cruelties to be altogether omitted.

Chaussonnée, first president of the Parliament of Provence, was the author of a large work, *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*, in which he relates, that in early life, while he practised as an advocate at the bar of Autun, so fearful was the devastation produced in the neighbourhood of that city by swarms of rats, that a general famine was reasonably apprehended. Every human means for the destruction of the marauders having failed, appeal was made to the power of the Church; and the grand vicar of the diocese was instructed to promulgate the ordinary form of excommunication, provided against noisome beasts and reptiles. Certain preliminary steps were necessary before the issue of this final decree; and in stating them we beseech our readers to suppress their smiles, and to remember that we are placing before them serious facts. First, the rats were cited to appear in the ecclesiastical court; secondly, on their contumacy, the grand vicar appointed a day on which the defendants might be heard by their proctor, in appeal against the prosecutor, who claimed definitive sentence; and Chaussonnée was appointed to the honourable office of advocate for the rats. His clients were largely indebted to his ingenuity. He pleaded that the rats were too widely dispersed to admit of general assembly under a single citation, and that the writs ought therefore to be read after Mass in each separate parish. This demurrer occasioned considerable delay; and after the form, which was strictly legal, had been complied with, and the accused still continued to decline the summons, their able advocate resorted to a new defence. The journey, he urged, was long and incommodious; the roads were beset with cats; and, above all, any general proscription which involved in one mass parents together with their children, the innocent no less than the guilty, was opposed to the first natural principles of justice. We are ignorant of the issue of this cause, but upon its dexterous conduct were reared the fame and fortune of Chaussonnée, who always attributed to the reputation which he then obtained, his subsequent high professional advancement. At the moment at which he was preparing to execute the edict issued against the Vaudois by the parliament over which he presided, a Provencal gentleman waited upon him; turned the conversation upon his book; opened it at the passage in which the above incident was narrated; and asked whether a society of men deserved less regard than a herd of rats? Chaussonnée, struck by the justice of the reproof, had the merit of suspending any farther steps towards persecution during the remainder of his life.

Unhappily, on Chaussonnée's death, a president of widely different temper succeeded; and to his extensive civil power, Meinier, Baron d'Oppeda, united the military command of the province in the absence of its governor. Personal motives are said to have stimulated his enmity against the Vaudois. One of his tenants, who had robbed him, found an asylum in their fastnesses; and his hand had been disdainfully refused by a neighbouring countess, who liberally extended protection to those industrious husbandmen from whom her chief wealth was derived. D'Oppeda vowed their destruction, and commenced his design by forwarding to the royal council incessant reports of disaffection among the mountaineers, and of their evident desire to erect themselves into independent Cantons, on the model of their Swiss neighbours. Arsenals and magazines, he said, were forming; their difficult passes were entrenched; their commanding heights were crowned with batteries; at a word, 16,000 native troops, and an equal number of auxiliaries, could be gathered in the field; and unless formidable preparations were seasonably anticipated, the whole force of the kingdom might hereafter be demanded for their subjugation. Having thus artfully awakened the king's fears, and received the instructions which he so much desired, his next care was to prevent suspicion among his victims; and he called out the extraordinary militia of Provence, under the ostensible pretext of joining an armament at Marseilles, destined to cooperate in a descent upon England. It was not till they were almost surrounded that the villagers perceived their danger; and a great proportion, availing themselves of the only chance of safety, now left open, retired in hasty flight to the mountains. As the troops advanced to Merindol, only one peasant youth was found within its precincts, who stipulated for his ransom with the soldier who arrested him by the promise of two crowns. But D'Oppeda, unwilling to permit the escape of a single prisoner, paid the price of blood to his captor, tied the victim, thus purchased, to an olive-tree, and shot him to death, while the town was pillaged and burned. Sixty men, capable of bearing arms, remained in the village of Cabrieres, and to them the savage, not knowing the scantiness of their numbers, granted a capitulation. No sooner, however, had he discovered his mistake, than the terms were violated; and the prisoners, many of them accompanied by their wives, about to become mothers, were driven to a neighbouring meadow, where the whole body was put to the sword in cold blood. Meantime, the churches in which some of the miserable women hoped to find sanctuary, afforded no protection against death preceded by dishonour. Other females, in whom, either from too tender or too advanced age, the soldiery were disappointed of brutal gratification, were enclosed in a barn, and driven back by pikes, when they attempted escape from the flames in which they were eventually consumed. Similar horrors were enacted in the pursuit of that band which had sought the mountains; for of these also the greater part, the aged and infirm, the women and children, drooping under fatigue, were readily overtaken. Two-and-twenty villages were levelled with the ground; 4000 of their inhabitants were massacred; and 700 of the most able-bodied peasants were reserved for galley-slaves.

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[*] Prayers made during *nine* days to some particular Saint.

[†] *Introduction to* Henry Arnaud's *Recovery of the Vaudois*, by H. D. Acland, lvi.; to the Prolegomena of which interesting and most elegant volume every inquirer into the history of the Vaudois is bound to express obligation.

The temper of the French nation was not yet prepared for this wholesale and atrocious butchery on account of difference of faith, and the intelligence of D'Oppeda's great wickedness was received with execrations. The king refused to admit him to his presence, but content with this single mark of displeasure, forbade any judicial inquiry into his conduct. The last year of this reign was again sullied with numerous brutal executions at Meaux; and the death of Francis, therefore, whom the reformed now justly esteemed a confirmed persecutor, was far from occasioning regret; especially since in his son and successor, Henry II., a prince of less active habits, they expected a more lenient master. But the hands to which Henry, from his very accession, committed the administration of his power, were most hostile to the reformed principles.

Few houses in Europe were more illustrious than that of Lorraine. Drawing their remote origin from times beyond memorial, they numbered, among their ancestors in the paternal line, Godfrey, the first king of Jerusalem; and, by the mother's side, they were descended from a daughter of Charlemagne. Claude, a younger brother of that family, having passed into the service of Louis XII., so far ingratiated himself with that monarch, and afterwards with his son, Francis I., that he obtained the erection of his estate of Guise into a Duchy; but the favour of the second reign was not of long endurance, and the latter days of Claude were passed in disgrace. His son Francis, a gallant and accomplished prince, bold, enterprising and ambitious, had won the affections of Henry by his skill in bodily exercises, and his agreeable talents for companionship. The marriage of one of his brothers, the duke d'Elbœuf, to a daughter of the royal mistress, Diana, duchess of Valentinois, materially strengthened the interests of this aspiring family; and when the bond became more strongly knit by the admission into the royal councils of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, the most crafty and politic spirit of his time, the threefold cord was in truth not easily to be broken. An alliance with the royal house itself, within a few years from the point at which we have now arrived, was to give increased consolidation to a power already too swollen for that of subjects: and when their niece, Mary, queen of Scots, bestowed her hand upon the Dauphin Francis, the brothers of Guise might be deemed virtual kings of France. There can be little doubt that all their sagacity and vigilance were thenceforward directed to the discovery of some favourable moment, at which the narrow line, still separating them from titular royalty, might be safely over-leaped. But the reformed, deeply suffering from the bitterness of persecution with which they had been visited, especially by the cardinal of Lorraine, watched their course with a keenly jealous observance; and to the political hatred which soon mingled itself with religious differences, may be traced the ultimate failure of the Guises, no less than the long train of bitter calamities which France was doomed to suffer from intestine discord.

The hopes of the Calvinists, perhaps, were not wholly dissipated, till the new king celebrated a public entry into his capital two years after his accession. The ceremonial was conducted with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and attended by the principal nobles of the kingdom. Heralds had been previously despatched to the emperor at Brussels, where they proclaimed, that jousts would be held during fifteen days in Paris. Thither, in the names of the challengers, amongst whom it was announced, that Henry himself would appear both on foot and on horseback, they invited all knights desirous of honour, to proceed and seek it at the appointed season. At the time of this solemnity, when the coronation also of the queen was celebrated, and a mock naval fight exhibited on the Seine, the king, surrounded by a brilliant *cortege*, held a bed of justice in his parliament; and a few days afterwards, assisted at a splendid religious procession; assembled the *notables* in one of the saloons of the palace, to take cognizance of the state of religion; and ordered the Conciergerie to be cleared that very night of all the miserable victims long since condemned for heresy, but whose execution had been specially deferred, in order that it might add another spectacle to these days of royal festivity. Four scaffolds were accordingly erected in different public places of the city; one on the Greve, one in the Place Maubert, a third in front of the porch of Notre Dame, and the last on the spot recently dedicated to scenes of chivalrous pleasure in the tournaments at the Rue St. Antoine. As darkness fell, the piles blazed on high; and the king, who visited them in succession, distinguished, not without compunction, among the cries of the wretched sufferers expiring in agony, the voice of a favourite attendant of his bedchamber.

A more general blow against the reformed was inflicted, when Henry, jealous of the designs of Charles V. upon the Duchy of Parma, espoused the cause of Octavio Farnese against the emperor and pope Julius III. The king of France then not only protested against the re-assembling of the Council of Trent, at the opening of its new session, but marched a body of troops to ravage the ecclesiastical territories; and willing to counteract any impression that he was hostile to the church itself, which might arise from these ambiguous acts, he issued an ordinance, *the Edict of Chateaubriand*, visiting the Sacramentarians with peculiar and unprecedented severity. By that mandate, the civil and ecclesiastical courts were instructed to co-operate for the extirpation of heresy. In order to prevent the admission of any secret favourer of the reformed opinions to stations of authority in the law, every person applying for such appointments, was to exhibit testimonials, not only of his correct morals, but also of his undoubted orthodoxy; and, in like manner, to purge the magistracy, even in its lowest grades, from any suspected officers, secret inquiries were to be made by the chiefs into the conduct of all their inferiors, the seneschals, baillies, provosts, and their respective lieutenants, as to their strict performance of the edict; and the higher counsellors were compelled to answer interrogatories concerning their faith, whenever proposed to them at the quarterly meetings. The most rigid examination on religious points was instituted before bestowal of academical appointments on rectors of colleges and schoolmasters; and, if in corporate towns, the mayors and aldermen were incautiously chosen, the electors exposed themselves to a process as fosterers of heresy. Under that most extensive denomination were now included not only those who should give an asylum to the reformed, or assist in any manner their escape from justice, but whoever, also, after an arrest, should venture to intercede or to present the slightest petition in behalf of a prisoner. The property of all fugitives to Protestant states was to be seized and confiscated; and any person who had been engaged in collusive transfers by which they nominally held the estates of absent heretics, and transmitted to them the rents, were subjected to like confiscation and an additional heavy fine. The informer who could prove that any subject of France had forwarded money to Geneva, was entitled to a clear third both of the penalties and of the property. The final clause was directed against the press, that mighty engine upon which the progress of knowledge must at all times depend, and without whose aid, the zeal, courage, piety, sufferings, activity, and talents of the reformers might ultimately have proved ineffectual. Books and pamphlets written in every vein of literature, didactic, controversial, or satirical; gravely illustrative of Protestant doctrines, or mercilessly ridiculing the abuses of popery, had long been forwarded from Geneva to Lyons as a central magazine. Their subsequent dispersion through the distant provinces was easily effected; and a hope of gain from the general excitement of public curiosity, induced the booksellers of Paris, of Poitiers, and of Bordeaux, to circulate and even to reprint this attractive ware. By the edict of Chateaubriand, the importation of every book of every sort from Geneva, or from any other town separated from the Romish communion, was prohibited under pain of fine and corporal punishment. The police of Lyons was ordered to pay frequent visits to booksellers' shops and printing offices. Printers were forbidden from working, unless on their own premises; from issuing abroad any work without their own name and that of the author on its title page; from receiving any MS. of the holy Scriptures, or connected with theology, unless attested by a certificate under the hands of two doctors of divinity; from selling any publication not registered in a catalogue which they were bound to present to the magistrates; from opening any packet of books on its arrival from a foreign country, unless in the presence of two ecclesiastics; and from selling by auction any library without the previous inspection of authorized censors. Human ingenuity might tax itself in vain to frame a law more odious than this edict; more oppressive or more tyrannically opposed to intellectual advancement, and therefore to the best interests of mankind.

The plague was now raging in Paris, and it seemed as if it were believed that the wrath of heaven might be deprecated by human victims, so numerous were the daily offerings of heretics delivered to the stake. In other parts of the kingdom, persecution was equally active. When the duke of Guise compelled Charles V., hitherto unaccustomed to reverse, to raise the siege of Metz, after the fruitless loss of the flower of his troops, perhaps the triumph of the victorious commander derived no small addition from a committal to the flames, by the common executioner, of every Lutheran book which he found within the walls of the city after its relief. At Lyons far more barbarous fires were kindled, and numerous missionaries who were despatched by the Bernese for the conversion of that city were adjudged to the stake. Among these was a brave gentleman, Louis de Marsac, whose youth had been passed, not without distinction, in arms, and whose later years found consolation in the perusal of the Scriptures, a crime deemed worthy of capital punishment. When led out to execution, the prisoner observed that each of his fellow sufferers carried a halter round his neck; an ignominy which had been spared himself, in consideration of the respect due to his military rank and services. Jealous, however, of his honour, and reluctant to surrender any portion, however small, of the glory of martyrdom, the undaunted veteran turned to the attendant magistrates, and asked of them, if there was any distinction between his own offence and that of his comrades? "If there be not," he added, "give me also a like collar, and enrol me in a similar order of knighthood."

The numerous abuses existing in the Gallican church at the commencement of the reformation had eminently assisted its progress in France. The crown had by degrees assumed to itself the patronage of almost all the great ecclesiastical preferments; and by its corrupt disposal of bishopricks and abbeys, had rendered them prizes of court favouritism instead of rewards of piety and learning. Persons most remote from spiritual habits frequently thus obtained benefices either for themselves or for their connexions; and even if they did not give occasion for scandal by open licentiousness, they deeply injured the credit of the church by total ignorance or neglect of its duties. The privilege of *commendam* was one of the most fruitful sources of disorder. In the earlier Christian church, whenever a hostile irruption, a famine, or any other public calamity, had so far diminished the revenues of an episcopal see, or a religious house, as to render them insufficient for the support of its ordinary head, the metropolitan *recommended* the pastoral charge to some neighbouring ecclesiastic, who accepted the additional burden gratuitously, till a more favourable season permitted a re-establishment of the suspended dignity. It is easy to perceive how this charitable custom, at first so praiseworthy, degenerated in times less pure into abuse. The chief revenues of the cardinals, whom the duties of the sacred college detained in permanent abode at Rome, were at first derived from prebends or other benefices without cure of souls; but ambition and avarice gradually fostered the desire of exalted station and overflowing coffers, and by the perversion of *commendams*, the richest sees were often accumulated in plurality upon ecclesiastics by whom they could never be visited. The convenient license thus assumed by the court of Rome was not likely to be long unimitated by secular princes; and, in France, the wealthiest benefices were abundantly showered down upon those, whose connexion with the blood royal, or whose cabinet duties as ministers of state, attached them to the court; even women were admitted as *Eveques Laiz*, and either sold their bishoprics or provided substitutes, or *Custodines*, as they were termed, to perform the clerical offices for the least possible stipend. Similar abuses prevailed among the inferior clergy; and dispensations were so readily accorded, that, unless in rare instances, the population at large lived either without any pastors at all, or with curates unworthy of the name. Religion, therefore, was sought for in vain, and its place was usurped by ignorance and superstition.

A reform of these grievous temporal abuses, preached boldly by men who announced also a more enlightened spiritual doctrine, which they asserted in despite of bonds, persecution and death, and who maintained their purity of teaching by a correspondent purity of life, was certain to obtain zealous partizans; especially when it was opposed, not by argument but by arms; combated only by the sword of the law and the terror of punishment. In vain was the scaffold deluged with the blood of unnumbered martyrs! It became, as has been powerfully said elsewhere, the seed of the church, springing up to abundant harvest, and bearing a return, some sixty, some a hundred-fold. In vain were the tongues of confessors torn out before they were dragged to execution, in order to prevent their dying words from awakening sympathy! They being dead yet spake; and their speech was as the voice of a trumpet. Day by day the reformation embedded itself more firmly in France, and secretly or openly a very large proportion of the population embraced its doctrines.

Hitherto, nevertheless, the Calvinists, as we must for the present call them, were but isolated individuals, without a focus and point of union; but their power, even while thus disjointed, had been sufficiently revealed in many separate struggles, especially in those occurring at Metz; and they could not long remain blind to the great benefit which would be derived from co-operation. It was in 1555 that the first avowed French church, on the principles of the reformation, was established at Paris, by a number of proselytes, for some time accustomed to assemble for worship in a house in an obscure quarter of the Fauxburg St. Germain. The chief of this little band was named Ferriere Maligni, a gentleman of ancient extraction and large possessions in Maine. His anxiety to obtain baptism, administered otherwise than after the ritual of that communion which he had abandoned, for an infant of which his wife was pregnant, induced him to organize a body approaching to the model of Geneva, and consisting of a minister, deacons, and elders. The example was followed during the same year at Meaux, at Poitiers, at Angiers, and at L'Isle d'Alvert in Saintonge; and so rapidly were these religious associations multiplied in other places—partly, indeed, by the connivance of magistrates who in secret were their friends—that in the single district of Orleans, six churches were founded before the expiration of the two following years. Great was the stability derived from these fixed and permanent institutions; for hitherto spiritual duties had been administered only by casual pastors; by itinerant missionaries from Geneva, ranging in small numbers over a large circuit, hastily disappearing at the first alarm, and leaving their flocks untended in moments of terror and of peril. The churches now erected, although wholly independent upon each other, maintained a cordial and uninterrupted mutual communication; ramified widely on all sides; and by deputing from themselves a fitting minister to every congregation which had the will and the ability to support one, ensured new strength to the parent stock by every fresh branch which germinated from its bosom.

Nor was it in France only that the French reformation hoped for establishment. Their sect, proscribed in the old world, sought for dominion in the new; and the brilliant hope might have been gratified but for the treachery of a hypocrite by whom they were deceived and betrayed. Nicholas Durand, of Villegagnon, a knight of Malta and vice-admiral of Britany, had been much employed in naval services on the coast of Brazil, with the localities of which he had thus become well acquainted; and stimulated equally by avarice and ambition, he thought to build his fortune on the patronage of one often to be mentioned with distinction in the following pages, Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France. That nobleman's attachment to the reformed doctrines, although not yet publicly avowed, was a matter of sufficient notoriety; and Durand obtained his confidence by offering to plant a Protestant colony on the shores of South America. Coligny ardently embraced the project; and having represented to the king in general terms, with a careful avoidance of his particular object, the probable great commercial advantages which must result from an establishment in that country, he obtained both the royal permission and also funds sufficient for his purpose. Durand, in assembling his band of emigrants, took especial care to secure, so far as prudence allowed, a great majority of Protestants; and before the close of 1555 he disembarked 300 settlers on an island in the Rio de Janeiro. The first advices which he transmitted home announced success in glowing language; and his applications for more colonists, for marriageable women, and, above all, for two discreet and active ministers, were received with avidity by Calvin and the synod of Geneva. Missionaries cheerfully volunteered on a service so hopeful and alluring; and it was not until they landed on a barren and burning soil, which, although affording but scanty means of uncertain subsistence, and scarcely extending a mile in circumference, had been dignified by the vanity of the adventurers with the swollen title of Antarctic France, that their dreams of peace, liberty, and abundance, were dissipated: nor was it till they had experienced, first the carelessness and opposition, afterwards the cruelty and persecution of Durand, that they discovered his object to be unconnected with purity of religion. In his *real* design he had amply succeeded: the admiral's influence and money had given him footing in America, and for the rest, it was now his interest to espouse the opposite party. Harassed by his tyranny and intolerance, the disappointed ministers and many of their flock asked permission to return to Europe. It was readily accorded; but the vessel provided for their passage was so little sea-worthy, that part of them feared to sail in her, and those who confided more willingly in the mercy of the elements than in that of their oppressor, nearly perished by famine from want of sufficient stores. At length, on touching at Hennebon, in Britany, they delivered to the magistrates of that town a sealed packet, which Durand had informed them would ensure protection and hospitality at whatever French port they might first land. These *Litteræ Bellerophontæ*, however, in truth denounced the bearers as heretics, and commended them to the secular arm. Fortunately for the unsuspecting messengers of their own destruction, the authorities at Hennebon favoured the reformation, and disclosed the perfidy of Durand to the miserable and exhausted fugitives. Ere the lapse of many years his wickedness encountered just retribution. His numbers, greatly weakened both by the departure of this persecuted band, and by his rule of blood over those who remained, were insufficient to withstand the attacks of the jealous Portuguese. During his absence in quest of reinforcements, the island was captured, the fort which he had erected was destroyed; and Rio de Janeiro, which, to adopt the opinion of the modern historian of Brazil, but for the treachery of Villegagnon to his own party, would probably have been at this day the capital of a French colony, was wrested from its undeserving possessors shortly after its attainment.

Meantime, the embarrassed political state of France, under the weak sway of Henry II., and the alarm and distraction which succeeded the memorable defeat of St. Quentin, removed the public attention for a short period from the increasing strength of Protestantism, and enabled its now organized church to strike root deeply and with firmness. It was not until two years after the establishment of a congregation in a meeting-house so publicly situated as to be immediately fronting the Sorbonne, that its frequenters, amounting to more than 400 persons, attracted any marked popular attention. During the panic, however, arising from the recent loss of the great battle just mentioned, the concourse of this large assembly of both sexes and of all classes, one evening at an unusual hour, to hear a sermon and to celebrate the Lord's Supper, excited suspicion in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of that quarter of the city rose in arms, beset the meeting-house, and when the Calvinists opened its doors, at the close of their worship, in order to retire, attacked them with volleys of stones. A general tumult ensued; a few of the reformed, drawing their swords, cut their way through the infuriated rabble; and the remainder, less courageous, endeavoured to defend themselves within the meeting-house, which they barricaded, till the arrival of the police freed them for awhile from danger. The officers took possession of a large and well-lighted apartment, down the centre of which were arranged some wooden benches round a long table covered with linen cloths; and close to the side walls were spread a few mattresses, as an accommodation for those persons who resided too distantly to permit them to return home at an advanced hour of night. But great indeed was the astonishment of the directing magistrate, when amid the congregation he perceived numerous persons of distinction, and, especially, certain ladies of the palace and maids of honour to the queen. Willing to spare his female prisoners the shame and, perhaps, the danger of open exposure to a fierce and licentious mob, he took all the precautions in his power for their safety. But his escort proved too weak; and it was not until after the endurance of grievous insults and great violence, so that the hoods of the women were rudely torn from their faces, and all suffered indiscriminately from blows and showers of mud, that they were lodged in the Chatelet. Pains were taken, during their imprisonment before trial, to spread abroad the most atrocious calumnies respecting the objects of their meeting. The nameless crimes which, from the first ages of the church, have been imputed to those whom peril has compelled to employ secrecy in their assemblies, were again revived; and the innocent mattresses found in the meeting-house were cited even from the pulpit as damning proofs of the unspeakable guilt of the prisoners. A judge, of broken character, Musnier by name, concealing himself at the moment from a process of subornation and perjury, solicited the odious post of public accuser; and the suspension of the suit against him was the price which he was to receive for his labour of bitterness and hatred. In a few days he expedited the legal forms against the accused, and pursuing his task with the ardour of one who felt that his own immunity was to be purchased by their destruction, he succeeded in obtaining a sentence which brought five of his victims to the stake. The friends of the remaining prisoners, and of the few who had escaped, drew up a bold *Apology*, addressed to the king, but intended for the public. It received many answers from the zeal of the Sorbonne; and among them one not to be forgotten, of which the author was Cenalis, bishop of Avranches. That learned prelate entered into "a marvellous pleasant disputation" concerning the signs of the true church; presupposing that, even without the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the Sacraments, there were certain outward signs by which a true and false church might be distinguished from each other. The signs of our church, says this acute reasoner, are bells, by which we are summoned to mass; the signs of the heretics are pistols and muskets, which they discharge during their meetings. He then wantons and luxuriates through a protracted antithesis of the opposite qualities of these visible testimonies. Bells, he says, with a play upon the words which it is difficult to render, sound in unison, muskets in confusion; bells explode musically, muskets terrifically; the former open heaven, the latter hell; these disperse storms and lightning, those gather clouds and mimic thunder. In spite of this logic, the elector Palatine and the Protestant Cantons interceded for the prisoners; and since the state of his external relations was too dangerous to permit Henry to run the hazard of awakening new foreign enemies, he dissembled, and consented to their enlargement.

It was no longer then among the obscure or middle classes only that the spirit of the reformation was to be sought; it had reared its head in high places also; and the court and the nobles of France were beginning to be divided among themselves on the great question of religious faith. Of the two royal houses of Valois and Bourbon, both descended from St. Louis, the former was now in possession of the crown; the latter, although depressed by Francis I., in consequence of the well-known treason of its head, the constable, enjoyed all the privileges of princes of the blood; and its present representatives, Antony Duke of Vendome (who by marriage with Jeanne D'Albret had become titular king of Navarre) and his brother Louis Prince of Conde, may be named as the most illustrious of those who inclined to the Protestant doctrines. The king of Navarre was a man of easy temper and vacillating conduct, quickly alarmed, indolent, and devoted to pleasure. The prince of Conde, on the other hand, was bold, hardy, daring, and adventurous. His marriage with a niece of the Admiral Coligny cemented a union between the two families, and brought him in contact with the reformed: and while the king of Navarre, floating loosely on the tide of scepticism, was for ever tossed about by some new wave of doubt, and lived and died in suspense between the two creeds, the prince of Conde devoted all the influence of his exalted rank, all his physical energies, and all his great powers of intellect to the support of the holy cause which he ultimately adopted with his inmost heart.

The nuptials of the Dauphin Francis with Mary Queen of Scots had summoned a brilliant assembly to Paris, and the Bourbons, for a long time unused to bask in royal favour, and therefore, so far as the necessary obligations of their rank permitted, avoiding the chill atmosphere of the court whose sunshine was eclipsed to them, attended the festivities, much more in compliance with etiquette than from inclination. No sooner had the king withdrawn from his capital, after the conclusion of the spectacles, than these princes, with their consorts, resorted to the Protestant congregations. Urged by the fiery zeal of Calvin, who in frequent letters had reproached them with cowardice and pusillanimity, the reformed ministers were then preparing to astonish all France by a bold avowal of their proscribed and persecuted faith. The princes of the blood were prevailed upon to accompany a solemn procession through the Fauxbourg St. Germain, in which nearly four thousand of the reformed chanted, at the fullest pitch of voice, the Psalms of Marot, and paraded during several hours under the protection of a numerous escort of armed gentlemen. When intelligence of this singular exhibition was conveyed to the king, great pains were taken to impress upon him that it was but a part of a general conspiracy on the eve of explosion. But the high rank of the chief parties concerned deterred him from proceeding farther, at the moment, than ordering his parliament to prosecute inquiries and receive informations, and threatening capital punishment for any similar outrage.

One step indeed he took in his perplexity, little justified either by prudence or by the immediate circumstances. Francis de Coligny, Sieur d'Andelot, although more boldly avowing the principles of Calvinism than his brother the admiral, had not joined in this procession. On visiting his estate in Britany, however, a province as yet less imbued than any other with the reformed doctrines, he had been accompanied by a Protestant minister, who preached and administered the communion in the house of his patron, and assisted him in laying the foundation of more than one Calvinistic church. The king, unwilling wholly to overlook this open defiance of law, was equally unwilling to expose himself to a breach with the powerful family of Coligny; and perhaps, as a consequence, with that of Montmorency also; and he therefore mildly invited D'Andelot to court, in order that he might hear his justification, and thus silence his accusers. For that purpose he informed beforehand, both the Cardinal de Chastillon, another brother of D'Andelot, and a Montmorency, his cousin, of the precise questions which he designed to ask, in order that time might be afforded for the preparation of suitable replies; and he added, that without pursuing the investigation more deeply, he should be content with a simple disavowal. That disavowal, however, was not easily to be wrung from the singlehearted, spotless, and sincere D'Andelot; and it was in vain that his brother and his cousin exhausted their casuistry to persuade the gallant and high-minded soldier, who coveted the glorious title *sans reproache*, to violate his honour and offend his conscience. The king, during a familiar conversation at supper, reminded him of the long and sincere attachment subsisting between them; how numerous were the favours bestowed on the one hand, how great the services performed on the other. At the same time, he expressed a profound conviction, that one whom he so cordially loved, never could be found in the ranks of his enemies, lending himself to the rebellious stratagems of a turbulent and illegal sect. Still, he continued, as some strange reports to the contrary had been whispered, it would be advisable that he should make a declaration of his opinions concerning the Mass. To this request D'Andelot calmly replied, that the remembrance of the king's exceeding grace and bounty was so deeply impressed upon his heart that he could not sufficiently display his gratitude, even if he expended his last drop of blood in the royal service; to which he had vowed to devote his sword, his body, and his life. Nevertheless that his soul belonged to God, its giver; that having providentially been enlightened by the Gospel, and believing that he had discovered truth in that very creed which his majesty persecuted blindly and without inquiry, he should think himself unworthy to live if he lied before his conscience and his king. And, finally, that since he was compelled to explain himself concerning the Mass, he did not hesitate to declare that he considered it to be a horrible profanation. The king, little prepared for this uncompromising rejection of his overtures, and indignant at having lavished so much gentleness upon one who thus boldly defied his authority, hastily breaking up the table, seized a dish, and while intending to vent his anger by shattering it on the ground, unintentionally struck the dauphin, who sat next him, a severe blow. He then committed the offender to the prison of the Bishop of Meaux, and deprived him of his high office of colonel in chief of the French infantry.

A short period of reflection, however, convinced the king of the impolicy of these extreme measures; and he wrote with his own hand to the constable Montmorency an account of the provocation which he had received from his kinsman, entreating him at the same time to be at ease, for that all was pardoned; and in testimony of his intended mercy, he removed the prisoner from the Episcopal custody, in which he was in some measure exposed to the grasp of the inquisition, to a much less formidable confinement in the castle of Melun. During his imprisonment in that fortress, D'Andelot's hours were chiefly devoted to reading; and Brantome, from whom we derive this information, is greatly scandalized that he was permitted to receive all kinds of books indiscriminately without previous search. The Inquisition, he tells us, was by no means so strict as it proved afterwards, and every here and there people might learn the new religion. Then breaking out into that which we imagine is a denouncement of letters in general, "See," he exclaims, "what are the fruits of leisure and of idleness! how readily do they teach all evil matters, of which the wages is repentance."

It was in vain that Paul IV., who received with delight intelligence of the first vigorous commencement of this quarrel, extolled the king's piety, and the self-sacrifice which he had offered up. "What," said the pontiff, kindling with his theme, and snuffing the fumes of an approaching Holocaust, "what is fitting on such occasions but to leap on the neck of the criminal, and to burn him alive on the spot!" The royal ambassador, to whom these words were addressed, humbly represented that justice in France did not travel with footsteps thus rapid, especially when the fate of one so illustrious as D'Andelot was to be decided. Meantime, the wiles of the tempter were put in force, instead of the fires of the executioner. Ruse, confessor to the king, a doctor fully accomplished in the logic of the Sorbonne, (as his name might seem to imply, if we were inclined to play upon it,) was instructed to wind himself into the confidence of the prisoner, and to sap that firmness which despised all menace and repelled every open attack. The tears of a beloved wife and the remonstrances of the admiral, who earnestly adjured his brother to dissemble, after his own manner, till the arrival of a better season, at length prevailed, and D'Andelot so far yielded as to permit the celebration of Mass in his cell. The gates of the prison were thrown open to him immediately on the conclusion of that service; but never did his high-toned spirit cease to reproach itself with that which it regarded as a weak, guilty, and dishonourable compliance. This lenity of the king disconcerted and irritated the bigoted Romanists; and not long afterwards, when the parliament brought the suspended process against the corrupt Judge Musnier to conclusion, and condemned him on the clearest evidence to the pillory and to banishment, the populace, attributing his sentence to the zeal which he had recently testified in prosecuting the reformed unto death, rose in a body when he was brought out for punishment, and prevented its execution. Two similar tumults soon afterwards occurred; in one a thief was rescued from the gallows because he was a Romanist; in the other, a miserable Calvinist was, in like manner, torn from the hands of the magistrates—not that his life might be preserved, but that he might expire under the protracted agonies inflicted by a ferocious rabble.

Yet even in these moments of great peril, while the madness of the people was raging, while the kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers took counsel together against the reformed, the Calvinists of France had sufficient wisdom to provide for the unity of their church by drawing up a confession of faith and canons of discipline. Animated by holy courage, and confident in God, they convoked their first national synod for those purposes, in the metropolis of the kingdom, and at the very doors of the court. Over this memorable assembly, which commenced on the 20th of May, 1559, and continued its session till the 28th of the same month, Francis de Morel, Sieur de Callonges, presided, assisted by the deputies of eleven churches. A confession was promulgated, consisting of XV. distinct articles, in which the following particulars are some of the most important. The canon of the Scripture agrees with that admitted by the church of England, and the Apocryphal books, although not mentioned by name, are alluded to much after the manner of our own VIth article. (Art. IV.) The Apostles' creed, together with the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, are allowed "because they be agreeable to the word of God." (Art. V.) The Trinity in Unity, the distinction of the three Persons, the begetting of the Son, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son jointly, are declared to be taught by Scripture. (Art. VI.) The perplexed question of free will is discreetly avoided, and the doctrine of God's Providence is treated in cautious and sensible language. (Art. VIII.) An acknowledgment of the creation of Adam pure and upright, conformably to God's image; of his fall and consequent entire corruption (Art. IX.); of the burthen of original sin thus entailed upon his offspring (Art. X.); "so that even the choicest of God's Saints, although they do resist it, yet are they defiled with very many sins and offences so long as they live in this world" (Art. XI.); leads the way to the following account of election. "We believe that out of this general corruption and condemnation in which all men are plunged, God doth deliver them whom He hath in his eternal and unchangeable counsel chosen, of His mere goodness and mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, without any consideration of their works, leaving the rest in their sins and damnable estate, that He may show forth in them His justice, as in the elect He doth most illustriously declare the riches of His mercy. For one is no better than another until such time as God doth make the difference, according to His unchangeable purpose, which He hath determined in Jesus Christ before the creation of the world. Nor can any one by his own power procure unto himself so great a blessing; because we cannot by nature, nor of ourselves, excite in ourselves any one good motion, thought, or affection, until such time as God does prevent and incline us to it by His grace." (Art. XII.) Christ alone requisite to salvation (Art. XIII.); the union of God and man in His person in opposition to the diabolical imagination of Servetus (Art. XIV.); justification by faith; and the abandonment of all human merit, are next unequivocally professed (Art. XX.) All mediation but that of Christ is peremptorily rejected (Art. XXIV.); the nature of our Lord is examined (Arts. XXV., XXVI., XXVII.); and the claims of Rome to the title of a true church, are summarily dismissed; "yet nevertheless, because there is yet some small track of a church in the Papacy, and that baptism, as to its substance, hath been still continued; and because the efficacy of baptism doth not depend upon him who doth administer it, we confess that they which are there baptized do not need a second baptism. In the meanwhile, because of the corruptions which are mingled with the administration of that sacrament, no man can present his children to be baptized in that church without polluting of his conscience." (Art. XXVIII.) The Calvinistic platform is then affirmed to agree with "that discipline which the Lord Jesus has established." (Art. XXIX.) The equality of all churches is asserted (Art. XXX.); and, in the articles which succeed, a faint apology is offered for the breach of Apostolical succession into which Geneva is said to have been compulsorily driven. (Art. XXXI.) Then, after an explanation of the sacraments, the confession terminates with the following articles on political obedience;—articles which it might be thought would render any government, however suspicious, confident of the fidelity, the submissiveness, and the desire to seek peace which must have animated the breast of every one who subscribed the document in which they were contained.

"We believe that God will have the world to be ruled by laws and civil government, that there may be some sort of bridles by which the unruly lusts of the world may be restrained; and, that therefore, he appointed kingdoms, commonwealths, and other kinds of principalities, whether hereditary or otherwise. And not that alone, but also whatsoever pertaineth to the ministration of justice, whereof he avoucheth himself the Author; therefore, hath he even delivered the sword into the magistrate's hand, so that sins committed against both the tables of God's law, not only against the second but the first also, may be suppressed. And therefore, because God is the author of this order, we must not only suffer magistrates whom He hath set over us, but we must also give them all honour and reverence, as unto His officers and lieutenants, which have received their commission from Him to exercise so lawful and sacred a function." (Art. XXXIX.)

"Therefore, we affirm that obedience must be yielded unto their laws and statutes, that tribute must be paid to them, taxes and all other duties, and that we must bear the yoke of subjection with a free and willing mind, although the magistrates be infidels: so that the sovereign government of God be preserved entire. Wherefore we detest all those who do reject the higher powers, and would bring in a community and confusion of goods, and subvert the course of justice." (Art. XL.)

On the canons of discipline it is not requisite that we should dwell; they regulate the appointment of church officers according to the well-known general Calvinistic model: and, in those articles which regard the laity, they occasionally exhibit somewhat of that spirit of encroachment on private rights and personal liberty of action which distinguishes all sects derived from the fountain of Geneva. Thus ministers and all other members of the church are forbidden from "printing their own, or other works concerning religion, or in any wise publishing them till they have first communicated them unto two, or more, of the Gospel, of unspotted reputation." (Art. XXVIII.) "The faithful whose yoke-fellows are convict of adultery, shall be advised to reconcile themselves with them; but in case of refusal, that liberty they have by the word of God shall be declared to them. However none of the churches shall dissolve the marriage, lest they should intrench upon the authority of the civil magistrate." (Art. XXXVII.) "No person may contract marriage without the consent of parents; but in case parents should be so unreasonable as to refuse their consent to such a holy and needful ordinance, the consistory shall advise what is to be done herein." (Art. XXXVIII.) "Promises of marriage once made cannot be dissolved, no, not by mutual consent of the parties who have past those promises to each other; and the consistory of that church where those persons are members, shall judge of the lawfulness of those promises." (Art. XXXIX.)

In the decisions of the synod upon the cases of conscience submitted to it, we meet the same prudent and peaceable deference to rulers and the powers that be, which characterize the articles already cited. "Our brother of St. John D'Angley demanding, whether the faithful might lawfully suffer their children's names to be recorded in the registers of Popish priests? It was answered, that because it was a civil ordinance of his majesty, the ministers and consistories should specially observe the design and end of him that doth it, and admonish him that he be very careful lest thereby he be taken for a Papist." (Art. VIII.) "As to what was proposed by our brother of St. Lo, we answer, that notwithstanding the Popish priests do unjustly claim a right to tithes upon the account of their ministry, yet they must be paid, because of the king's commandment, as a matter in itself indifferent, and that sedition and scandal may be avoided." (Art. XVI.) Well would it be if the Quakers had profited by the lesson afforded them in this last decision of the wiser Calvinists, and had learned to avoid the silly and troublesome subterfuge by which they elude the direct payment of government dues!

CHAPTER III.

Dissensions in the Parliament of Paris—The Mercuriales—Presence of the King—Speeches of Dufaur and Dubourg—Their arrest—Process against Dubourg—His condemnation—Death of Henry II.—Supplication of the Reformed to Catherine de Medicis—Dubourg's appeal—His firmness—Denouncements of the Reformed—Assassination of Minart—Execution of Dubourg—Outrages in Paris—Weakness of the King of Navarre—The Prince of Condé avows his conversion—Calvinistic doctrine of Passive obedience—Its sophistical resolution—Condé becomes virtual Chief of the Reformed—La Renaudie—The King's journey to Blois—Frightful reports preceding it.

THIS solemn meeting of the reformed, and the provisions for organization which emanated from it, could not have occurred more seasonably; for a blow was about to be struck which, but for the strength derived from union, might have proved fatal. Among the several chambers of the parliament of Paris, little agreement existed relative to the punishment of heretics. The grand chamber invariably condemned to the flames the delinquents cited before its tribunal; the court called *La Tournelle*, on the other hand, was not less anxious to discover subterfuges by which means of escape might be opened. On one occasion, four students of irreproachable life and morals, but zealous Calvinists, having been condemned to death by the inferior courts, appealed to the Tournelle. The president, eager to avoid a confirmation of the horrible sentence, and having failed to procure from the culprits any disavowal of the charge, warned them to be cautious and reserved in answering the interrogatories which he was about to propose. He then questioned them on many doctrinal points in which but slight shades of difference existed between the Reformed and the Romanists; and, finally, as the most trying point of all, he inquired their opinion of the real presence in the eucharist. Placed on their guard by his previous advice, the prisoners contented themselves with replying that they admitted a real presence, without proceeding to explain the distinction between the corporal presence of the Papists and the symbolical presence of Calvin. The major part of the judges appeared satisfied; the court would have broken up, and the former sentence would have been reversed, if one member, more difficult than his brethren, had not asked whether the culprits were willing to assist at Mass. They answered unhesitatingly in the negative; and the president foreseeing that if they were called upon to state their reasons they must be utterly lost, demanded their explanation in writing, and gave them twenty-four hours to prepare it. Even this merciful artifice, however, was wholly unavailing. The accused, preferring integrity of conscience to life purchased by apostasy, shook off the proffered clemency as though it were pollution; and their answer when presented to the court at its next meeting was found to contain one of the bitterest invectives against the Mass which had hitherto appeared. Nevertheless, even with this unexpected document before them, the judges persevered in mercy. They decreed that the law had pronounced capital punishment against those Sacramentarians only who denied the real presence; that the pain of death therefore did not extend to the prisoners who had admitted that doctrine; and that their offence being no more than a want of reverence for the Mass, banishment would be a sufficient penalty.

The prisoners were accordingly released, happy in their exile; but the public voice loudly condemned this new interpretation of the law. The very existence of such a crime as heresy, it said, was abolished by the recent sentence; Zuinglius, Bucer, Œcolampadius, nay, even Calvin himself, might now propagate his blasphemies with impunity; all former executions on account of religion were rendered manifestly unjust; and the magistrates who had pronounced capital sentence must be stigmatized as murderers of the innocent. This dissension between the two chambers was represented to the king as utterly destructive of the foundations of all jurisprudence; if one judge pronounced that to be criminal which another affirmed to be innocent, of what avail was any code of law? Where was the security of either the government or the governed? or what man of any degree or condition possessed a sure rule of life whereby his course might be regulated? Some of the councillors, it was artfully stated, were themselves tainted with the heresy, the propagators of which they absolved; and the king, at the approaching assembly of the next *Mercuriales*, might have a favourable opportunity of receiving conviction to that effect by the testimony of his own ears. A censorship, it appears, had long existed, the members of which assembled on a Wednesday (*Dies Mercurii*) at an interval of every three months; when the presidents of the two chambers, and of the several courts emanating from them, and a deputation from the councillors, met together with the attorney-general and the king's advocate, to review the public and private conduct of the several magistrates; to bring it, if necessary, before the cognizance of the whole parliament, and there to institute legal proceedings against offending members. It was on the 10th of June that the sitting of the ensuing *Mercuriales* occurred; and a debate then commenced on the recent sentences, and on the general treatment of the reformed. In this discussion, much heat and violence were exhibited, and purposely fomented by the president Le Maistre, a zealous Romanist. At a moment in which the irritation of the conflicting speakers appeared at its height, the king, as had been preconcerted, accompanied by the Bourbon princes, the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the dukes of Guise and Montmorency, and a powerful armed escort, unexpectedly entered the hall of assembly; and having taken his seat, addressed the members. He had heard, he said, that his faithful councillors were occupied in debates upon the best means of suppressing religious troubles; and, wishing to profit by their deliberations, upon a subject on which he felt much doubt, he now commanded them to proceed.

If the first sudden apparition of royalty and the numerous guards who surrounded the chamber had alarmed the members favourable to the new doctrine, consciousness of integrity soon reassured them; and, for the most part, they continued to express their opinions with their customary freedom. Louis Dufaur, a distinguished advocate, argued that religious differences were assuredly the principal cause of the existing peril and calamity; but that the first step towards remedy ought to be a solemn inquiry as to the side to which the chief blame was attributable; lest the question of the Prophet to the unrighteous Ahab might be applied in this instance also, "Art *Thou* he that troublest Israel?"* Anne Dubourg, an ecclesiastic, next opened an elaborate apology for the general principles of the Reformation. Having first thanked the King for his resolution to probe this question to its core, and to act according to the rules of justice, he remarked that many crying sins, blasphemy, perjury, uncleanness, and adultery, stalked abroad in noon-day, unabashed and unpunished; while new and unheard-of penalties were devised against men who, guilty of no crime, raised the torch of Scripture, to discover by its light the corruptions of Rome. He then urged the necessity of a general council, which might purge the church of its manifold abuses; and he noticed the artifices by which each succeeding Pope had eluded the oath administered at his election, binding him immediately to convoke such an assembly. "While the pontiffs are thus faithless, and while kings occupied in projects of ambition are negligent of spiritual interests, a few courageous men," continued the fervid orator, "have taken this great work in hand; founding the goodly edifice which they seek to compact, on the word of God delivered in the holy volume, and on the discipline of the primitive fathers in the first three centuries of the church. How praiseworthy is the enterprise! how inappreciable the blessings to be derived from it if it be faithfully executed! and yet, Christendom, for the most part, has arrayed itself against this labour of love while yet in its cradle, by edicts, ordinances, and proscriptions; by terror of punishment and menaces of extermination; forgetful that the Father of all Truth has emancipated the soul of man from the sword of the tyrant, and that a well-grounded opinion can never be destroyed, except by the superior weight of an opposite opinion more consonant with reason. God forbid that France should persist in following the insane example of Germany! If she does so, the land will be fouled by massacre and carnage; defaced by butchery and scaffolds; blackened by the smoke of persecuting flames; and, after all these horrors, we shall be eager to retrace every step which we have trodden in blood." In conclusion, he advised the King to employ his utmost efforts for the convention of a general council; and if he failed in that attempt, at least to assemble within his own dominions the most pious and enlightened divines, who, by their joint labours, under his own vigilant control, might consummate a salutary Reform; meantime that all suits for religious offences should be suspended. This bold declaration was followed by some more cautious speeches from other members, who sought to extenuate the merciful decision of the courts on account of particular facts in the cases brought before them; and the debate was closed by a fiery harangue from the first president, Le Maistre, breathing the spirit of Torquemada himself; extolling the pious energy of Philippe Auguste, who, in a single day, ordered six hundred Albigenses to be burned in his own presence; and recommending the persecutions renewed from time to time against the Vaudois, as examples adapted to the existing state of religion in France.

At the end of the session, the King observed, with an angry tone, that he now clearly perceived the truth of those reports which informed him that his parliament contained members who despised both the regal and the pontifical authority. Few as they were, they disgraced the whole body to which they belonged; and they should find, to their cost, that they were heaping destruction on their own heads. Then turning to Montgomery, the commander of the Scotch guard, he ordered him to arrest Dufaur and Dubourg as the most obnoxious delinquents. Soldiers were also despatched to seize in their own houses six other members, three of whom, by a timely warning, escaped. This unprecedented act of despotism was variously received according to the bias of men's opinions; the Pope and the zealous Romanists extolled it as manifesting a holy vigour and a firm devotion to the cause of God, as worthy in all respects of the Most Christian King, and the Eldest Son of the Church. But the more sober-minded perceived in it a violation of liberty; a breach of the law by him who ought to be the law's principal guardian and conservator; a curtailment of freedom of debate; a degradation of the character of the parliament; a sullying of the royal dignity. All these great errors conjoined, were esteemed perilous and portentous auguries of future trouble.

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* It need scarcely be remarked, that this is *not* the question of Elijah to Ahab, but of Ahab to Elijah, (1 *Kings* xviii. 17.) We give it, however, as it is reported in the *Mém. de Condé*, by De Thou, and afterwards by Garnier.

The King, nevertheless, pressed on judicial proceedings, and swore in his wrath that the criminals should be burned under his own eyes. The Protestant princes of Germany employed their intercession uselessly; their envoys were treated with cold civility, and dismissed with general expressions that their masters should receive abundant satisfaction. Within nine days from the arrest of Dubourg, against whom especial vengeance was meditated, his judges were named and his trial commenced. He demurred to the authority of the court, and asserted his privilege as a councillor, not to be tried for a capital offence unless by the whole assembled parliament. A fresh breach of law deprived him of this right, and the King appointed a commission, before which, if Dubourg persisted in his refusal to plead, he was to be reputed as already condemned. The prisoner, having first entered his protest against this new violation of liberty, answered the interrogatories concerning his faith so as to lead to full conviction that it was unsound. Without requiring farther evidence, the Archbishop of Paris pronounced him a heretic, degraded him from his order, and delivered him over to the secular arm. An appeal still lay to the Archbishop of Sens, and of this, Dubourg availed himself, with what success we shall perceive hereafter.

Two days after this judgment had been passed, the lance of Montgomery terminated Henry's designs of vengeance. De Thou mentions a report, (but without either sanctioning or contradicting it,) that the King, when raised from the fatal lists in order to be conveyed to the palace, looked back at the Bastile, and expressed a fear that he had wronged the innocent councillors then confined within its walls. But a voice was ready at his ear to dispel this salutary remorse; and the Cardinal of Lorraine, ill-concealing his anger, whispered that such a misgiving must be prompted by the Father of Lies, the enemy of the human race; and exhorted the dying Prince to be watchful against his seductions, and to persevere in faith unto the end. It was into the hands of the wily Prelate, who thus dried up the healing waters of charity when they first sought issue from the bosom of his dying sovereign, and into those of his brother, the Duke of Guise, the two bitterest enemies of the Reformed cause, that the new king, Francis II., implicitly resigned himself immediately on his accession.

The Commission instituted to take cognizance of the process against Dubourg had expired with Henry, and it was fondly hoped by the Reformed that it would not be renewed. Francis II., imbecile both in mind and body, seemed unlikely to assume the character of a persecutor; and a prince yet a novice to the sceptre, and but just folded in the mantle of royalty, might be thought reluctant to stain the festivities of his coronation by a deed of blood. It can little be wondered also, in the excited state of feeling which marked the times, that an impression had spread abroad, if not originating with the Sacramentarians, assuredly encouraged by them, that the disastrous fate of Henry had been the result of an especial interposition of Providence. It was to the charge of Montgomery that he had consigned Dubourg as prisoner; it was the spear of Montgomery which inflicted his death-wound; he had vowed that Dubourg should burn under his own eyes; it was in the eye that he had received the mortal thrust; and Dubourg, from the windows of the Bastile, might view the jousts celebrated in the Rue St. Antoine. Futile and frivolous as these petty coincidences appear to cooler minds in calmer moments, they were not without their weight when first remarked; and it was therefore with no slight surprise that the Protestants heard, on the third day after the accession of Francis, that the Cardinal of Lorraine had issued a new commission to the former judges; that the Archbishop of Sens had confirmed the sentence of his Brother Prelate of Paris; and that nothing more remained to the prisoner but to endeavour to obtain his right of submitting a last and most unpromising appeal to the whole assembled Parliament.

When we call to mind those events which have made the queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, a by-word and an abomination in history, we cannot learn without astonishment that *she* was the personage upon whom the Reformed Church of Paris placed hope in this their destitution. But Catherine had not yet displayed herself in those colours of blood by which she is "incarnadined" to all posterity. During the life of her husband, the late king, she had cultivated with seeming affection the society of the Dame de Roye (mother of the Princess de Condé) and that of the Admiral Coligny, both known supporters of the Reformed interests. She had even, it was said, apparently lent a favourable ear to some of the Calvinistic preachers; and it could not be doubted that, at the present moment, she felt little complacency towards the Guises, who sought to engross the whole powers of Government, to diminish her natural rights, and to frustrate her parental influence over a son whom she had hoped, on account of his weakness, to retain in perpetual minority. To the Queen Mother, therefore, the French Reformed addressed their supplication. "The pity and the good will," thus commenced the simple-hearted petitioners, "which your Majesty has ever deigned to manifest towards our cause, have long taught us to regard you as a second Esther."—Alas! there was another Queen, not in Shushan but in Israel, who *threatened the lives of the Prophets of the Lord, and slew innocent men, and whose witchcrafts were many*, to whom she might have been more fittingly likened! They then assured her that in their religious service, besides the customary prayer for the prosperity of the King, they had always used a particular one for herself, entreating that God would be pleased to preserve and to enlighten her by his law; they urged also that it was her privilege, as mother of the King, to rescue the guiltless from destruction, and to prevent her son from imitating, in the very outset of his reign, those atrocities which had recently called down the vengeance of Heaven upon her husband and his most unhappy kingdom. The tears of Catherine were ever ready at command, and they plenteously bedewed this memorial. She then returned it with an assurance that no exertions which might contribute to their object should be wanting on her part; and in the mean time she advised them to employ more than ordinary caution, and not to heighten the present irritation by publicly celebrating their worship, or by congregating in numerous assemblies. Furthermore, she commissioned the Admiral to procure for her a conference with the most discreet of the Parisian Reformed ministers; and named the day of the *Sacre*, at Rheims, as that on which it might take place with the least fear of attracting public notice. A minister was accordingly introduced to her closet at the appointed time, but other unexpected calls wore away the day, and the conference was postponed.

Dubourg himself, meanwhile, skilfully profited by every expedient which the law afforded to procure delay, and his demurrers were one by one examined and overruled. Unable to obtain a general assembly of the chambers, he shamed his enemies into granting permission that he might be heard by counsel, and might also challenge the judges of his final appeal. Two were named by him at the moment in court, the third he begged leave to mention in writing; and when pressed upon this point, and ordered to declare himself instantly, having first apologized for the discourtesy which he was thus most reluctantly obliged to commit, he boldly protested against the judgment of the Cardinal of Lorraine, his most grievous enemy, and the author and fountain of all his persecutions. This avowal was unexpected; but the Cardinal, far too experienced a politician to betray his mortification, mildly disclaimed enmity against the prisoner, and voluntarily withdrew. Merillac, the distinguished advocate assigned for the defence, was sufficiently acquainted with the temper of the court to know that, without some show of relaxation on the part of the accused from the severity of his principles, his cause was desperate. He first, therefore, arranged a written confession of faith, so generally and ambiguously expressed, that Dubourg might sign and the judges accept it with equally clear consciences. Then, obtaining a promise from his client, that he would remain silent, and surrender himself altogether to the line of defence selected by his advocate, after an exordium on the illustrious birth of the prisoner, who was nephew of a chancellor of France, his great acquirements, his rare modesty, his primitive virtues, and his excellence as a magistrate; he pointed out the numerous illegalities of the process from its very commencement, and when Dubourg naturally expected that in the peroration an annulment of all the proceedings would be demanded, he was astonished by hearing an appeal to the mercy of the King and the sympathy of the judges; an avowal of indiscretion in having too freely expressed opinions both in the Royal presence, and in his answers to the interrogatories of the Archbishop of Paris; and an admission that he had been deceived by some religious impostors pretending to extraordinary purity. "But the delusion," continued Merillac, "has passed away; the prisoner, sincerely attached to the laws of his country, and submitting to the powers authorized by God, acknowledges his fault, and throws himself on the indulgence of the tribunal." Then, on his making a private signal to those of the judges who were known to be favourable, and with whom the scheme had been preconcerted, the court rose; and Dubourg was reconducted to his cell without an opportunity of addressing it.

By this friendly stratagem Dubourg would have been saved, if his noble spirit could have brooked the preservation of life by tacit acquiescence in falsehood. Calling for ink and paper on his return to prison, he wrote a peremptory disavowal of Merillac's statement of his repentance, and transmitted it forthwith to the Parliament. He then addressed a Circular Letter to the Protestant Churches, in order to counteract the impression which he feared might be entertained that the frequency of his appeals was prompted by any weakness of the flesh, any clinging to life, any shrinking from the fiery trial that awaited him. The legal forms, he said, of which he had taken advantage, abuses as they were, were abuses authorized by the Constitution. Had he consulted his own feelings, he would long since have been at rest, and in the enjoyment of his Crown of Martrydom; but he owed it to himself, to his Brethren, to his Faith, and to his God, to seek time, in order to give every possible publicity to the doctrines which he maintained; and not by any rash act of over-fervid zeal, to encounter the guilt of accelerating that death which in good season he should confront without fear. His friends again addressed themselves to Catherine, stating that they had complied with her advice, and had either discontinued their meetings or had held them in secrecy, but that persecution, notwithstanding, had waxed fierce. For themselves, they could continue to promise obedience; but they warned the Queen that there was a numerous body of men, not absolutely professed Reformers, but inwardly disgusted with the tyranny of Rome, who, if this nefarious process were persisted in, would infallibly have recourse to dangerous extremities. · Catherine was too high-couraged to read a threat like this without indignation. "Do they menace me?" she exclaimed, "do they think to make *me* fear?—Patience, patience! matters have not yet come to such a point as they imagine." The Admiral and Madame de Roye pacified her anger; and she then declared, that whatever compassion she might have exhibited towards the Reformed when under suffering, was no more than womanly pity and natural sympathy for the unfortunate, and not to be interpreted as approbation of their tenets. How indeed could she decide respecting doctrines upon which she was wholly uninformed? Doubtless, when she heard of persons encountering an agonizing death with joy, and in the midst of torments blessing God for the testimony which He graciously permitted them to manifest, it was scarcely possible not to suspect that their doctrines were more than of men. On that account she wished much to converse with one of their teachers; and having heard reports of the great learning and piety of a certain Minister among them, Anthony de Chandieu, a young man of very ancient family, she earnestly desired the Admiral to bring him to her privately. Coligny was well versed in the real temper of the profound dissembler who thought to deceive him by this mockery; and far from endangering one of the chief hopes and most shining lights of the French Reformation by entanglement in her deadly coils, he prevailed upon Chandieu to withdraw from Paris; and in his stead he submitted a written Confession of Faith and Canons of Discipline to the examination of the Queen Mother.

The patience of the Sacramentarians was at length exhausted; they renewed their meetings with more than accustomed freedom; and with a pardonable indiscretion, they gave vent to irritated feelings by a deluge of satirical *brochures*, weapons now becoming of common use in this warfare. The Guises in return employed an engine less keen in edge perhaps, but far more weighty and powerful. They issued an Ordinance condemning every house proved to have harboured an assembly of Protestants to be razed to the ground, even if it belonged to an owner resident at a distance, or to a religious community; for every landlord, it was argued, ought to be responsible for the orderly conduct of his tenants. The Fauxbourg St. Germain, or as it was then called in derision, *La petite Genève*, was the chief resort of the Sacramentarians; and numerous acts of pillage and violence were then perpetrated under colour of this edict. Instant flight and abandonment of home and property were the only means by which the wretched inhabitants, if warned of the approach of the officers of justice, could hope to preserve liberty, perhaps life; and not the least piteous result of this cruel persecution were the throngs of children, too young to be removed, who, raising their little hands to the passers by, asked with tears for their parents, for food, for shelter, and protection. Alas! cold, hunger, and destitution for the most part terminated the sufferings of these innocents. No friendly hand dared to offer succour, lest suspicion of heresy should bring down on itself misery similar to that which it had ventured to relieve.

The rich harvest reaped by informers contributed not a little to increase the number of denouncements, and some apostates who had been dismissed from Protestant congregations for robbing the alms-chest, and who were well acquainted with the chief meeting-houses, betrayed them, Judas-like, to the police. This example was followed by two runaway apprentices, seeking revenge for some just chastisement inflicted by their masters. These youths, accurately instructed beforehand in their tale, laid hideous depositions before the President St. Andrè and his colleagues. They had been introduced by their masters, as they affirmed, to several Protestant Meetings in the house of an Advocate named Trouilles, in the Place Maubert. One of those assemblies was held on the eve of Good Friday, when after hearing a sermon, a large company of both sexes partook of a sucking pig, dressed in mockery of the Paschal Lamb. This supper being concluded, the lamps were extinguished, and orgies commenced under the foul veil of darkness, equally detestable with those which history has recorded of the Roman *Bacchanalia*, or which the dreams of a grotesque Fancy have invented in later times, as fitting accompaniments of the Satanic Sabbath on the *Walpurgisnacht*. The daughters of the host were personally recognized by the deponents as sharers in this scene of licentious horror; and although on cross-examination the witnesses betrayed inconsistencies sufficient to discredit their whole story, the magistrates affected belief, and took no small pains to publish the odious details of their confession. Even in the concealment into which the calumniated ladies had been driven, they were pursued by this utter blasting of their good fame; and feeling that life was nothing worth if honour were destroyed, they presented themselves before the magistrates, and demanded and underwent a test of purity, more satisfactory indeed in its appeal to reason than the ordeal of elder times, but one from which the sensitiveness of female delicacy must have recoiled with ten thousand-fold more apprehension than even from the glowing ploughshares. The imputation of dishonour was distinctly removed, but the deeper and more damning stain of heresy remained; and the maidens, notwithstanding their surrender had been voluntary, continued to be rigorously imprisoned, and were daily menaced with delivery to the flames.

Other circumstances, besides the increased irritation against the Reformed excited by these false rumours, contributed to accelerate the catastrophe of Dubourg. In the Bastile, he was used with extraordinary rigour, deprived of all intercourse with his friends, fed upon bread and water, and occasionally enclosed in one of those iron cages, the invention of which is attributed to the detestable ingenuity of a favourite of Louis XI. The sole recreation permitted to him was his lute, on which he accompanied himself while singing Marot's psalms. His friends, more anxious than himself for his preservation, arranged a plan for escape, which was discovered by an untoward accident; and the assassination of one who had distinguished himself greatly in forwarding his prosecution was affirmed to have been perpetrated with his privity. Minart, one of the presidents, a man of loose habits and factious principles, from which many causes of private enmity might arise, was shot in the streets, while returning in the evening from the Parliament to his own home. Robert Stuart, a Scotch adventurer, professing the Reformed principles, was suspected of the murder; and it was remembered that Dubourg had warned the deceased, not long before, that unless he voluntarily absented himself from the trial, he would assuredly be prevented by compulsion. The menace might be, and from Dubourg's character probably *was*, no more than a general assertion of God's justice; but its fulfilment convinced one party that he who delivered it was prophetically inspired, the other, that he was cognizant of the intended murder. Rumours of a general conspiracy soon floated abroad; a fate similar to that of Minart was said to be destined for the other obnoxious Judges; the city was to be fired in many quarters at once, and, during the general confusion, the Conciergerie was to be forced and the prisoners were to be released.

The obvious remedy for these dangers, if they were real, and the fittest sedative for the general panic, even if they were not so, seemed to be the speedy removal of the chief cause of popular excitement; and three days, therefore, after the assassination of Minart, Dubourg was brought into court and received sentence of immediate execution. He listened, says De Thou, who transcribes his very words from the public registers, without one sign of fear; pardoning his judges, whom he believed to have decided according to their consciences, although not according to knowledge and the true wisdom of God. Addressing himself in the end with somewhat more of emotion to the court, he added, "Quench at length the fires which you have kindled, and turn unto God with a penitent heart and mind, that your sins may be blotted out and forgiven. Let the wicked man turn away from his wickedness, and leave off to do perversely, and acquaint himself with the Lord, and the Lord will have mercy! For you, my brother councillors, farewell and prosper! and think without ceasing in God and of God. For myself, I go cheerfully to death." So fearful were the authorities of any attempted rescue, that besides stationing a large armed force in various parts of the city, they erected gibbets and piled faggots on each of the many spots on which their victims had heretofore suffered, in order by uncertainty to distract attention from the real scene of execution. Dubourg mounted the tumbril with alacrity, and was conducted under a strong escort to the Grêve; where, having warned the spectators that he did not die there ignominiously like a malefactor, but because he adhered to the Gospel, he calmly laid aside his cloak and doublet without assistance; and while the executioner prepared to strangle him before committal to the flames, the last words heard from his lips were, "Father abandon me not, neither will I abandon Thee!" Thus perished in his thirty-eighth year, Anne Dubourg, a man of rare talents, and yet rarer integrity; loved, wept, and honoured even by many of those who differed from him most widely in religion. His constancy in death, says the historian cited above, so embittered and so confirmed the adherents to his own creed, that from his ashes sprang that rank growth of revolts and conspiracies which long and heavily overran this once most flourishing kingdom.

Whether sated for awhile by the perpetration of this great crime, or whether, as is most likely, alarmed by the threatening aspect of the reformed on the one hand, and of the now unmanageable fury of the populace of the capital on the other, the government but languidly pursued the suits against the other councillors who had been arrested together with Dubourg; and they were released, after undergoing various degrees of lighter punishment. Meanwhile, the most frightful outrages disgraced the streets of Paris, and the search for heretics was made a pretext for almost general brigandage. In every public thoroughfare, and at the corners of the chief streets, small images of the Virgin, or of some Saint, were erected, beneath which lighted tapers were placed on a table dressed as an altar. The dregs of the *canaille*, the rabble-priests of these mock shrines, sang hymns and celebrated a profane worship before them; and fiercely besetting every careless or scornful passenger who neglected or refused to pay his devotions to their idol, dragged him before the magistrates as a Sacramentarian. To defray the expense of tapers, they carried about with them a small box called *tire-lire;* and bold indeed was any one who refused to contribute to its contents: blows, insults, and perhaps the most protracted and horrible of all deaths, that which is inflicted by the hands of a savage and desperate mob, were the price of his rashness. Nor were they the reformed only who were thus exposed to extortion; the soundest Romanist, provided he were known to be rich, was an equally attractive quarry with the most notorious heretic, and the fragrance of the odour of booty exhaled alike from both religions. The cry of *Lutheran* or *Christandin* when once raised, whether truly or falsely, drew thousands to the chase; and the denounced individual, hunted down like some dog whom the voice of the multitude has proclaimed to be rabid, was never quitted till his death and plunder glutted the ferocity and the avarice of his bloody pursuers.

The reformed, although constituting a large body in the state, had been regarded hitherto solely as religious dissidents; but they were now about to assume a more important and formidable political character. The king of Navarre, as first prince of the blood royal, had, without doubt, paramount claim to a principal share in the administration during the minority of Francis II.; and he accordingly made his appearance at court early after that monarch's accession; having first given out among the Protestants that one of his chief objects in visiting the capital, was to demand liberty of conscience on their behalf. But it was the policy of the Guises to estrange from the young king and probable competitor for that power which they wished to be exclusively their own; and the exalted station of the king of Navarre, weak and undecided as he was, might render him a dangerous rival. They so contrived, therefore, that his reception should be cold and bordering upon affront. Certain distinctions due to his rank were purposely withheld; no provision was made for lodging him within the palace; the king addressed only a few and distant words to his uncle, and did not summon him to the council-board. These slights, however, failed to disturb the placid spirit of this most easy prince; and, in order to remove him, at least for a time, from the circle of domestic politics, the Guises offered a charge which he could hardly refuse, without that open rupture which he sedulously avoided,—the conveyance of the reluctant Elizabeth of Valois to her Spanish bridegroom, afterwards Philip II. Little, however, was the profit which they derived from thus displaying to the reformed the pusillanimity, vacillation, and indecision of the prince whom they had hitherto considered as their virtual leader; for a successor of widely different qualities was now substituted in his place. Under a person but scantily indebted to nature for external advantages, and an appearance of carelessness and frivolity, Louis, prince of Condé, nourished an ardent, intrepid, lofty, and indomitable spirit. Schooled in war, although hitherto confined to subaltern appointments, he had exhibited talents for military combination not less brilliant than his personal courage; and without private revenues, and excluded from the favours of the court, he had learned those lessons of self-denial and active exertion, of which necessity is ever the great teacher. One cruel mortification to which the Guises had exposed him was a mission on an expensive embassy without adequate appointments; a second was the refusal of the government of Picardy, resigned by the admiral Coligny, with the express object of obtaining the succession for his friend and kinsman. These and many other affronts, the hopelessness of success in any public career, while the Guises retained power, the zealous urgency of his princess and her mother the Dame de Roye, the stings of disappointment, the hopes of ambition, the desire of revenge, decided him to embrace communion with a sect actuated indeed by motives widely different from his own, yet desirous, like himself, to effect a change in the government. Rapid in all his movements, resolute when he had decided, impatient of disguise, and prompt to action, he at once avowed his conversion to Protestantism; and named a place and day for conference with some of the chief delegates of the reformed, in order that he might offer himself for that supremacy among them which his brother had thrown away.

Notwithstanding their sufferings and persecutions, it was much rather a strong and nervous guidance of power which the reformed needed, than the elements of power itself. From Boulogne to Bayonne, from Brest to Metz, France now teemed with proselytes to the new doctrine; men accustomed to danger, bold, zealous, constant, and unshrinking, bound by strong ties among themselves, and maintaining unbroken correspondence with the Swiss cantons and the German princes. Give them but a competent chief, show them once but a fitting head, and the several members were fully prepared to unite in meeting force by force, and to demand, probably to extort, enfranchisement from the oppression under which they now chafed with impatience. One difficulty, indeed, interposed itself between them and the possession of their final object. How was the liberty which they coveted to be won, except by open resistance to government? and how was open resistance to be reconciled with that passive obedience which Calvin had preached, and themselves had adopted as a fundamental principle of their creed? The removal of this obstacle appears to have formed the chief subject of debate at Ferte, in Champagne, the spot on his own estate at which Condé first met the reformed deputies. By Condé himself—a soldier bred in camps, a recent proselyte, not so much to opinions as to a party, little knowing, and probably less regarding, those matters which he considered to be mere subtleties of polemical disputation—such an objection would have been easily resolved; he would have unsheathed the sword, and have cut the knot at a single stroke. But it was far otherwise with the personages whom he had chosen as associates. Whatever step *they* adopted must accord with the avowed doctrines of their church; and no certainty of advantage, no conviction of policy, could be allowed to supercede the solemn fiat of religion. They were not content to extricate themselves from scruples by some specious and cunning subterfuge, but they referred grave and weighty doubts to the decision of stern and unbending conscience. Their proceedings, therefore, were necessarily tardy and deliberate. They drew up hypothetical cases and submitted them to divines and civilians; and the result was, as in similar cases it ever will be, an example of, if we may so term it, the necessary continuity of error; a proof that if man once begins his course from a wrong starting place, he requires some new fallacy at every step of his progress. The infusion of a single false principle may stagnate the life-blood of truth for uncounted generations. South has somewhere said, "every great villainy is like a great absurdity, drawing after it a numerous train of homogeneous consequences."

Calvin had formally affirmed that no outrage upon human liberty, however grievous, if committed by rulers acting under divine right, might be forcibly resisted by a Christian man; in other words, he had preached up that extravagant doctrine with which our own English pulpits sometimes resounded before the principles of the revolution were understood and established. Were the reigning prince a second Nero, Domitian, or Caligula, the faithful, it was said, were bound to obey, even as the apostles had obeyed. It was not possible, therefore, that the French reformed could oppose the king; but they raised a question concerning the king's majority; they argued, that from his extreme youth he had no power of governing for himself—that the Guises had usurped all authority from him—and that against those tyrants, *for the deliverance of the king*, every means of attack was lawful. "Religion," says the writer of the *Apologie Chrestienne*, one of the tracts which this occasion produced, "Religion, and every received law of humanity, commands subjects to take up arms for their prince whenever he is oppressed; for the preservation of law, and for the protection of their country." It was useless to reply that the king had passed his 16th year; that the term of royal majority was unfixed by the French law; but that precedents, for the most part, had settled it at fourteen; that Francis had been considered old enough, even during his father's life-time, to enter into marriage; and that his nearest advisers, and those by whom his government was administered, were the queen dowager his mother, and the uncles of the queen his consort. These plain and unanswerable facts melted into air before the responses by which the Calvinistic pastors and lawyers sanctioned insurrection; and a large body of pure, upright, honest, sincere, and single-minded men (no men ever more fully deserved those epithets), either not having sufficient wisdom to descry, or sufficient moral courage to abandon their original error, sophistically reconciled themselves to its theoretical maintenance, together with its practical violation, gave the advantage in argument to their enemies, and supported the better cause on the worse principles.

The prince of Condé was unanimously recognized as chief of the enterprise now meditated, but policy required the concealment of his participation till the moment of execution. The open conduct of it was, therefore, entrusted to Geoffry du Barre, Sieur de la Renaudie or la Forêt; a gentleman of opulent and ancient family in Perigaud, who felt himself cruelly aggrieved by a decree of the courts in a suit concerning a patrimonial benefice. The Romanist historians tax him openly with perjury during this cause; but from the honesty of De Thou, we learn that he was far less to be blamed than pitied; that advantage had been taken of some mistake, for which he was subjected both to a heavy fine and to banishment; and that during a long exile he had contracted intimacy with many of his countrymen, seeking the free exercise of their religion at Lausanne and Geneva. Renaudie was able, daring and active; fired with resentment for the injustice which he had suffered, and panting to wash away by some great deed the stain of his unmerited condemnation. No man, therefore, was better qualified for the bold and difficult task which he undertook. It seems as if about this time he had obtained a remission of his sentence, which enabled him to re-appear in France, and he profited by this liberty to traverse the provinces and to secure co-operation.

The languishing state of the king's health had induced the court physicians to recommend Blois as his winter and spring residence, and the most frightful rumours preceded his arrival in that city. His disease was affirmed to be leprosy, and the remedy prescribed for it was said to be a daily bath of infants' blood. Accordingly, when he approached his palace, it seemed as if the population had been desolated and swept away by pestilence or some great convulsion of nature. Every house was closed and barred; and no individuals were visible excepting a few agonized women flying hastily across the fields, clasping their babes to their bosoms, and when overtaken, dropping on their knees and imploring mercy for the innocents, with shrieks of horror and despair. Pretended emissaries from the royal household had recently collected in all the neighbouring villages exact lists of the numbers and ages of the children whom they contained; and mysterious hints had been purposely dropped, at the same time, of the dark purpose for which this catalogue was designed. The Guises attributed these horrible reports to the malcontents, and they succeeded in arresting one of their presumed agents; but the culprit, when submitted to the question, unexpectedly retorted upon his accusers; declared that he had acted under the orders of the cardinal of Lorraine; and that he had been instructed to circulate accounts of corruption of blood in all the members of the reigning family, in order that the crown might pass back from the descendants of the usurper Hugh Capet to the legitimate Carlovingians represented by the Guises. It is not possible to decide by which party this detestable artifice was really practised; but the charge of revolutionary designs, and of a wish to transfer the sceptre to their own line, thus raised against the Guises, proved a most useful weapon in the hands of their adversaries. In what manner they employed it, we shall perceive by and by.

CHAPTER IV.

Discovery of the proposed Rising—The King retires to Amboise—Death of La Renaudie and overthrow of the Conspirators—Accusation of Condé—Execution of the Baron de Castelnau—Death of the Chancellor Olivier—He is succeeded by De L'Hôpital—Edict of Romorantin—The Baker of Tours—Origin of the term Huguenot—Flight of Condé—Council at Fontainebleau—Memorial presented by the admiral—Speech of Montluc, Bishop of Valence—Of the Cardinal of Lorraine—The States-General summoned to Orleans—Offers of the Reformed to the King of Navarre—His Arrival at Orleans with Condé—Arrest of Condé—His Condemnation and Fortitude—Reputed design to assassinate the King of Navarre—Death of Francis II.

The unusual excitement which prevailed among the French refugees in Swisserland had not altogether escaped notice. Among the many whom La Renaudie was compelled to trust, some might be faithless, more, doubtless, were imprudent; yet although the Guises from time to time received advises that some great enterprise was under contemplation, they never attained a sufficiently distinct clue to enable them to unravel the intricacies of its labyrinth. The day of rising was already fixed for the 10th of March; five hundred mounted gentlemen, and about twelve hundred armed men on foot, were to concentrate themselves in the vicinity of Blois; and arrangements were made for the simultaneous occupation of the chief towns, and for arming the disaffected inhabitants throughout the Provinces; when by the faithlessness of Renaudie's host in Paris, Government received information of the secret, so far, at least, as the traitor himself was acquainted with it. Not a moment was to be lost in placing the king's person in security; and under pretence of a hunting party, the Court was immediately transferred from the open and unfortified town of Blois, to a castle in the neighbouring village of Amboise. Troops were then hastily assembled, and summonses addressed to the chief nobility to repair thither for the immediate protection of their sovereign. The keen penetration of the Guises at once perceived that some far greater influence than that possessed by La Renaudie, was the prime mover of the engine by which they were to be overthrown; and the discovery of the hidden soul of the enterprise was their next object. Of the Admiral they entertained great suspicions, and, indeed, much fear; and Catherine, who still maintained a close intimacy with him, was employed to resolve their doubts. Little can it be imagined that the Chastillons, now avowed Sacramentarians, and bosom-friends of Condé, had been denied his confidence;

but, perhaps, they had cautiously avoided all open participation in the Conspiracy, and awaited the result before they declared their full intentions. Confident therefore in his own security, Coligny repaired to the closet of the Queen Dowager; protested unequivocal adhesion to the Court; pointed out the extreme danger of reducing to desperation so large a body as the Reformed now constituted; and suggested the issue of an edict annulling all persecutions for heresy already commenced, and forbidding the institution of any new suit for the future till after the assembly of a general council.

This advice, although most unpalatable to the Guises, was not to be declined when backed by the influence of Catherine and the exigence of the moment. The edict, therefore, was prepared, with little intention of its being ultimately observed; and with an exception of all those who under pretext of religion had conspired against the King, the Queens, the brothers of the King, the Princes of the blood or the *chief ministers;* an exception which must have gone far to render the ordinance a dead letter among those whom it was chiefly intended to propitiate. The gathering accordingly took place, on the 17th of March, a week after the day originally proposed; and Condé, faithful to his engagement, was among the first who arrived at the trysting place. As he entered the gates of the Castle of Amboise, the unusual number of sentinels and certain precautions in his reception convinced him that the plot was discovered and himself suspected; but, inwardly assured that he had not been personally denounced, he affected great indignation on hearing that there were traitors who dared to menace the King; and requested to have some post allotted to him, in which he might assist in defending the castle. This offer of service could not be declined, but due care was taken, by placing him under vigilant observation, to frustrate any attempt at escape.

Disappointed in their hopes of surprise, it is no wonder that the conspirators failed. In the affray which ensued, La Renaudie was killed; most of his followers were gibbeted on the spot, or thrown into the Loire and drowned; and the Baron of Castelnau de Chalosse, and a few other of the chiefs who surrendered on an assurance of being permitted to offer a representation of their grievances at the foot of the throne, were detained close prisoners. Among the captured was La Bigne, La Renaudie's secretary; from whom torture wrung a key to the cypher in which his late master's papers were written, a revelation of the objects of the conspiracy, and an account of its details, perhaps greatly exaggerated. That the death of the Guises was intended can scarcely be doubted; but it requires more trust-worthy evidence than that of a renegade confessing under terror of death, to produce a belief that a prince of the blood, and that Prince Louis of Condé, could design the murder of the King, and of the King's brothers, and of the two Queens, the abolition of Monarchy, and the establishment of a republic on the Swiss model. Nevertheless, of a project thus atrocious La Bigne did not hesitate to declare that the Prince of Condé was leader.

Plain as was this denouncement, it was not thought sufficient to warrant any judicial proceeding of so grave a character as the capital arraignment of a prince of the blood. Even if La Bigne's accusation should be supported by La Renaudie's documents, the latter might have employed Condé's name without authority, in order to strengthen his party; and the Duke of Guise, therefore, discreetly recommended that unless much stronger evidence could be obtained all show of misgiving should be suppressed. The King, however, declared his suspicions openly to Condé's face, and forbad his departure from Amboise. The Prince in return demanded an inquiry; defended himself in full council; and at the conclusion of a speech marked with great vehemence, protested that if there were any man in the whole world bold enough to maintain an accusation against him, he would at that very moment lay aside all the privileges of his exalted rank, and meet him sword to sword in the lists, to prove him a liar and a recreant. The glance of defiance at the Duke of Guise which accompanied these last words could not be mistaken; and the whole assembly imagined that the challenge was about to be accepted when that nobleman rose to reply. On the contrary, however, he avowed with consummate dissimulation his conviction that the Prince was by no means called upon to rebut the charges of a few miserable criminals, seeking to extenuate their own guilt by the implication of illustrious names. "So firmly, indeed," he added, "am I convinced of the Prince of Condé's innocence, that if an accuser should appear, I tender my services as second to the challenger."

With the Baron de Castelnau, the most distinguished among the prisoners both by rank and personal merit, equal moderation was deemed unnecessary. He had surrendered on the faith of a compact for personal security, attested by the signature of the Duke de Nemours; and the perverted morals of the age are remarkably exhibited in that nobleman's subsequent conduct. When he learned that it was the intention of the court to put the prisoner on his trial, he expressed bitter regret. "The document," he exclaimed, "is *signed;* my name is affixed to it in *writing;* if there were no more than word of mouth against me, I might easily give the lie to any one who reproached me with its violation!" and this pseudo-principle of honour, which placed guilt not in the commission but in the discovery of wrong, has found an admirer in the writer by whom it is recorded!

In spite of the solemn agreement on which he had relied, Castelnau was subjected to an interrogatory, and threatened with the question. For a moment he hesitated and was silent, and the Duke of Guise taunted him with fear. "Fear!" were the noble words in answer, "I by no means deny it; what man is there among you, unless he be destitute of all feeling, who could be wholly free from such an emotion, if he found himself bound hand and foot, and tossed to the mercy of his most implacable enemies, thirsting to drink his blood! But give me back my sword, and *then* venture upon your taunt; or change places with me, and answer whether every limb in your body would not tremble! That natural feeling with which you reproach me, through God's aid, however, shall by no means impair the judgment and presence of mind which are necessary for my defence." And never, during a long and trying examination, was clearer self-possession or more tranquil courage manifested, than that which he continued to display. The Chancellor Olivier, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, each in turn was silenced by some keen and searching rebuke. When the first of these expressed somewhat of contemptuous surprise, that the prisoner, once a man of far different pursuits, should have become so profound a Theologian as he then exhibited himself, Castelnau reminded him of a conversation which had occurred between them not very long before. "When I visited you on my return from imprisonment in Flanders, and you inquired in what manner I had employed the tedious hours of my captivity, I replied that I had studied the Holy Scriptures, and acquainted myself with the controversies then agitating men's spirits. You approved my course, you dissipated what scruples I still retained, and we mutually agreed. How happens it that one of us since that time has so greatly changed his opinions that now we are unable to understand each other? I will supply your answer. *Then* you were in disgrace, and spoke in the sincerity of your heart; *now* you are the wretched eye-servant of court favour, and in order to please a man who probably despises you, you betray your God and your conscience." The Cardinal of Lorraine hastened to the assistance of his embarrassed colleague, and while claiming to himself the merit of having confirmed him in Romanism, he dropped some unguarded expression which made Castelnau appeal to the Duke of Guise. The Duke in reply disavowed all acquaintance with polemics. "Would that it were otherwise!" said the Baron in conclusion; "for so far do I esteem you, that I dare pledge myself that were you in possession of equal light with that which has fallen to the share of your brother, you would employ it to far better purpose."

Castelnau, and four other captains, were led to instant execution; the last who received the fatal stroke, Briquemont de Villemonges, dipped his hands in the blood of his slaughtered comrades before he kneeled at the block, and then raising them to Heaven, exclaimed, "Father, behold the blood of thy children! Thou wilt avenge it." The whole court witnessed the tragical spectacle. The King's brothers—yet children—the two queens and their attendant ladies, were stationed in a gallery of the castle which commanded a view of the scaffold; and the only person who shrank from the sight of horror was Anne d'Esté, mother of the Guises, who rushed to her own chamber, prophesying that vengeance must fall ere long on the heads of her own sons. The Prince of Condé, himself, was compelled to be present; and, notwithstanding the spies by whom he knew he was surrounded, expressions of pity and indignation burst from his lips. The Chancellor Olivier, who always inclined to mercy, but had shown himself timid and temporizing, overwhelmed with self-reproach at having shared in the destruction of these brave men, by his want of firmness in resisting the Guises, fell into a profound melancholy, which was succeeded by an acute fever. The Cardinal of Lorraine visited him while in his last agonies, but Olivier recoiled from the sight, turned his face to the wall, and expired.*

By the influence of queen Catherine, the high vacant dignity was filled by Michael de L'Hôpital, the greatest Chancellor ever known to France, as he is justly described by a contemporary. To his wise and humane opposition, the general voice of History attributes the failure of a project entertained at that moment, to establish the Inquisition in France. In order to counteract that nefarious design he was compelled to yield assent to the promulgation of a decree, known, from the place at which it was dated, as the *Edict of Romorantin*. This severe ordinance transferred all cognizance of heretics from the civil courts to the jurisdiction of the bishops; and by proposing large rewards, encouraged informers in their denunciations. All assemblies of the Reformed were prohibited, under penalties similar to those inflicted on high treason; and so assured did the president, Le Maître, feel of their inextricable entanglement in the net of law that he used to exclaim with delight, "We shall hang them for sedition and strangle them for heresy." The King, meanwhile, wrote a long account of the conspiracy to the King of Navarre,† denouncing the wretched heretics, who, under the cloak of religion and the pretence of succouring and delivering him, had attempted the overthow of his authority. He then noticed, that in the King of Navarre's own Government there were numerous preachers and ministers of Geneva wandering up and down; and among them two, named Boye Normande and David, who the prisoners had confessed were most active in the work of seduction. He felt assured that his good uncle would use all diligence to arrest those traitors, in order that they might no longer abuse the simplicity of the populace. A notice of the accusations against the Prince of Condé followed; and of these the King expressed his entire disbelief, asserting that he was never better pleased and satisfied with him. In an autograph postscript, he repeated his earnest desire for the seizure of the above named ministers; stating, that the King of Navarre could not do him a greater kindness than by confining them in some place of security till they might be delivered up to his own hands, in order to receive the punishment which they so justly merited. This request was instigated by the Guises, for the express purpose of creating embarrassment. They well knew that Boye Normande and David were the two most distinguished ministers of the South, who were constantly entertained at the court of the King of Navarre, and even travelled in his company; and they calculated that his refusal to arrest them must increase the bad impression already entertained against him. The King, however, replied, that he was unacquainted with the present haunts of the delinquents; that he had despatched couriers in pursuit of them; and that, if they re-appeared in his dominions, their escape wôuld be difficult.

Three contemporary accounts of the conspiracy of Amboise were offered to the public. One was contained in an oration which the constable Montmorency was officially instructed to deliver before the parliament of Paris, a task of little honour, and executed with intentional negligence. He spoke of the transaction as a *movement* (*emeute*) which, although Government had been advised of it many months beforehand, might have proved dangerous to the King and royal family, but for the accidental presence of a number of brave and loyal gentlemen at the time of the explosion; he expressed his surprise that persons of base condition should have been permitted to fire some fifty shots at the gates of Amboise; and he added, that one and all of the prisoners protested their design to be levelled at *other persons*, by no means at the King. The Guises were not a little offended at the numerous insinuations contained in this speech. First, the mention of their long foreknowledge implied that they had neglected taking precautionary measures; secondly, the Prince of Condé and his friends were intended by the brave gentlemen who defeated the enterprise; and lastly, they were themselves the *other persons* ostentatiously exhibited as the chief cause of disaffection. In order to dissipate the prejudice which might be thus excited, they published, in a letter from the King to his parliament, a narrative declared to be authentic, and they carefully circulated it not only in France but through all the courts of Europe. Some persons, said this letter, have endeavoured by a false colouring to excuse this damnable and detestable rebellion, but here we will display the truth. The guilt is then divided between certain exiles for other crimes, who desired the subversion of a Government by which they had been justly punished, and the heretics who aimed at the establishment of a new religion. These persons had the adroitness to persuade their deluded followers that even princes fostered their design, and would eventually avow themselves its leaders. But the mercy of God, as by a miracle, discovered this odious project but a few days before its execution. After an attempted extenuation of the blood already poured out like water, accompanied by somewhat inconsistent menaces of future punishment, the King concluded by announcing his design of assembling, within six months, a synod of the Gallican church, for the more rigid establishment of ecclesiastical discipline. The third and last narrative was put forth by the Reformed. Like the speech of the Constable, it designates the conspiracy by the light name of *Le Tumulte d'Amboise*, and openly taxes the Guises with a design upon the Crown. The reader, whose object is truth, is thus furnished with more than ordinary means of discovering it by a diligent comparison of these conflicting statements.

On the appearance of a pestilential disorder at Amboise, the court soon transferred itself to Tours, where a ludicrous circumstance occasioned no small alarm to the Guises. A baker in one of the suburbs was much importuned by his only child, a boy of six or seven years of age, to give him a sight of the King's public entry, which was to be conducted with more than ordinary magnificence. The man being a humourist, and intending to amuse his child, mounted him on an ass, which he took from his mill and decorated with some of his wife's petticoats for housings. The boy was nearly naked, had his eyes bandaged, and wore on his head a wooden helmet, on the crest of which was fixed the figure of a red-headed parroquet, continually pecking at the child's skull. The ass was led by too youths coloured and habited as Moors. In this silly masquerade the jealous eye of political suspicion discovered an allusion to matters of high State mystery. The blinded boy was said to be the King, the red-headed bird who pecked him was the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Moors who guided his course at will represented foreign princes; and this far-fetched interpretation of an innocent and unmeaning folly obtained so much belief, that it was with difficulty the Royal Guard was restrained from sacking and pillaging the city which dared thus openly to manifest its disaffection. It was during this residence of the court in Tours that the term Huguenot first received the preference which it has ever since maintained as the distinguishing title of the French Reformed. To the derivation which we have before incidentally mentioned, one other may be added; an ancient gate in Tours had been named after a certain king, or Count Hugo, a contemporary of Charlemagne; and popular superstition asserted that the ghost of that personage rode on horseback, nightly, through the quarter of the city in which the gate was situated, and rudely handled every hapless passenger whom it chanced to encounter. It was in vaults in the neighbourhood of that gate that the Reformed chiefly assembled, and the name, at first bestowed in mockery on that account, was afterwards proudly adopted by them, in testimony of their loyal adherence to the line of Hugh Capet.

On the departure of the court to Tours, the Prince of Condé obtained permission to pay a short visit to his own estates. During his absence, having received information that the cardinal of Lorraine had collected much scattered evidence against him, and was resolute in pressing the institution of an impeachment, he proceeded to seek asylum in his brother's residence at Nerac, notwithstanding an express recall by the king. But the disaffection of the Huguenots, and their league with Condé, were not the only perplexities under which the Guises laboured. Public credit was almost annihilated, commerce and agriculture were equally depressed, and it was important that some financial remedy should be discovered, in order to replenish a wholly exhausted treasury. An assembly of the States-general was always hazardous, and to be resorted to only in extremity; even from the *Notables* danger might be apprehended in the present general ferment of party spirit; and the Guises, therefore, at length determined to seek relief from an Extraordinary Council, over which they might retain at least some degree of control, and which might answer the double purpose of obtaining supplies, and of placing the chief leaders of the malcontents within their power.* Accordingly, the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, the councillors of state, and a few other persons of high rank and importance, were summoned to meet at Fontainebleau. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, however, suspecting a stratagem, declined attendance, and Coligny, assembling his friends and retainers, appeared with a formidable escort of eight hundred horsemen. Emboldened by this support, on the opening of the council, he stept forward to the foot of the throne, and bending one knee, presented a memorial to the king. It was a petition from the inhabitants of Normandy, into whose discontents the admiral had been instructed to inquire. They protested their loyalty and obedience, and their readiness to furnish extraordinary supplies, if demanded by public exigency. At the same time they strongly asserted the right of full liberty of conscience; and since public assemblies for their worship had been hitherto prohibited, and their being compelled to meet in secrecy had given a handle for atrocious imputations, they now humbly supplicated his majesty to allow them churches and freedom of religious service. "This document," said Coligny, "was unsigned, and I at first refused to present it. Gain us but leave to meet, was the answer which I received, and in a single day you shall have 50,000 signatures!" "And I," retorted the duke of Guise, "will find 100,000, whom I myself will head, who shall sign the contrary with their own blood!"

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* In the *Hist. du Tumulte d'Amboise*, it is said that Olivier expressed deep remorse for the execution of Dubourg; and that when the Cardinal of Lorraine approached his bedside, he called out in accents of terror, "*Ha, Cardinal! tu nous faits tous damner!*"—p. 328.

† The entire letter is given in the *Mém. de Condé*, i. 398.

The unexpected boldness of this demand, and the appearance of menace with which it was accompanied, excited no small emotion in the council. The sittings continued during several days, and the most remarkable speech delivered in their course was that with which Montluc, bishop of Valence, as junior member, opened the debate. It is too long for entire insertion in our pages, but we translate the following striking passage, as a proof that not *all* the Romish clergy of those times denounced the great change in religion as productive of unmixed evil; but that there were some prelates among them who, even in the presence of their sovereign, and yet more, of so bigoted a persecutor as the cardinal of Lorraine, had sufficient wisdom, virtue, and courage, to assert general principles of toleration, to unmask the manifest abuses of their own church, and to proclaim the necessity for ecclesiastical reform.

"The doctrine, sire, which so many of your subjects have embraced, is not the hasty produce of three or four short days, but it has been ripening gradually during the course of thirty years; it is preached by many hundred ministers, diligent in their calling, skilled in letters, apparently of modest, grave, and holy manners, professing a detestation of all vices, especially of avarice, fearlessly surrendering their lives for the support of their principles, and ever bearing in their mouths the blessed name of Jesus Christ; a name of power, sufficient to unseal the dullest ear, and to soften the hardest heart. These preachers, moreover, sire, having found your people as sheep without the guidance of any shepherds, have been received with joy and listened to with avidity. You ask, perhaps, by what methods this new learning has been opposed? I will begin by his holiness the Pope, concerning whom, let me protest, that I intend to speak with no less honour and reverence than is his just due. Nevertheless, my conscience obliges me to deplore the calamity of these our times, in which we have seen Christendom assailed from without, distracted within, and convulsed by diversity of opinions; in which the Popes, careless of church discipline, have turned their whole attention to war, and fomented the quarrels of princes; in which the kings, your predecessors, have enacted sharp penal laws, with too hasty zeal, thus thinking to eradicate these opinions and to bind your people together in unity of faith. But they have been deceived in their hopes and frustrated in their designs. The ministers of justice have greatly abused these ordinances, executing them with evil speed, to gratify informers who have denounced the accused for the sake only of sharing in confiscation. The bishops, for the most part, have been indolent, not calling to mind with salutary fear that they must one day render account to God of the flocks committed to their charge. In good truth, their chief care has been directed, first, to the collection of their revenue, and afterwards to its expenditure in foolish, vicious, and scandalous toys; so that while the flame was blazing in their dioceses, more than forty bishops at a time have been idling in Paris. Add to this, that sees have been conferred on children, and on persons wholly ignorant, neither willing nor indeed able to perform their sacred duties. Alas! the eyes of the church have been bandaged, her pillars have been bowed down and are fallen! Is it to be wondered at that the sectarian ministers should remonstrate with those who lend them their ears, and should tell them that their guides have ceased to offer instruction, and to look to the good of their souls; that their priests, for the most part, are ignorant and avaricious, and have purchased their benefices simoniacally! At this very moment, in which we so much need a supply of men of zeal, knowledge, and virtue, send but your ducats to Rome and you will have a proportionable stock of priests in return. Every cardinal will have some cook or steward, some valet, barber, or lacquey, ready and gaping for a benefice, and prepared by avarice, ignorance, and debauchery, to increase the evil repute of our priesthood. These are the excellent methods which have been chosen to promote peace and unity in our church!"

Again, separating those among the Reformed, who made religion an excuse for political designs, from those who were sincere in their profession, he pleaded thus eloquently for the latter: "Others there are, sire, who have admitted this doctrine, and who maintain it with the true fear of God, and with due reverence for your majesty, against whom they would on no account offend. Look to their lives and to their deaths if you would inquire concerning the motives by which they are actuated! Observe their holy zeal, their vehement desire to find the one true way of salvation, and having found it, to abide therein, and to set at nought in comparison with it all loss of worldly goods, all deaths under the most excruciating torture! Yea, often as I call to mind any of those confessors who die thus constantly for their faith, every hair bristles on my head, and I mourn over our own misery, untouched as we are by any sense of God or of His religion. Surely those whom I describe should be carefully set apart from others who abuse their name, and should never be counted among the seditious. Even if my order and profession did not bind me to protest against the effusion of blood and the severity of criminal punishments in matters concerning faith, I would humbly urge you to look to experience in confirmation of my opinion. When in the history of the world did penal laws ever restrain the progress of religious doctrine? when, on the contrary, did not the patience of those who suffer under them raise unnumbered partizans to their cause? Many who would never have heard of the doctrine itself, when they see men die for it, resolve to search whether it be good or evil; and many having so searched, are prepared to die for it themselves, and to follow in the train of the martyrs who have gone before them."

These were plain truths which the Guises probably little expected to hear from the lips of a prelate. The admiral, in a following sitting, continued to urge the prayer of the Normans; and the general sentiments of the assembly inclined towards the convocation of the States-General, and also of a national synod, if the Pope could not be induced to proclaim a general council. The cardinal of Lorraine undertook to reply to Coligny in particular. The petitioners, he said, called themselves faithful subjects and servants of the king. If they were indeed so, it was nevertheless under a condition, sufficiently implied, although perhaps not openly expressed: namely, that the king would enroll himself among their sect, or at least would cease to oppose it. That to grant them the use of churches and the public exercise of their religion, was manifestly to approve their doctrine; a step which the king could not take without hazarding his salvation, and violating the solemn oath by which he was pledged to maintain the Catholic and Apostolic religion throughout his dominions; that as to the assembling of a council, whether general or national, he perceived neither its advantage nor its necessity; the king and the bishops jointly possessed sufficient power for the reformation (if any such were needed) of church discipline, and church doctrine was already fixed by many former councils on a basis not to be shaken. Was there indeed the slightest hope or the least appearance that those who chiefly clamoured for a council would submit to its decision, if one were obtained? Did they not seek to model it after their own fashion? that is, contrary to every received precedent of antiquity. And if their absurd pretensions were rejected (as no one could doubt that they would be rejected), would they not immediately declare, according to their custom, that they were sentenced without being heard, and that the Bishops were both judges and parties in the suit? The docility, the meekness, and the charity which animated these perfect Christians, these new Evangelicals, might, he said, be measured by the flood of libels in which they poured out the venom of calumny against those who displeased them. That, for his own part, having collected no less than two-and-twenty scandalous writings against his single self, he carefully preserved them as so many precious tokens of honour; so many choice patents of nobility; for he could not but esteem it as the greatest of all possible eulogies to have encountered the hatred of wretches thus wicked and perverse. For those who were deceived by their own ignorance and credulity, he entertained the most cordial pity; and since harsh measures had failed, he did not object to treat them with gentleness. Deeply indeed did he regret that they had been so long confounded with the really guilty; willingly, if he could remove the blindness of their eyes and reconcile them to the church, would he shed for their sakes his last drop of blood. He then, in conclusion, urged the necessity of taking extreme measures against all persons who carried arms in the provinces without permission from the king; recommended residence to the Bishops; and agreed to a convocation of the States-General.

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* Davilla, whose leading fault is an affectation of intimate knowledge of secret motives, attributes both the council at Fontainebleau and the subsequent meeting of the States-General, entirely to the wish of the Guises to secure the persons of their enemies; and he thinks also that the prince of Condé, whose single destruction would have done more harm than good to their cause, was permitted to escape from Amboise as a stale, by which his colleagues might afterwards be more readily enticed into the snare (lib. ii. *ad init.*) In this statement there is perhaps not a little too much refinement.

The States-General were accordingly summoned to assemble at Meaux on the 10th of December; and a synod of Bishops was convened at Paris for the 20th of January following, provided the Pope did not beforehand proclaim a general council. Pius IV., however, alarmed at this vigorous step which appeared to threaten the suppression of his *Annates* and the re-establishment of the Pragmatic sanction, if not a schism equally formidable with that which had rent England from the spiritual dominion of Rome, hastened to declare that the long-expected general council would meet at Trent during the ensuing Easter. It was a similarly overpowering necessity which had compelled the Guises to consent to the assembling of the States-General. The late council at Fontainebleau had proved nugatory as to the provision of supplies; and new intimations of the restlessness and pertinacity with which Condé was pursuing his hostile designs, obtained by the seizure of papers on one of his emissaries, made them more than ever anxious, at all hazards, to secure his person. An attempt to surprise Lyons was traced to the machinations of the Bourbons, and wherever discontent arose, their agents were visible. The Guises foresaw that without risking an open breach with the king, Condé could not be so far guilty of disrespect as to neglect his citation to the most solemn of all national meetings; and if he were once again within their grasp, it would be their own fault if he were ever disentangled.

The directly opposite qualities of the two Bourbon princes tended, under these circumstances, to produce in each a similar determination; and the king of Navarre, prompted by his moral timidity, the prince of Condé by his fearlessness, respectively notified an intention of obeying the summons of the court. His pensions, his government, his vast possessions in various provinces, his principality of Bearne once already exposed to seizure, the remnant of his kingdom of Navarre upon which Spain was ever on the watch to make a stealthy spring,—all these were strong links to bind Antony to peace. The Huguenots indeed made splendid proffers of support, but could they realize these large promises? they were almost untried; they might ignorantly miscalculate or wilfully exaggerate their power; they were widely scattered; were they able at a given moment to form a junction by which they might usefully co-operate? The king on the other hand had a large and efficient army ready to move at a word; and if he called in the alliance of Madrid, no fate short of destruction could be anticipated from his anger. The Prince of Condé, of widely different temper, unclouded by apprehension of dangers yet to come, unappalled by those which were real and present, above all, immeasurably confident in his illustrious rank, at first refused to admit that any hazard existed; and when in the end he was forced to acknowledge that the step was in truth perilous, he generously declared that his own single stake of life was of little value, if weighed against the loss of life, wealth, and crown which his brother might encounter; and he resolved to partake his fortune, and to accompany him to the assembly.

Orleans was substituted for Meaux, which swarmed with Huguenots, as the city at which the States were to assemble; and measures having been taken to disarm the inhabitants, the king, heading a large body of troops, made a public entry, more intended to strike terror than to display magnificence, about the middle of October. The Bourbons, meantime, journeyed slowly from Bearne, and their route was carefully watched at every step of its progress. Theodore Beza accompanied them to Nerac, and thence, travelling by night, and not without danger, returned home to Geneva. More than once the king of Navarre's resolution failed; and when arrived at Muerdon, in Perigaud, he counterfeited illness, and wrote excuses to Catherine. Ashamed, or reassured, he proceeded on to Limoges, where he found eight hundred gentlemen of distinction, each accompanied by an armed suite, who tendered their personal services; offered six thousand infantry, already raised in Poitou and la Santonge; the assurance of four thousand more from Provence and Languedoc; and of an equal number from Normandy. All these troops were to be subsidized by the Reformed churches for two months. Was it not more politic, they asked, at once to embrace the bolder part, by openly avowing himself their chief, than to place himself defenceless at the mercy of his enemies, with no other guarantee than the word of a faithless woman? But the blood of Antony flowed in too dull and equable a current to partake of the generous warmth which animated his suitors. He coldly promised that if the court thought to molest them for having thus contravened its last orders, by appearing in arms, he would make it his business to plead their cause. Human patience could scarcely be expected to endure a reply so little in accordance with their present excited feelings. "It is *your* cause, Monseigneur, not *ours*," was the parting remark of one of these brave gentlemen, "which will require your attention; you will soon enough have need of an advocate. For ourselves we have still our swords; and since our natural leaders abandon us, we must look elsewhere for others!"

But notwithstanding every warning, the princes moved on as if stricken with judicial blindness. The princess of Condé, tenderly attached to her husband, and warned from sources which did not admit of doubt, wrote with her own hand, by a confidential messenger, that he was lost if he entered Orleans. The brothers treated her alarm either as visionary, or as excited by a stratagem of the Guises, seeking to make them disobey the royal mandate. Soon afterwards they were met by an officer, who signified, with some rudeness, on the part of the king, that they must travel only on the high roads, and not enter any fortified town. They asked for his orders, but his instructions had been only verbal, and the king of Navarre, instead of resisting them, a second time feigned sickness, took to his bed, and remonstrated with Catherine, who, of course, disavowed the prohibition. Fresh warnings of intended treachery poured in from friends of the princess, who exhorted them to instant flight, and promised men, money and fortresses, if they would but hasten to Normandy. But it was now almost too late for the attempt—another day rendered escape impossible. Two hundred lances and six hundred foot soldiers awaited them at Poitiers, as a pretended guard of honour. Surrounded by this formidable escort, they were hurried on to Orleans, where the great gates of the palace remained barred and unopened at their approach. The king of Navarre was at length admitted on horseback, but the prince alighted in the street, and was compelled to gain entrance through a wicket. No attendant was waiting to receive them; as they traversed the royal apartments, sentinels met their eyes at every step; and few of the courtiers saluted or even recognized them. In the audience chamber, the king, attended by the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, heard their compliments with a distant air, and motioned them to accompany him to the closet of the queen mother. Catherine uttered a shriek, and burst into tears at their entrance; and the king, sternly addressing Condé, stated that he was accused of treason, and must justify himself. When the prince, with an unmoved countenance, expressed his readiness to rebut every calumny which might be advanced against him. "It is right," said the king, "that you should be heard in your defence;" and then ordering two captains of his body-guard to place the prince under arrest, quitted the chamber. Condé was transferred to a house prepared beforehand for his confinement, in which the windows were strongly barred, and many of the doors had been walled up; in front, also, was a bastion planted with artillery, and commanding the three streets by which it was approached. All communication with his brother, and even with his wife, unless in the presence of witnesses, was strictly forbidden. Numerous arrests followed his own; and among them that of his mother-in-law, the dame du Roye, a woman of high spirit, who, in her confidential intercourse with the queen mother, had not concealed her aversion from the Guises, and who had consequently excited suspicion. The king of Navarre, although not formally arrested, was placed under the most vigilant *surveillance;* and he encountered the bitter mortification of being compelled to solicit the cardinal of Lorraine, and of finding his entreaties received with haughty coldness. The queen mother preserved a strict and ominous silence, and when the princess of Condé threw herself at the king's feet, she was sternly informed that justice must take its course.

Commissioners, selected from the parliament of Paris, were instructed to arrange Condé's accusation without delay; and their president was Christopher de Thou, father of the historian. Turning to him, on his first interrogatory, Condé expressed surprise that *he*, "the most knowing of all the round caps in the kingdom," should be ignorant that a prince of the blood could not be tried otherwise than by the king in person, assisted by the other princes, the peers of France, and the whole parliament; he therefore protested, in this and all following stages, against their proceedings. His objection was overruled; and by a threat that he should be condemned without farther process, if he persisted in refusing to plead, he was prevailed upon to commit his defence to the two bold and able counsellors who had before advocated the cause of the persecuted Dubourg. A few additional commissioners were named by the king to swell the ambiguous and illegal court before which the cause was to be heard. The prince, who confined himself to rebutting the charge of participation in the conspiracy of Amboise, and in the more recent attempt at Lyons, made an open admission of his religion: and upon evidence, which probably was distinct and clear, notwithstanding the general iniquity of the mock trial, he was pronounced guilty and adjudged to lose his head. De Thou states his belief,—upon the authority of his father, from whose lips, he says, he had often heard the fact,—that the judges, when compelled by the proofs before them to deliver this sentence, were nevertheless so conscious of their own want of legitimate authority, and so opposed to the bloody violence of the predominating faction, that they minuted, but never actually signed the decree. Unhappily, the registers of the parliament disprove this assertion, which it were to be wished had been true. It is believed, however, that the chancellor de l'Hôpital, and Guillard de Mortier, one of the councillors of state, delayed their signatures till the latest possible day, in the hope of gaining time and of reversing the sentence; and a single aged nobleman, Louis de Beuil, Comte de Sancerre, refused, even to the end, any attestation of his own disgrace. Although a sincere Romanist, and a personal friend of the Guises, he did not hesitate to speak plainly to the king when pressed to compliance. "Any other service which your majesty may command shall be performed while there is life in my body. But I will rather place my head beneath the axe of the executioner, than bequeath as a heritage to my children the infamy of reading their father's name subscribed to a capital sentence against a prince whose descendants may one day become their kings." The cardinal of Lorraine represented Sancerre as fallen into dotage; Francis himself was inexorable; and the 10th of December, the day on which the States-General were to be opened, was fixed for the execution.

The fortitude of Condé increased with his increasing peril; and the menace of approaching death seemed but to confirm his lofty spirit in its inflexibility. A priest was sent to his chamber to perform mass; and the prince dismissed him before he could commence the service, with a remark that he had come to Orleans for very different purposes. A gentleman of distinguished birth, long admitted to his familiarity, but latterly engaged under the Guises, basely permitted himself to be employed as their agent, to discover the real state of the prisoner's mind. Having expressed his deep sympathy and regret, he ventured to hint at accommodation with his great enemies, to which he offered himself as mediator. The prince listened without interruption till he had concluded, then taxed him with his preconcerted mission, and desired him to reply, that the sole accommodation to which he could ever consent must be made at the sword's point. The king of Navarre, on the contrary, lived in perpetual terror. Rumours of intended assassination were hourly poured into his ears; at one time he was to be poisoned at a banquet; at another to be shot during a hunting party; at a third to be stabbed by the hand of the king himself. It has been said, indeed, that he was absolutely enticed for that purpose to the king's bed-chamber; that having twice uselessly declined the treacherous summons, he went forewarned of his intended murder, and resolved to sell his life most dearly; that the Guises were in attendance; the cardinal of Lorraine barred the door immediately on his entrance, and the king addressed him rudely with the intention of provoking an indignant answer. The king of Navarre, however, replied with gentleness; and Francis, either unable to fasten upon him the blame of a quarrel, or staggered by his unexpected and meek demeanour, rose and quitted the chamber without fulfilling his bloody purpose; the duke of Guise, as he passed, remarking, "Never was there so great a poltroon!"[*]

November was fast approaching to its close, and the fate of Condé appeared irrevocably sealed, when the king was attacked with alarming symptoms, and his probable demise at once changed the whole position of the court. The Guises, indeed, would gladly have hurried Condé to the scaffold, and have commenced an impeachment of the king of Navarre while Francis was yet alive. But it was by no means the interest of the queen mother to strengthen their hands, already far too powerful; and if in the ensuing reign of her second and infant son Charles, she might hope to recover any of the influence which had been wrested from her in the present, her object could be compassed only by preserving a more equable balance of parties. The counsels also of the sincere and upright De L'Hôpital, upon which she fortunately threw herself in these difficulties, materially aided the cause of the princes. Temporizing, therefore, with that dissimulation of which she had so consummate a mastery, she assured the Guises that she considered their interests identified with her own, and that it was necessary for all their sakes that they should be reconciled to the Bourbons; while at the same time, she so far worked upon the fears of the king of Navarre as to prevail upon him to renounce his claim to the sole regency, during the approaching minority. Then, prompting his part also to her dying son, she obtained from his docility an avowal, in the presence of the yet hostile parties and of numerous witnesses, that whatever steps had been taken against the prince of Condé originated entirely from himself, and were pursued contrary to the advice of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine. False as all parties must have believed or known that declaration to be, it was considered sufficient to warrant an exchange of professions of future amity between the late deadly enemies; and Francis, having witnessed this reconciliation, expired on the 5th of December, but five days before that morning which he had determined should be the last of Condé's existence.

CHAPTER V.

Assembly of the States-General—Speech of Quentin—Bold Memorial of the Huguenots—Their IId National Synod—Release of Condé—Formation of the Triumvirate—Edict of July—Ostensible reconciliation of Condé and the duke of Guise—Colloquy at Poissy—Peter Martyr and Beza—Beza's interview with the cardinal of Lorraine—Opening of the Colloquy—Speech of Beza—Reply of the cardinal of Lorraine—Arrival of the cardinal legate of Ferrara—Second speech of Beza—Reply of Despence—Of De Xaintes—Beza's explanation—Stratagem of the cardinal of Lorraine—Beza's remonstrance—Speech of Peter Martyr—Of Lainez, general of the Jesuits—Private conference of the disputants—Termination of the Colloquy.

Charles IX. was in his eleventh year when called to the throne by this unexpected demise of his brother; and the chief apprehension of Catherine, on succeeding to the full authority which she had thus dexterously obtained during his minority, arose from the approaching meeting of the States-General. Notwithstanding every precaution, a numerous body of Huguenots must be found among the deputies, and their proceedings before the conspiracy of Amboise had sufficiently evinced their determination to make the regency depend upon constitutional election. If they predominated, therefore, in the ensuing assembly, she foresaw that her power would be at an end, and that all authority would be transferred to the Bourbon brothers. When the Three Estates met on the appointed 13th of December, the cardinal of Lorraine earnestly wished, on many accounts, to be elected orator for the ecclesiastical chamber. At all times prompt to display the eloquence which he was conscious of possessing, he now more than ever desired to show that, although no longer minister, he still retained his former personal consideration. But in this hope he was disappointed. The nobles and the *Tiers-Etat* coldly declined the proposition of the clergy by fixing upon Jean Quentin, Professor of Canon Law and deputy from the University of Paris; and never was an important office less discreetly bestowed. Quentin's speech teemed with bitterness against the Reformed; he urged the King to exterminate by fire and sword "those rebellious inventors of novel and execrable Sacraments;" and among the historical precedents from which he said that salutary advice might be derived, he pointed especially to an incident in the reign of the Emperor Arcadius. Under that prince, Gairas, master General of the Forces, projected the overthrow of the Throne, and in order to compass his design, leagued with the Arians; "a sect," exclaimed the Professor, "truly identical with the modern pretended Reformed." One of the requests of Gairas was for permission to appropriate a Church in Constantinople, in which, together with his sectarian brethren, he might celebrate service; and when the patriarch Chrysostom peremptorily refused assent, the traitor threw off the masque and perished miserably in his rebellion.

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[*] Garnier, xiv. 577, relates this story on the authority of La Planche, without, however, attaching much credit to it. The king of Navarre, before obeying the summons, instructed Ranti, one of his attendants, in whom he placed much confidence, to preserve his bloody shirt, if he should be murdered, and to request the queen, his consort, to show it to their son, whenever he was of sufficient age to become his avenger. De Thou, xxvi. 5, writes much to the same purpose, and dismisses the whole matter as doubtful: *ut vera ac certa minimè affirmaverim.*

This passage in Quentin's speech excited no small movement in the Chamber. It was scarcely possible to suppose that he had not intended to establish a parallel between the Byzantine insurgent and Coligny; and, indeed, the points of resemblance, as he had exhibited them, were confessedly numerous. Not to mention the similarity of sound between Gairas and Gaspard, the office of Master-general of the forces, was akin to that held by the Admiral; and the demand of a church in Constantinople brought to mind the petition which Coligny had presented at the Council of Fontainebleau, praying that the nobles might erect meeting-houses for the Reformed on their own estates. The attack was resented accordingly; the Admiral made strong representations of the personal affront which he had endured, and the Huguenot nobles demanded the erasure from the acts of the Assembly of all those offensive passages in which they had been stigmatized as Libertines, Gnostics, Montanists, or Arians, and their religion confounded with almost every former heresy by which Christendom had been distracted. After no small delay and discussion, it was agreed that, before the close of the sitting, Quentin should declare that in his first speech he had not meditated any personal allusion. The unhappy orator, overwhelmed by songs, satires, lampoons, and epigrams, and deeply suffering under the humiliation of offering a disavowal to which no one attached credit, died of chagrin, within a few months after he had filled the office most esteemed and coveted by his ecclesiastical brethren.

Before the last day's sitting, however, a memorial of unusual boldness was presented by a deputation of Huguenot ministers, whom the King of Navarre introduced to the young monarch in his council-chamber. It spoke of their disappointment at the course pursued by the States-General, in whose Assembly the wickedness of certain powerful individuals had, contrary to all equity, deprived them of their just hopes, by imposing silence on every matter which concerned religion. It characterized Quentin by the untranslatable title of "*Ce beau Latiniseur du Clergé*," who had imprudently prohibited the King from receiving, and the Lords of the Council from presenting any request in their behalf. It urged the King not to listen to calumnies against the best and soundest portion of his subjects; to suspend the processes to which they were daily exposed in courts of law; to consider the absurdity of persecuting Christians who acknowledged one gospel and one creed, while he tolerated Jews and Mohammedans; and to grant his brethren in the faith as much liberty in a Christian land as they would find in the dominions of the Sultan. After declaring the unalterable loyalty of the petitioners, it concluded with a prayer that they might be allowed to assemble, without arms, at whatever places and times the King might please to specify, under the inspection of any officers whom he might appoint to observe their transactions. The memorial was received, but it was stated that its heads required deliberation, and its discussion was therefore postponed to a more convenient season.

The disorders of the Revenue had by no means been corrected by this futile meeting of the States-General; and that body having been declared incompetent to its task, in consequence of the death of the late King, was summoned to assemble at Melun, after a fresh election of deputies, in the course of the ensuing May. Anterior to that meeting, the Huguenots held their second synod. Poitiers was the spot selected for their discussions; and there a strong memorial was drawn up to be laid before the Council of Deputies on their first sitting, urging the establishment of a legitimate regency, as the only means of obtaining a satisfactory answer to the requests tendered at Orleans, by the King of Navarre. The articles of discipline agreed upon by the first synod at Paris were corrected and enlarged in a few unimportant points; and in these canons the austere spirit of Calvinism once or twice exhibited itself in petulant hostility to innocent amusements. "All consistories," it is said, "shall be admonished by their ministers, that they do strictly forbid all dancing, mummeries, and tricks of jugglers" (Art. xi.); and among the "Particular matters" propounded as cases of conscience, "upon mature deliberation, it is decreed that whoso professeth a trade of dancing, and hath been divers times admonished, and doth not quit it, shall be excommunicated." We read with far greater pleasure an article conceived in a generous spirit of charity, that "all violent and injurious words against the Papists, as also against their chaplains, priests, and monks, shall not only be foreborne, but to the utmost of the church's power shall be suppressed" (General Matters, viii). Some delicate points relative to promises of marriage were discussed; and the nice scruples by which the Reformed allowed themselves to be perplexed are sufficiently evinced by the last question to which their pastors are entreated to reply. "May he be admitted to communicate in the bread only at the Lord's table who hath an antipathy to wine?"—"Yes he may, provided that he do his utmost to drink of the cup; but in case he cannot, he shall make a protestation of his antipathy." (xxxi).

The memorial concerning the Regency was plainly the chief object for which this otherwise unimportant synod had been convened; and coupled with the release of the Prince of Condé, which occurred about the same time, it occasioned some extraordinary political revolutions at court. On the moment of the demise of the late king, Catherine had announced to Condé that he was free; but the high-minded Prince considering it a point of honour not to owe his liberty to the accident of the King's dissolution, renewed his protest against the illegality of all the proceedings in his case; demanded a solemn *arrêt* in his favour, authenticated by the parliament of Paris; and until his innocence was thus formally established remained a voluntary prisoner. The *arrêt* was obtained after some formal and technical delays, and Condé, on his return to the capital, found his party very greatly strengthened. The Electoral States, composed principally of Huguenots, recommended the exclusion of the Guises, as being foreigners, from the royal councils; and Catherine found herself obliged, if she hoped to retain even partial authority, to proclaim the King of Navarre lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But the States had not confined their declaration to this single matter; they had adverted to the crown debts, and had urged the resumption of the extravagant donations which the prodigality of Henry II. had lavished on his favourites, among whom the Constable was particularized by name. This invidious denouncement completed the alienation of Montmorency from the Reformed; and the bitterness of spirit which the affront awakened, no less than a real community of interests, determined him to lay aside the jealousy which had long separated him from the Guises. Their union was completed by the mediatory influence of a third party, the Maréchal de St. André; who having tasted, perhaps more than any other, of the inconsiderate bounty of Henry, had stronger reasons also than others for opposing the projected restitution of plunder. St. André—"a true Lucullus," as he is elegantly termed by the accommodating charity of Brantome, or, as he is characterized by the more homely indignation of the Historian of the French Reformed Churches, "a man altogether surrendered to gluttony and to its consequent vices, and from the original poverty of his family not having wherewithal to furnish his pleasures"—had, by dint of talent, courage, and agreeable manners, risen, almost in youth, from the post of First Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the envied dignity of Maréchal of France. By Henry II., he had been employed on various important and honourable missions; and among them was one to England, when he conveyed to Edward VI. the collar of the Order of St. Michael, and was presented in return for his Royal Master and for himself with that of the Garter. For these and other services he had been enriched both by the private largesses of Henry, and also by numerous confiscations of the estates of persons banished on account of religion. The restitution of this wealth, indeed, if demanded, was impossible; it had been shared in part with the royal favourite, the Duchess de Valentinois, in part scattered in profuse and inordinate luxury; in the embellishments of a costly seat at Valéry surpassing in magnificence any of the royal palaces; and in the maintenance of a table, which, from its elaborate, and more than Apician science, appears to have been justly exposed to the sarcasm of Beza. But although unable to refund, St. André might be called to severe account for that which he had expended, and be stripped of all which he retained; and his most favourable chance of diverting the menaced storm appeared to be derived from an alliance of parties once violently opposed, but which now by his consummate knowledge of mankind he succeeded in uniting. This union of the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Maréchal de St. André is known in contemporary history by the name of the Triumvirate; a name probably bestowed by the Huguenots, in order to assimilate it both in character and in odium to the detestable confederacies so called in ancient Rome.

The reconciliation of the Constable with the Duke of Guise was soon a matter of notoriety, but it did not produce any immediate result. Both retired awhile from court; the former under the pretext of celebrating the nuptials of a son, the latter avowedly to disembarrass the Council from his presence. During their absence, an edict long in preparation was issued, containing some provisions very favourable to the Huguenots. The right of search in private houses on suspicion of heretical meetings was forbidden, on pain of death, to any but magistrates; all prisoners for religious offences were enlarged; and those in exile were permitted either to return and live unmolested within the kingdom, provided they avoided occasion of scandal; or to select their own place of retirement, after equitable disposal of their property. The Parliament of Paris, offended at the tolerant spirit of this ordinance, refused to register it; but the publicity which it had already received so far encouraged the Huguenots in the capital, that they ventured upon more than usual openness in their meetings, and even obtained the advantage in a tumult which their fearless conduct had excited, and in which several lives on both sides were sacrificed.

The pleasing hopes excited by this demonstration of the mild intentions of Government were not diminished by an unexpected proposition from the Cardinal of Lorraine, made immediately after the *sacré* of the young king, in a council of state, held at Rheims. He expressed his readiness as chief prelate of the Gallican church, to consent that, in the ensuing Assembly of the States-General, the clergy should meet separately from the two other orders, for the purpose of reviewing the existing condition of ecclesiastical discipline; that, to avoid misconstruction by the Pope and Catholic priests, their assembly should not be termed a national council; but that the King might permit the attendance of the most distinguished Reformed theologians, in order to discuss controverted points with the Catholic divines. The Reformed could then no longer bruit abroad that calumny which they had hitherto so widely propagated, that the Catholics had no other argument than the stake which they could oppose to reason and to truth. For his own part, so confident was he in the superiority of his cause, that he now publicly declared, that although less profoundly versed in polemics than a professed theologian, he would readily measure himself with any antagonist who might offer, were it even Calvin himself.

The Reformed accepted this defiance with alacrity, and the Council agreed to it unanimously; Poissy was the spot named for the ecclesiastical conference, Pontoise, for the assembly of the nobility and *Tiers Etat;* both of them towns in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Germain's. But the Council meantime adjourned to Paris, and there, leavened by a deputation of members from the Parliament, all bitterly hostile to the Reformed interests, deliberated twenty continuous days on the chief matters contained in the recent and as yet unregistered ordinance. The result was a new instrument, known from the month in which it was enacted as the *Edict of July*. It was carried by a majority of only three voices, and grievously were the Huguenots dismayed by its persecuting tenor. All assemblies, public or private, held by armed or unarmed persons, in which sermons were preached or the Lord's Supper administered, contrary to the forms of the Church of Rome, were forbidden, on pain of forfeiture of bodily liberty and confiscation of property; the Reformed ministers were proscribed; and the cognizance of heresy, in conformity with the edict of Romorantin, was assigned to the bishops only; with this single provision in favour of the offenders whom, on conviction, they should deliver to the secular arm, that their punishment was not to be extended beyond exile.*

It is not to be imagined, however, that this edict, intolerant as were its provisions, could silence those who, fearless of martyrdom, were prepared, under every hazard, to avow the truth; and an incident of lighter character, which agreeably relieves many a sickening tale of persecution, at once proves how little the fervour of the Reformed was diminished, and how anxiously the Romish priests called to their aid the mighty weight of public opinion as an assistant of the law. In the village of Montmorillon, on the borders of Poitou and Limosin, a church had been founded, chiefly by the zeal of Francis de la Ponge, who, after much exercise in the study of Scripture, resolved to devote his future years to the ministry. Before delivering his first sermon, he had mortified himself by a long preparatory course of fasting and abstinence; and when he mounted the pulpit, overcome by bodily weakness, and yet more by the solemnity of the holy duty in which he was about to engage, after the few opening words, he paused without being able to recover himself, and continued mute for a long time, with his hands clasped and his eyes raised to heaven. Breaking at length from this trance, as it were, and resuming self-possession, he defied Satan again to prevent his labour of love; bade him avaunt as one bound and chained by God, who would bestow his grace upon the pious work now commenced; and in proof of this assertion, he preached upon the spot for two good hours. Meantime, one of the enemy, on observing De la Ponge's nervous seizure, ran off to the neighbouring village, and announced that the minister had suddenly turned black in the face, and that the devil had wrung his neck. The priests, overjoyed at so seasonable a miracle, assembled in the church, carried about the Host in procession, and announced this righteous judgment of God; till, arriving at the Reformed Assembly, they were driven back with shame and confusion, upon discovering the preacher yet alive, and persevering in an animated discourse, little likely as yet to arrive at its conclusion.†

One event which occurred before the assembling of the States-General demands notice as intimately connected with the history of the great leader of the Huguenots. The Prince of Condé still continued to attribute his arrest and peril of death during the late King's reign to the machinations of the Duke of Guise, and earnestly looked for an opportunity of satisfying his resentment. Since his release from confinement, however, the Duke of Guise had been absent from Court; latterly employed in escorting to Calais his niece the unhappy Mary of Scotland, on her passage to her native dominions. When his duties as grand master of the palace recalled him to St. Germain's, in order that he might officiate at the approaching solemnity, the Prince of Condé summoned his friends, and made evident preparations for a hostile decision of the quarrel. To prevent so fatal an interruption of the public repose, and the probable effusion of illustrious blood even within the verge of the palace, Catherine interposed the mediation of the King, who having previously arranged the necessary forms with the Constable, summoned the rivals to his Chamber. There, in the presence of the most distinguished personages of the Court, he addressed the Queen as follows: "Madam, I have assembled this company in order to adjust the differences between the Prince of Condé and Monsieur de Guise, who, I trust, will not refuse a settlement for the good of my service and of the Kingdom. To the end, therefore, that the Prince may know what he ought to believe, M. de Guise will first tell him how matters have passed." The Duke replied, according to the Constable's dictation, "Sire, since you are pleased that I should give an explanation of past matters to M. le Prince, I will now do so. Monsieur, I have neither practised nor wished to practise against your honour, nor was I the author, mover, or instigator, of your imprisonment." To which the Prince replied, "Monsieur, I esteem as base and bad men any person or persons who occasioned it."—"I believe so," said the Duke, "and the remark in no wise affects me." Then the King bade them embrace, and be good friends. Such is the account of this remarkable scene, in which, while it is difficult to believe that the Duke of Guise acted a sincere part, it is quite evident, from the *fierté* of the Prince of Condé's reply, that he attached very little credit to his declaration.

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* *Hist. des. Egl. Ref.* i. 468, where the edict is printed at length.

† *Hist. des Eng. Ref.* i. 765.

The clergy, in general, viewed the Assembly at Poissy with suspicion, and of one hundred and thirty bishops who had been summoned, scarcely fifty were present when the King opened the sittings on the 30th of July. The Chancellor omitted all political matters in his speech, and so entirely considered the meeting as a national council, that the Cardinal de Tournon, who, as Dean of the Sacred College and Primate of France, was elected President, expressed great dissatisfaction. Considering how offensive to Rome must be any proceedings which should interfere with the proposed General Council at Trent, he declared that the present discussion should in nowise concern faith, but be strictly limited to discipline. A step taken by Catherine was less calculated to tranquillize the apprehensions of the Vatican. Having consulted, as is supposed, with Montluc, Bishop of Valence, she addressed to the Pope an explanatory letter, pointing out the necessity of the Conference to which she had agreed, on account of the great number of Separatists. Nevertheless, she assured the holy father, that through God's grace, France had not produced any Anabaptists, Libertines, deniers of the Apostles' creed or its interpretation by the Sacred Œcumenical Councils. She then insinuated that there were many points on which perhaps the church might think it prudent to relax, in order to conciliate those who, by such indulgence, might be restored to its communion. Was it not possible that the use of images, forbidden by God and condemned by St. Gregory, might be removed, so far at least as adoration was concerned? Might not exorcism and other unessential forms in Baptism be omitted; so that water alone should be employed according to the direction of the Scripture? The insertion of the Priest's saliva into the infant's mouth, it was added, not only appeared unnecessary, but in many cases was even dangerous. The administration of the eucharist to the laity in one kind only gave offence; and the decree of the Council of Constance, by which that practice was supported, ought not to be allowed to weigh against the Word of God. Many other particulars relative to the host, it was thought might be advantageously reformed; the Vernacular tongue might be substituted for Latin in the prayers; and psalmody might be admitted as a portion of the public service. These propositions, although made with a show of the humblest deference to pontifical authority, were little likely to be grateful to the ears of Pius IV. But he dissembled his anxiety, and replied with gentleness, that the unity of the church demanded the reference of matters so weighty as those upon which the Queen had touched, to a general council; that he relied upon her wisdom and piety not to permit the Conference to attempt more than a provisional reform of such particular abuses in discipline as might have crept into the Gallican church; and that even for the consideration of those matters, he wished her to await the arrival of a Legate, who was at that time on his journey.

The disputants, however, were already assembled at Poissy, and Catherine proceeded to array them against each other without delay. The Reformed band consisted of twelve ministers; each accompanied by two lay deputies, the most distinguished gentlemen of their respective provinces. Two of the most experienced controversialists of the day had been summoned as their leaders, Peter Martyr from Zurich, and Theodore Beza from Geneva. The former, who did not arrive in sufficient time for the opening of the Conference, was a Florentine by birth, and before his conversion from Romanism, had obtained more than one considerable preferment by his great learning and his celebrity as a preacher. On adopting the new doctrine, and settling on a professorship at Strasburg, he imitated the conduct of Luther by marrying a nun.* During the reign of Edward VI. he visited England at the especial request of the Protector Somerset and of Archbishop Cranmer, and was appointed first to the Divinity Professorship at Oxford, and afterwards to a canonry of Christ Church. From the persecution of the ensuing reign he was permitted to retire unharmed; and after some years of wandering in Germany, he received an invitation to Zurich as its chief pastor. Beza, a native of Vezelai, in Burgundy, was of noble parentage by both descents. He was educated in the principles of the reformation, and made a rapid progress in elegant literature; to the cultivation of which pursuit and to the pleasures of the capital, many of his early years were devoted. A dangerous illness awakened in him more serious feelings, and he determined that, if he were permitted to recover, he would embrace the ministry. With that design, he retired first to Lausanne and afterwards to Geneva; in which latter city he especially attached himself to Calvin, and in return was admitted into his entire confidence and became his official colleague. An intimate acquaintance which he formed with the Bourbon princes, during a residence at Nerac, in the court of the King of Navarre, had made him well known to the leading Huguenots; and whether we regard his piety, his learning, his eloquence, his ready presence of mind, his many personal accomplishments, his elegance of manners, or his accurate acquaintance with mankind, no more powerful advocate of their cause could have been selected.

A knowledge of the public transactions during this Conference is, as on similar occasions, readily accessible; but it is not often that we are so closely admitted to the privacy of the great actors in history, as we find ourselves in a minute account of a preliminary familiar conversation in the palace, given by Beza in a letter to Calvin, and repeated in The History of the French Reformed Churches. He arrived at St. Germain en Laye, where he was received with marks of esteem, on the 23d of August; preached on the following morning, in the saloon of the Prince of Condé, before a large and distinguished congregation, who heard him "without any tumult or scandal;" and in the evening was invited to the apartments of the King of Navarre, where were assembled the Queen Mother, the Prince of Condé, the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, the Duke d'Estampes and Madame de Crussol. Having made his reverences to the Queen, Beza shortly explained to her the occasion of his coming; and the deep anxiety felt both by his brethren and himself to serve God and her Majesty, in an enterprise so holy and so necessary as that which was in contemplation. The Queen listened graciously, expressed in return the consolation which she should derive from any attempt promising repose to the distracted kingdom, and then asked some particulars respecting Calvin's age and habits of life. The Cardinal of Lorraine here joined in the conversation, stating that he was already acquainted with Beza through his writings, and exhorting him to peace and unity. "You have," he said, "troubled this realm in your absence, let your presence be a signal for its pacification." Beza in reply declared, that after the service of his God, that of his King and country was most dear to him; that he had always in every way been far too unimportant to have the power of troubling so great a realm as France, and that on the other hand his inclination strongly prompted him to render her good offices; in testimony whereof, he appealed to his past writings, and to the demonstrations which, by God's help, he trusted to make in the approaching Conference. The Queen then inquired if he had ever written any work in French, to which he answered in the affirmative, naming his Translation of the Psalms, and a Reply to the late Duke of Northumberland's Confession of Faith. Catherine, as he tells us, asked that question, because she had heard that he was the author of certain libellous verses which had been circulated through France; an authorship which he most solemnly and earnestly denied.

The Cardinal next remarked that he had at that moment lying on his table at Poissy a Latin tract on the Eucharist, attributed to Beza, in which occurred a strange passage; namely, that "we ought now to look for Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, even as we looked for Him before He was born of the Virgin." "Again," said the Cardinal, "I hear that you have written in another book, which I have not seen, *Christus est in Cœnâ sicut in cœno.*" The Queen and her company seemed greatly shocked at this latter statement, but Beza answered on the first point, that doubtless the words might appear strange, put nakedly as they had been cited by the Cardinal; that they ought to be considered together with the context; and that, moreover, the proposition which they contained was strictly true, when rightly understood. Respecting the second head, the words were so absurd and blasphemous, that he boldly pledged himself they did not exist either in his own writings, or in those of any other person who professed the reformed doctrines.* The Cardinal abandoning the second charge, pursued the first at considerable length. The sum of his argument was, that if the proposition were admitted, Christians possessed no advantage over those who lived previously to the advent; and, moreover, that the body of Christ could not be offered to any man, before it had been called into existence. Beza gently asked whether the Church had not existed from the very beginning of the world? Whether it had not always derived its nature as a church from a Mediator between God and man? and whether Jesus Christ, true God and true man, was not that Mediator? "Then," continued he, on receiving affirmative replies to each of these questions, "the communication of the faithful with Jesus Christ must not be restricted to the period which has elapsed since his divinity became really and actually conjoined with our nature; for although beforehand he was not sensibly present, yet he was always present, virtually and effectually, to the eye of faith. How else, indeed, could Abraham, "rejoice to see his day and be glad."† or how could our fathers "all eat the same spiritual meat, and all drink the same spiritual drink, which was Christ?"‡ The Cardinal agreed, adding readily and appropriately from the apocalypse, that Christ was also "the lamb slain from the foundation of the world;"§ but when Beza was proceeding in fuller exposition of the difference between the old and new covenant, he interrupted him on another point.—"This is my body:"—"how," said he, "are we to understand these words, which are most important, and on which we disagree?" "We do so," answered Beza; "and deeply as I must regret that so little harmony reigns among us who call ourselves Christians, I had far rather hear an avowal of disagreement, than a futile attempt to cheat us into belief that we accord on points wherein our difference is so marked."

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* This lady, Catharine Cahie, died during Peter Martyr's residence at Oxford, and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, near the shrine of St. Frideswyde. Under the reign of Mary "her carcass was cast out from ecclesiastical sepulture," by order of Cardinal Pole, and buried in a dunghill near the Dean's stable. Its re-interment took place after the accession of Elizabeth, when Dr. Calfhill, at that time subdean of Christ Church, placed in the same coffin with it the reliques of St. Frideswyde. He also published a tract, *Hist. de Exhumatione Katharinæ nuper uxoris Petri Martyris*, 1562.

"Well," said the Cardinal, "I teach the little children in my diocese, when they are asked what is the bread in the Lord's Supper, to answer, that it is the body of Jesus Christ. Do you object to that?" "Far from it," rejoined Beza, "they are the very words of our Lord; but the gist of the question lies in knowing after what manner the bread is called the body of Christ; for every thing that is of similar kind is not so in precisely similar manner." They then discussed the scriptural phraseology relating to the sacrament, upon which the Cardinal did not much rely in his own favour; except that when Beza cited "that rock was Christ," in proof of figurative applications, he met the text by a literal one, "the Word was made flesh:" but this objection, we are told, very speedily "slipped through his fingers." In the end, Beza said the matter might be reduced to four heads; the first, concerning the signs; the second, the things signified; the third, the union of the signs with the things signified; the fourth, our participation of the things signified together with the signs. "As to the first," he added, "we do not agree; for you do not include in the elements any other signs than certain accidents of the bread and wine, whereof we retain the substance, in conformity with the nature of a sacrament and with all scripture." "No, no," interrupted the Cardinal, "I am not afraid of being unable to maintain transubstantiation well enough; but it is not necessary that our divines should advance that tenet too forward; and for my part I do not think our churches ought to be at variance on that account." "On the second head," continued Beza, "we do not maintain that it is only the merit of the death and passion of Jesus Christ which is signified to us by the bread and wine, but that it is His true body which was crucified, and His true blood which was shed for us; in a word, that Jesus Christ himself, very God and very man, is signified to us by these visible signs, in order that our hearts may be exalted to contemplate Him spiritually through faith, in the heavens wherein He now abides; and to communicate with His treasures laid up there in eternal life, as truly and certainly as in the course of nature, we see, handle, eat, and drink, the outward and visible signs."

At hearing this declaration the Cardinal expressed great satisfaction, for he had been informed, he said, that the Reformed doctrine was widely different. "On the other hand," continued Beza, "we confess that there is a great difference between ordinary bread and wine and that of the eucharist; for ordinary bread and wine are no other than common exigencies, such as God has been pleased to form them; but in the eucharist they become visible signs and tokens of the precious body and blood of our Lord. But we affirm that the change by which these natural creatures become sacraments, is not in their substance, which remains entire, but only in that their signs are applied to a use altogether differing from their natural import. For naturally they are destined only for our bodily nourishment; but when made sacraments they represent our spiritual food. Moreover, we by no means attribute this change to the virtue of certain words pronounced over them, nor to the intention of him who pronounces them, but to the power of God, whose will and commandment is testified to us by His word. Thus, then, since the thing signified is offered and given to us by the Lord as truly as are the outward signs, it is in this manner, and not otherwise, that we ought to regard their union; namely, that the body and blood of Christ, which are truly administered to us, are also truly present in the elements; not that they are *under*, nor *with*, nor *within* the bread and wine, nor in any other place whatsoever, except in heaven, to which Jesus Christ has ascended, in order that He may dwell there, according to His human nature, till he comes again to judge both the quick and the dead.

The Cardinal here, after renewing his assurance that he was not inclined to press transubstantiation, said that undoubtedly we must look for Christ in heaven; and he then introduced something about absolute local presence and the opinions of certain Germans; alluding, no doubt, to the Lutherian doctrine of consubstantiation. "But to speak the truth," adds Beza, "this part of his discourse was in such sort as to show that he did not well understand the point; and, indeed, he himself admitted, that he had employed most of his time in other matters."—"I must confess, Monsieur," answered Beza, "that we do not agree with those Germans whom you mention, on this third head; but thanks be to God! we jointly with them affirm a true communion with the body and blood of our Lord."

"Do you then admit," inquired the Cardinal, "that we really and substantially communicate with the true body and blood of Christ in the eucharist?"—"That," answered Beza, "is the fourth head which remains to be touched upon. In brief, we say that we sensibly handle, eat, and drink, the visible signs; and that as for the things signified, to wit, the body and blood of Christ, they are truly and without any subterfuge offered to all partakers, but that they can be received no otherwise than spiritually by faith; not by the hand nor by the mouth. Yet, notwithstanding, we believe that this spiritual communion is no less certain than the certainty that we see with our eyes and handle with our hands the outward signs; albeit, the efficacy of the Holy Spirit and of faith is incomprehensible both by our senses and by our understanding." At these words the Cardinal strongly declared to the Queen his great satisfaction at the opinions which he had heard, and his confidence that the issue of the future discussions would be most happy if they were proceeded in with similar gentleness and reason. When the Queen and her company had retired, he turned to Beza with a gracious and winning air, and took his leave, saying, "I am delighted to have seen and heard you; and I call on you in God's name to confer with me, in order that we may mutually acquaint ourselves with each other's reasonings, and you will find that I am not so black as I have been painted."

In this trying interview, Beza exhibited great tact and knowledge of the world, as well as a ready acquaintance with controversy. Without receding one step from the position which he was bound in conscience to maintain, he so expressed himself as not only to avoid offending his opponent, but even fairly and honestly to conciliate his good will. The measure of the Cardinal's sincerity on the other hand, may be estimated by one little incident. As he was withdrawing, Madame de Crussol took him by the hand, and said, with her customary freedom, "You have shown yourself a good man this evening, but what will you be to-morrow?" The lady's doubt was prophetic; for the rumours of the court on the next morning were loud that Beza in the very outset had been attacked, confounded, abashed, and converted by the Cardinal. Nevertheless, when Montmorency congratulated the Queen while at dinner on this success, Catherine pointedly and openly replied, that she had been present at the whole conversation, and he was very ill informed as to its result.

The Reformed ministers continued to preach in the palace daily, and without interruption, till the morning on which the disputation was appointed to commence. It had been stipulated by the Calvinists, and verbally agreed to by Catherine, that since the bishops were parties in the dispute, they were not to be judges also; that the King, the royal family, and the great officers of state should be present; that the only standard of reference should be the canonical scriptures; and that the proceedings should be noted down by secretaries chosen on each side, and daily attested by the signatures of the disputants. The faculty of Paris, meantime, had protested against any discussion with heretics who denied the authority of bishops and prelates; and urged, that if they must be heard, at all events the hearing should not take place in the royal presence; such a course, it was said, would but little contribute to edification, and might awaken perilous doubts in the bosom of the youthful King. Catherine drily answered, that the mode of discussion was already arranged, and the divines quitted the palace in grievous discontent.

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* Notwithstanding Beza's total rejection of these words from a reformed origin, they had really been employed, although very innocently, by the gentle Melancthon, in a controversy with Œcolampadius, from one of whose positions Melancthon affirmed they must be a necessary deduction. De Thou, xxviii. 7.

† John viii. 56. ‡ 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. § Rev. xiii. 8.

At noon, on the 9th of September, the court assembled in the refectory of a convent at Poissy. On the right of the King sate his brother, the Duke of Orleans and the King of Navarre; on his left, the Queen Mother and the Queen of Navarre; behind them were ranged a great number of princes and princesses, lords, knights, and gentlemen with their ladies. On each side of the chamber were seated three cardinals; below them thirty-six archbishops and bishops; and behind, a vast company of ecclesiastics, doctors, and deputies of the clergy. At the end of the hall and fronting the throne stood the Royal Guard, and a host of spectators of all classes. Silence having been proclaimed, the King opened the sitting in a few words, and commanded the chancellor to explain more at length the objects of the conference. L'Hôpital, in the speech which he delivered accordingly, took occasion to commend a national synod as better adapted to existing circumstances than a general council; and perhaps on that account the Cardinal de Tournon demanded a written copy of the speech; but his motion, after some slight discussion, was over-ruled. The Reformed ministers, assisted by the deputies from the provincial churches, were then introduced by the Duke of Guise, and Beza, who had been chosen their spokesman, immediately commenced his address.

He began with a short prayer appropriate to the circumstances in which he was placed; then, having congratulated himself upon the attainment of a privilege hitherto denied to those of his religious profession, namely, that of standing before his sovereign and pleading in his presence, he endeavoured to remove the prejudices which false reports and evil calumnies had created against the Reformed. "Think not," he said, "that we have come hither in the hope of propagating error; our object is rather to discover and to amend whatever may be faulty, either on your side or on our own. Esteem us not so bigoted as to entertain a desire to overthrow that which we know to be eternal, the church of God. Believe not that we would willingly reduce you to our own condition of lowliness and poverty; in which, nevertheless, thanks be to the Lord! we are not without singular contentment. We approach you with a sincere wish to repair the breaches in our Jerusalem; to re-edify our spiritual temple; to restore the house of God, built up of lively stones, to its former glory; to collect and gather again, within the unity of a single fold, the flock of the one and sovereign Shepherd; that flock which has been so widely scattered abroad by the just vengeance of Heaven, and the perverse carelessness of men."

Passing on to a review of the doctrines of his brethren, he touched rapidly on the main points of difference from the ancient religion; not impugning the principles maintained by others, so much as defending those asserted by himself. The one and plenary atonement of Christ; his single intercession and advocacy; the nature of good works, namely, that they proceed entirely from the Holy Spirit, are good only in so far as they are agreeable to the commandments of God, and by no means entitle us to that eternal life which is wholly His free gift; the canon of Scripture, as alone containing all that is necessary for salvation; the sacraments, as outward signs of inward grace;—all these points were affirmed; and the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as distinguished both from transubstantiation and consubstantiation, was pointedly enunciated. "Should any one ask whether we assert that Jesus Christ is absent from the Eucharist, we unhesitatingly reply, no. But if we look to the distinction of places,—as we must do when the question of corporal presence is advanced—then we pronounce that his body is as remote from the bread and wine as the highest heaven is from the surface of the earth."

Hitherto the orator had been listened to with mute and profound attention; but as the last words were delivered, a hasty murmur ran along the benches, and numerous indignant voices exclaimed, "he has spoken blasphemy." Some of the ecclesiastics rose to quit the Assembly, and the Cardinal de Tournon besought the king and queen either to silence Beza, or to dissolve the sitting. The king contented himself with commanding order, and Beza proceeded without farther interruption. "*We* are on earth," he said, "the body of Christ is in heaven: yet if any one should thence conclude that we assert Jesus Christ to be absent from this holy supper, we maintain his conclusion to be false. For we so far honour God, that believing the body of Christ to be in heaven, and no where else, and knowing ourselves to be on earth, and no where else, still we affirm that spiritually and through faith, we are partakers of Christ's body and blood; even as certainly as we behold the sacrament with our eyes, touch it with our hands, place it within our lips, and feed bodily on its substance."

On baptism, he said, little difference existed between the two churches. The five other *sacraments*, as they were called by the Romanists, were admitted by the Reformed, in degree and as useful *ceremonies*. In church discipline so great was the confusion which prevailed, that the most skilful architect would find it difficult to recognise one vestige of the apostolic building, either in ordinances or in morals. Before God, he protested, that the sole design of the Reformed, was to approach, if possible, to primitive beauty and purity; to abolish superstitions; to retrench superfluities; to adopt any new ordinances which upon solemn consideration might be deemed agreeable to Scripture, and suitable to change of times and circumstances. He concluded by professions of obedience to the king, and of reliance upon the wisdom of his councillors; and then bending on his knees, he presented the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of France, which the king received graciously and handed to the prelates. The Cardinal of Tournon immediately, with marks of anger and disturbance, entreated the king not to believe one syllable which had been uttered, but to abide firmly in the religion professed by his ancestors since the reign of Clovis, and in which he had been educated by his royal mother. He then demanded time, in order that an answer might be prepared; confidently trusting that when his majesty heard that reply, he would be brought back—not brought back, he said, correcting himself, but preserved in the path of orthodoxy. The king answered briefly, that, in the course he had hitherto adopted, he had been guided by the advice of his council; he then retired, and the assembly rose.

When the Romanist divines met after this first day's conference, to deliberate on their future proceedings, the Cardinal of Lorraine began by remarking that, if he could have had his will, either Beza should have been dumb, or his audience deaf. It was resolved that the cardinal himself should reply, but only to the two points of church discipline and the Eucharist; that a Confession of Faith opposed to that of the ministers should be framed and presented for their signature; and that if they declined its acceptance, their heresy should be solemnly condemned and the Conference dissolved. The ministers, apprized of these intentions, presented a Remonstrance; which, by the chancellor's mediation, was so favourably received, that the cardinal determined on an entire change of tactics; and while he prepared his answer, he dispatched an express to the Governor of Metz, enjoining him to send up to Poissy, as secretly as possible, three or four of the most sagacious, clear-sighted and firmly-principled Lutheran divines. By arraying the tenets of the Confession of Augsburg against the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he trusted to perplex and divide the Reformers; and thus, to use his own expression, to escape like St. Paul between the Pharisees and Sadducees.

The Conference assembled on the 16th of September, in the same manner as before, when the cardinal delivered his reply. He first argued that on all matters connected with ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline the Church possessed absolute sovereignty, so that princes were but her sons and members; thus more than covertly disapproving and rebuking the arrangement by which the king had been appointed to preside. He then addressed himself with great learning and a most profuse display of authorities, to the two points which it had been determined should alone be treated; and it is remarkable that, in discussing the Real Presence, he again produced the miserable play of words on *Cœna* and *Cœnam*, which Beza in the first conversation had disavowed; and which the cardinal now protested he would not render into French, out of consideration for the weaker brethren. Before addressing himself to the king in his peroration, he made a spirited apostrophe to the Reformed, which very dexterously preluded the farther design he was meditating.—"If," he said, "in this most unjust and causeless quarrel, we have become so odious to you that you separate from us altogether; that you think us unworthy to live and to dwell in your society; that—horrible to say—you shrink from prayer and sacrifice to God, if performed in the same temples with us, why should you refuse to accept the Greek communion as an arbiter? And if you abhor the Universal Church, why will you not abide by the decision of one which is Particular? Why not appeal to Separatists like yourselves, and turn to the Confession of Augsburg? The ministers who profess that creed, one and all, will condemn you. But if you are rejected on the doctrine of the sacrament, even by dissentients from the Catholic Church, who agree with you in almost every thing else, what hope can we have that you will ever accord with us who differ with you, not only on that question, but on most other points also? If, therefore, you are thus besotted by self-complacency, and reduced to solitude in your opinions; if you will not approach our faith, absent yourselves also from our flocks. Leave to us the charge of those over whom you do not possess any authority, and whom you endeavour to seduce from their attachment to those legitimate pastors who derive their commission from God himself."

When the cardinal had finished his harangue, the prelates rose in a mass, and would have retired, saying, that after a display so eloquent, so argumentative, and so convincing, it was not possible there could be any more room for dispute. Beza, however, seized the moment with admirable promptness, and when he began, the members resumed their seats. Addressing the king, he offered either to reply on the instant, or to await any other day which his majesty might appoint as more seasonable, when, according to the previous stipulation, each party might adduce its authorities. The king expressed his assent to the latter proposal.

More than a week, however, was allowed to pass before a re-assembling of the divines took place; and the arrival of the papal legate during that interval produced an essential change in the form of the conference. Pius IV. recollecting the opposition which former legates to France, in much less tempestuous seasons, had encountered in the exercise of their functions, evinced considerable sagacity in the choice of a minister. Ippolito d'Este,[*] Cardinal of Ferrara, and brother of the reigning prince of that duchy, was closely allied, not only to the Guises, but even to the royal house of France; he possessed benefices within that kingdom exceeding sixty thousand crowns in annual value, and he was moreover a personage of pleasing and accomplished manners, and an acute and skilful diplomatist. Yet, notwithstanding his illustrious birth, his intimate connexion with France, and his accommodating personal qualities, he was insulted in his passage through Lyons; and on his arrival at St. Germain, the populace followed him with rude shouts—"The fox, the fox!"—till they compelled him to abandon the customary legatine privilege of being preceded by an apparitor bearing a crucifix. Even in higher places also, he had little cause to be satisfied with his reception. The Chancellor de L'Hôpital refused to affix the seals to his *faculty* as legate, notwithstanding a promise that the instrument should never be employed. When, after long denial, at the express command of the King, he *did* seal that paper, it was endorsed with a special protest under his own hand, "*me non consentiente*;" and, after all, when it was presented to the parliament, that body replied that they neither would nor could admit its registry. But "the fox," says Beza, in despite of these provocations, never showed any symptoms of anger, and by preserving unruffled calmness he ultimately triumphed. When the Conference was re-opened, on the 24th of September, neither the King nor his brother was present. The happy children were released from their former painful task of moderating in polemical divinity, not from any commisseration for their tender years, as unfitted for that grave purpose, but in order to deprive the Disputation of much of the publicity which it had hitherto enjoyed. The Queen Mother, the Queen of Navarre, the princes of the blood, the cardinals, and a scanty committee of ecclesiastics, were now the only persons confronted with the Reformed ministers; and the place of assembly was transferred from the spacious refectory to the smaller chamber of the prior. Books there were in plenty, with a show of fulfilling a promise made by the Cardinal of Lorraine, that he would confirm his doctrine of the sacrament by appeal to every father of the church who had written in the first five centuries; but, numerous as were the volumes produced, not one page of them was ever opened.

Beza recommenced by arguing at great length in favour of the validity of the Calvinistic church. It was, undoubtedly, his weakest point; and he resorted, perhaps, to over-subtle distinctions when he maintained—first, that the succession from the apostles, which he called *doctrinal*, was a surer mark of the true church than *personal* succession; and, secondly, that besides ordinary vocation to the ministry, another ought also to be admitted, which is extraordinary. Upon the purity of *doctrinal* succession, it is quite manifest that every sect will pronounce a verdict favourable to itself; and no enthusiast, however boldly he has leaped into the fold, has ever been backward in asserting his especial call to God's service. On the fallibility of particular churches and of councils, he was far more successful; and the paramount authority of scripture over the traditions and the canons of the church, was pointedly stated and proved. "To ask whether of the two is superior, scripture or the church, appears to be not less impertinent, than to ask if the child be above the parent, the wife above the husband, and man above his God. Grant that the church in one sense existed before the scripture; yet, nevertheless, paradoxical as it may appear, the scripture, in truth, is the most ancient, for by it the church itself was engendered, conceived, and born." Having apologized for the great extent at which he had treated matters relative to church discipline, (his speech had already occupied an hour and a half) he offered to continue, if the queen so pleased, on the remaining head, the Lord's Supper. But the Cardinal of Lorraine made a sign to one of the most learned Romanist doctors, Claude Despence, who began a reply.

Despence readily admitted the paramount authority of Scripture over the church; but he strongly objected the legality of the ministry of Beza and his companions, owing to the want of imposition of hands; and he farther argued that even those who might have been previously ordained by the Church of Rome, had forfeited their privilege by apostacy. Then, proceeding to the authority of traditions, he affirmed that certain doctrines had no other foundation; as that of the co-essentiality of the Son, and, so far as its name was concerned, the Trinity itself. In regard to Councils, he taxed Beza with an incorrect application of a passage in Tertullian, and of having advanced an historical fact on the authority of a writer so justly suspected as Socrates. Before Beza could explain, "a little white friar," named De Xaintes, uprose, and with great vehemence of speech drew a parallel between Beza and the Anabaptists; expressed astonishment at his having ventured to cite Chrysostom, a writer who he said had stated the existence of Scripture to be contrary to the intention of God; recommended him before he again quoted the fathers to read them three or four times over; and added to the doctrines which rested solely on tradition, Infant Baptism, and the perpetual virginity of Mary. When he had ceased, Beza, first calmly remonstrating on the irregularity of this interruption, and the confusion which it was likely to produce, addressed himself to the objection of Despence concerning the imposition of hands, maintaining that such a form was by no means essential: "For our part," he said, "we feel no interest in the matter. We have good testimony of our call in our examination and election by an elder, in the approval of our magistrates and people, and in reception into the ministry by solemn prayers and thanksgiving. And if you assert that the first builders of our church edified it without authority, as not being included in the Apostolical succession, I reply that many of them might have claimed that succession if they had so chosen; but in truth they preferred a voluntary renunciation of that mark of the Romish Church; not thereby despising ecclesiastical order and discipline, but because in your church, a prey to confusion and distraction, neither order nor discipline was to be found. Briefly, instead of amusing ourselves by a reference to this ceremony in support of our claims to true pastorship, let us come at once to substantial matters, and inquire concerning doctrine. Is that which we preach pure? Are our differences from your church just? If these things be so, then are we true ministers, despite the want of imposition of hands; a want not arising from our fault but from those who have overthrown that ecclesiastical polity which we are striving to restore." All this argument we need not observe is founded on a *petitio principii*.

He then denied that the doctrines of the Trinity, of the co-essentiality of the Son, and of infant baptism, rested on tradition only. Each was fairly deducible from Scripture;

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[*] Son of the infamous Lucrezia Borgia by marriage with her fourth husband, Alfonso I. Duke of Ferrara.

and as for the assertion of Mary's perpetual virginity, it was not an article of faith. Next adverting to the admonition of De Xaintes that he should read the Fathers three or four times over before he quoted them, he assured him in return that he had read his citation from Chrysostom more than twenty times; and moreover that he would pledge himself that neither De Xaintes nor any one else had ever read in that Father the blasphemous sentiment which his opponent had incorrectly attributed to him. To the charges of a mistaken application of Tertullian and of reliance upon the authority of Socrates, he answered not a word at the moment; and he afterwards justified his silence, when his companions inquired privately concerning it, by stating that his reply was directed to principal matters, and not to accessories; an excuse by no means likely to disarm his opponents, even if it satisfied his friends.

Some warm skirmishing ensued with De Xaintes, who appears to have been ignorant, presumptuous, hot-headed, and obstinate. The Cardinal of Lorraine perceived the danger arising from his incompetence, and interrupted a merciless display which Beza was exhibiting of the monk's ignorance and impudence, by an abrupt proposition upon which he relied for certain victory. In his hope of producing embarrassment by means of the Lutheran divines, he had altogether failed. One of them died immediately after his arrival at Paris, and his four brethren quarrelled among themselves, proved intractable, and returned to Germany without visiting Poissy. Accident, however, had thrown in the Cardinal's way two productions of the Reformers, from parts of which he hoped to derive great advantage; and he accordingly made another sign to Despence, who recalled Beza's attention to the doctrine of the sacrament, and then expressed his conviction that he would not refuse assent to a declaration concerning it made by one of his most eminent brethren. At the same time he read two passages from a volume which he produced, without avowing the name of their author. In one of them occurred the word *substantialiter*, in the other a statement that the presence of the Lord's Body was not to be denied, provided we abstracted all consideration of a local presence. Mutilated as were these sentences, Beza at once recognized them as the production of Calvin, and expressed his full concurrence in them when joined to their context. The cardinal himself then drew from his bosom a second document, which he affirmed to be a Confession of Faith, signed by thirty or forty German ministers, all of them, as he believed, acquaintances of Calvin. From that instrument he said he would extract but one article of three or four lines for Beza's signature, which by God's grace he trusted would be a sure preliminary to accommodation.

Beza demanded a copy of the proposed test, promising his answer on the morrow. When it was delivered to him he found it to be part of a confession of certain ministers in the Duchy of Wirtemburg, drawn up two years before; in which, although this single passage might appear to support the Romish doctrines, there were other articles expressly condemning transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, and all similar belief and practice. It was on that account that the cardinal rested content with one short and garbled extract; and in so doing his design was plain. If the ministers delayed their signature, he would make their reluctance a plea for breaking up the Conference, and for throwing the blame of the rupture upon their tardiness; if they refused signature altogether, he hoped to embroil them with the Lutherans; or finally, if they did sign, it would be easy to claim a triumph, to represent them to their own congregations as traitors and renegades, and to create a schism among the Reformed.

With whatever secrecy the Cardinal's projects were conceived, Beza appears to have been well-informed of their tendency. When the conference re-assembled on the next day but one after its last meeting, he placed in the Queen's hands a memorial signed by all the ministers. It protested against the inquiry which had been made into the legality of their ordination, and the attempt upon that account to cast odium upon their Church. It then pointed out numerous deviations from the original apostolic constitution in the present mode of Episcopal consecration in the Romish Church, adding boldly, "if *we* are not ministers because we have not received imposition of hands, *you* are not bishops because you have omitted numerous formalities required by the divine law." Then passing on to the Cardinal of Lorraine's demand of their signature to an isolated article of faith, shorn of many principal and essential accompaniments, it complained of the proposal, "sign that, or we terminate the conference," as a menace which would not have been offered even to prisoners upon their trial. Still Beza did not hesitate to avow his approbation of the passage which had been read to him from the Tract by Calvin. For the article selected from the confession, he wished to know whether it was presented in the single name of the Cardinal, or in that of all the prelates also? Whether if the Reformed ministers consented to sign it, the Cardinal would sign it jointly with them? and also, whether he was prepared to redeem his promise of supporting his assertions concerning the eucharist by authorities from the Holy Scriptures and the fathers?

The Cardinal at first showed symptoms of surprise and annoyance at these unexpected interrogatories; but quickly recovering himself, and having apologised for undertaking to reply at the moment to a premeditated and written remonstrance, he taxed Beza with an intention to degrade both royal and sacerdotal authority, by denying the validity of Romish ordination; and with utter ignorance of the nature of Episcopal consecration, proved by the manner in which he had described it. In return, Beza stigmatized the form of consecration as a farce; and the Cardinal, passing over that strong expression, reverted to the proposed signature. He was asked again whether it was his own individual proposition, or arising generally from the clergy? and whether he and they would sign the confession? "For myself," answered the cardinal, "I am *Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*, I have therefore neither subscribed to that confession nor to yours; ready as I am to subscribe to both, provided they contain truth. On the other point, my brethren here present can testify that I have neither spoken nor offered any thing to you without their general concurrence." At that word he cast his eyes from side to side, but received no sign either of assent or dissent.* "Since then," was Beza's answer, "you yourself will not subscribe, it is unreasonable to ask our subscription."

The debate on the eucharist was immediately renewed, and Peter Martyr, who then appeared for the first time, entered the lists with Despence. As a compliment to the Queen, he delivered himself in Italian, and handled his argument so learnedly and so eloquently as to extort praise even from his antagonist. A violent declamation was then pronounced by Jaques Lainez, the Spanish general of the Jesuits in the suite of the Legate, who attacked the Reformed in intemperate and unmeasured terms; and in his conclusion, urged the Queen to the suppression of heresy with many sighs and tears, which excited undisguised laughter. To his abuse, Beza replied that he would assent to every thing of which fair proof was laid before him; but that until then he would no more believe that his brethren and himself were monkeys, vipers, and foxes, as his opponent had called them, than he would believe in transubstantiation. Little novelty arose in the subsequent discussion. "What is it you understand by *Hoc* in the words *Hoc est corpus meum?*" inquired a doctor of the Sorbonne. "The bread," replied the ministers, "which Christ then held in His hands, and which He called His body, because it was the outward and visible sign or sacrament of His body." "The very body itself," exclaimed the doctor; "*Hoc*, by grammatical construction, cannot have any other signification; and when Beza resisted that meaning, one of his adversaries, lifting up his finger, shook it in a threatening manner, and called out, "Ah! if we could but once get you into our school!"

The asperity of tone which marked this third conference seemed to preclude all hope of mutual accommodation from another similar assembly, and Catherine proposed that five deputies selected from each party should meet in a private house at St. Germain; not any longer to dispute, but to endeavour to arrange a declaration concerning the eucharist which both sides might accept. On the part of the Romanists were chosen for this service, Montluc bishop of Valence, Duval bishop of Sees, Despence, Salignac, and Bouthillier; on that of the Reformed, Beza, Peter Martyr, Marlorat, Des Gallards, and De L'Espine. The Romanists in the first instance proposed the following article: "We believe that together with the signs or appearances of bread and wine, the true body and blood of Christ is really and substantially present, exhibited to, and received by faithful communicants." This form was afterwards modified into the words below. "We believe that *in the usage of the Lord's supper* the true body and blood of Christ, *truly and in very deed*, and substantively, *that is in very substance, exists in a spiritual and unspeakable manner*, is exhibited to, and received by faithful communicants." Ultimately, it assumed another and more extended shape. "We confess that Jesus Christ in His holy supper, truly presents, gives, and exhibits to us the substance of His body and blood by the operation of His Holy Spirit; and that we receive and eat Sacramentally, Spiritually, and through faith that very Body which died for us, that we may be bone of His bone and flesh of His flesh, to the end that we may be vivified by it, and perceive through it all things necessary for our salvation. And since faith established on the word of God, renders present to us things which are promised, and since through that faith we receive truly and indeed the true and natural body and blood of our Lord by virtue of the Holy Spirit; in that manner we confess the presence of the body and blood of the same our Lord in the holy supper."

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* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 588.

The news of the acceptance of this declaration by the joint deputies was received with great joy by the court. The Queen mother sent for Beza to her apartment, where, in the presence of the Bishop of Valence, she testified unbounded satisfaction; and when the Cardinal of Lorraine read a copy of the paper, he affirmed that it contained what had always been his belief, and that he trusted it would content the divines at Poissy. "That he uttered these words," says the Historian emphatically, "is quite certain; perhaps," he adds, "he thought that he spoke truth, for such kind of people never have leisure to think whether they believe or not, nor indeed to think at all on that which they think they believe."* But the happy event which the Cardinal had anticipated was very far from occurring. The faculty of Divines, after close examination, pronounced the declaration not only insufficient, but also captious, heretical, and containing many errors against the holy sacrament. Despence was struck mute at this decision; and the Cardinal of Lorraine felt obliged to admit that the doctors were more clear-sighted than himself, and that he yielded to their judgment.† So terminated this unsatisfactory disputation.

CHAPTER VI.

Tumult at St. Medard—Edict of January—Difficulty in procuring its Registration—The King of Navarre abandons the Huguenots—Beza's Disputation concerning Images—The King of Navarre avows his apostacy—Massacre at Vasey—Remonstrance of the Huguenots—The Duke of Guise enters Paris—Condé retires to Meaux—His rapid occupation of Orleans—Huguenot Association and Manifesto.

The Reformed ministers perceived that their occupation as disputants was now at an end, and they took their leave and retired. When Beza, however, paid his respects to Catherine, with the intention of returning to Geneva, she claimed him as a Frenchman, and entreated that he would not abandon his native country while the slightest opening seemed to remain even for a mitigation of religious hostility. His consent was the more readily obtained by the willingness which the Queen at the same time expressed not to oppose any obstacle against the performance of the Reformed worship in Paris; which was celebrated accordingly, wholly without disguise, by large congregations. On the morning after Christmas day, Beza himself, escorted publicly by D'Andelot and a very powerful retinue, to the great astonishment of the Catholics, delivered two sermons. On the following morning he preached again, and after dinner was reluctantly persuaded to attend in a meeting-house called the *Patriarchate*, in the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, where a discourse was to be given by Malot, a minister of some distinction. Rumours of an intended disturbance, it seems, had been conveyed to Beza, and his apprehensions were unfortunately verified. More than twelve hundred persons were assembled; but scarcely had the preacher commenced, when his voice was drowned by the clang of bells from the neighbouring church of St. Medard, as if chiming for vespers; and on one of the Huguenot congregation, without communicating his intention to his brethren, going out and requesting the priests to forbear their interruption, high words arose, and in the quarrel which ensued he was severely beaten and at length killed. As the noise still continued, others proceeded to the church, and horror-struck at finding the dead body of their comrade, gave an alarm, excited by which, great part of the congregation rushed tumultuously to the spot. They were headed by one Gabaston, the captain of a body of sixty archers recently instituted as a city police, some of whom were instructed to be always present as a safeguard to the Huguenots during their assemblies. The priests, alarmed by the furious onset of this crowd, naturally irritated by the murder of their friend, barred the church-gates, and retreated to the Bell-Tower, whence they rained a shower of missiles, and sounded the tocsin. Meantime, Beza endeavoured to calm the terrors of that part of the congregation, chiefly women and children, which still remained in the meeting-house; and in order to divert their attention, Malot, with great self-possession, gave out the XVIth Psalm, which they sang lustily. The Huguenots were armed, and being joined, it is said, by many of the licentious rabble ever abounding in great cities and eager to foment disturbance in the hope of pillage, they beat in the doors of the church, grievously wounded many of the Catholics, and committed numerous indecent outrages. The ornaments of the altar were destroyed; reliques and consecrated wafers were strewed on the pavement and trampled under foot; and many images were torn from their shrines and shattered in pieces.* The police meantime secured the most violent among the Catholics, whom they considered to be the aggressors; bound with ropes thirty-six persons, all of whom were wounded, and at least ten of which number were priests; and conveyed them to prison through the streets without opposition. Malot continued his sermon, after which the Huguenots dispersed quietly, but on the following evening the populace fired and destroyed their meeting-house. A Commission appointed to inquire into this tumult, proceeded throughout with marked injustice and partiality; they released the prisoners, and adjudged to capital punishment Gabaston, captain of the watch, and three of his associates, who were stated to have increased rather than to have extinguished the riot by assisting the Huguenots. The gibbet on which these unhappy men were condemned to suffer was erected in front of the Church of St. Medard; but so excited was the fury of the rabble that they tore the dying victims from the hands of the executioners, dragged them with savage howlings and great cruelty through the streets, and, when satiated with their blood, threw their bodies into the Seine. The capital echoed night and day with songs made in commemoration of this barbarous triumph.

In the hope of calming the excitement resulting from this unfortunate collision, Catherine assembled a council of deputies from the several parliaments of the kingdom; and with their consent revoked the edict of July, and constructed another which, named like the former from its date, is known as the *Edict of January*. Its opening provisions implied a great increase of power among the Huguenots; for they were instructed to restore to the Established Religion all churches, houses, property, revenues, reliquaries, and ornaments of which they might have obtained possession; not to trouble the priests in their collection of *dismes* and other ecclesiastical dues; not to deface nor destroy crosses or images, an offence which was declared punishable by death without hope of pardon or remission. It then enacted that other churches were not to be occupied by the Reformed in lieu of those which they surrendered; they were restrained from building any meeting-houses either within or without the precincts of towns; and, within such precincts, from holding any assembly for worship, public or private, by day or by night. Nevertheless, provisionally, and till the final determination of a general council, all the penalties inflicted by the edict of July were suspended, in so far as regarded religious meetings of unarmed persons, held by day, and *without* the precincts of towns. They were, however, to be under the inspection of proper officers, by whose permission Synods and Consistories might be held in like manner. The collection of alms was permitted, but all levies of men or money for offensive or defensive purposes were rigidly prohibited. Conformity with the church was required in desisting from labour on holydays and festivals, and in not marrying within the forbidden degrees of affinity. Ministers were to present themselves before the magistrates within a given time, and to swear that they would obey this ordinance; that they would not preach any doctrine opposed to the Nicene creed or the canonical scriptures; that they would abstain in their sermons from any invectives against the Mass, or other rites of the Catholic church; and that they would not wander as itinerant preachers from village to village, against the consent of the respective seigneurs, landholders, curates, vicars, and church officers. The priests were in like manner enjoined to avoid all injuries and evil speaking against the ministers and their followers, as contrary to true devotion, and as the most fertile sources of disorder and tumult.

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* *Id. ibid.*

† In the *Hist. des Egl. Reformées*, i. 609, &c. are printed at length the *judgment* in which the theologians pointed out three heresies, one fallacy, and one insufficiency in this declaration; a *confession* of the Catholic belief in the real presence, stated in the broadest terms of transubstantiation; a *reformation* of the Calvinistic confession; and the *conclusion* of the prelates assembled at Poissy on all the foregoing documents.

* De Thou, *ibid.* says the images were thrown down by the priests themselves, who, being unarmed, employed them as defensive weapons. Beza, however, contradicts him in both points. *Qui hostibus* armatis *pepercerant, Idolis et panaceo illi Deo parcere non potuerunt, frustra reclamantibus quibus ista non placebant.*

From the reluctance with which this edict was at first received by many of the Huguenots, it would appear that they had already forgotten how lately they were an utterly proscribed and abhorred sect, hunted down, and delivered to the flames whenever the bloodhounds of persecution could track their secret haunts. They now, indeed, were said to count no less than two thousand one hundred and forty congregations, dispersed through every part of the kingdom; and so great were their numbers at Paris, that between thirty and forty thousand persons sometimes assembled on the same spot for service; which was generally performed either at the *Patriarchate*, already mentioned, in the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, or at the *Popincourt*, without the Gate St. Antoine. No secrecy was affected in the celebration of their rites; and the marriage of two favourites of the Queen of Navarre, the young Rohan and La Brabancon, a niece of Madame d'Estampes, had been publicly solemnized at Argenteuil, close to St. Germain, the ceremony being performed by Beza, in the presence of the Queen herself, of the Prince of Condé, and of the Admiral. But although the spirit of the new ordinance was comparatively tolerant, the liberty which the Huguenots had enjoyed for the last few months, and the manifest indifference of Catherine in her profession of the ancient religion, had encouraged among them hopes of positive establishment, which they were ill-prepared to surrender. The leading ministers, however, addressed to their congregations a pastoral letter, enjoining the Scriptural duty of submission to authority; showing the advantages derived from this, their first public recognition as a body under the Royal protection; and pointing to the favourable prospect which the graciousness of the King held out for the future, notwithstanding certain restrictions which, for the present, were undoubtedly grievous. The commentary on the several articles of the edict which followed this epistle, was distinguished by gentleness, good sense, and piety. The justice of some of the demands was stated to be so apparent, as not to require any argument in its support. The restoration, for instance, of property belonging to the priests, or to their churches, was an obvious duty, and he who disregarded it would deserve to be cut off from religious communion. To deface images was not the province of ministers, whose exertions ought rather to be directed against the idolatry of the heart, by preaching the pure word of God. Harsh as the denial of public service within towns might appear, it by no means interfered with the domestic worship of separate families; and as for the prohibition from carrying arms, the Christian warfare demanded only spiritual weapons, namely, prayer and patience, against the enemies of truth.*

The rigid Catholics, on the other hand, perceived in the immunities granted to their opponents, nothing short of the destruction of their own ascendancy, and the probable downfall of their church; and it was not until they were terrified by the presence of an armed force, and even by military execution, that some of the provincial parliaments consented to register an edict which they denounced as anti-Christian. The Parliament of Dijon, backed by the influence of the Duke of Aumâle, brother of the Duke of Guise and Governor of Burgundy, obstinately and successfully persisted in its opposition; and the struggle maintained by a body whom it was far more important to control, the Parliament of Paris, appeared to threaten a perilous breach between the sovereign and his people. "M. le President," was the reply which the young King had been instructed to deliver to Christopher de Thou, when he presented a remonstrance, "you will tell my Parliament, that I have ordered the remonstrance they have addresed to me to be read in my Council, and that whenever they send me remonstrances on matters appertaining to the good of my service, they shall be graciously received. But you will not forget to tell them at the same time, that my will and pleasure is, that my edict shall be promulgated on Monday next, without further delay; and that I forbid them any further hesitation, since I choose to be obeyed as completely as any of my predecessors. I intend also that they shall obey the Queen, my mother, even as myself; I shall make as much account of obedience to her as if it were offered to my own person; I shall in like manner regard disobedience to her as disobedience to myself; and I shall bear it in constant mind when I attain my majority."* Notwithstanding this spirited reply, the Parliament on receiving it agreed to pass a vote that they neither could nor ought in conscience to proceed in the registration; and it was not until Catherine had worked upon their fears by declaring that numerous bodies of armed men, levied and commanded by she knew not whom, were on their route to Paris, that she appeared to shake their resolution. Following up this stratagem, she contrived that during one of their sittings, some of the King's gentlemen should interrupt the debate, by announcing that four or five hundred persons, armed at all points, thronged the palace courts, and threatened to tear the President and his councillors in pieces, unless they registered the edict. A stormy discussion succeeded this preconcerted scene; and the President at length decided that, "in consequence of urgent necessity, and by the express command of the King," the edict should be registered and published; protesting at the same time, against any supposed approbation of the new religion, and declaring the step which they had taken to be altogether provisional.

The intrigue by which this opposition had been generated and maintained was not long without development. Since his arrival in France, the Cardinal of Ferrara had so far temporised as to excite suspicion in the Vatican that he was not fulfilling his legatine duties with sincerity; but as his projects were deeply laid, so were they slow in advance to maturity; and it was only from a long course of dissimulation that he could hope for ultimate success. In examining the state of parties in France, his sagacity did not fail to perceive that the Catholics were still undoubtedly the strongest; and he doubted not that if the weight in their scale could be sensibly augmented, Catherine would be forced either to withdraw the opposition which she had lately maintained, or, as was more probable, to unite herself with the manifestly preponderating faction. It was to be considered, therefore, through which of their leaders the Huguenots were most vulnerable. The Prince of Condé and the Châtillons were too firm and too upright to permit a hope of seducing them from the religion which they had adopted on conviction; but the King of Navarre, weak, unstable, and voluptuous, might be supposed to have embraced the cause of a sect whose habits were directly opposite to his own, chiefly with the hope of personal aggrandizement; and of so far alarming Spain by the establishment of great influence in France, as to compel her to the restitution of his kingdom. Every art therefore which could occur to the fertile and politic invention of a practised Italian diplomatist, was employed in order to wean that prince from his patronage of the Reformed. Two of the most confidential officers of his household, Descars, his Chamberlain, and the Bishop of Auxerre, Chief of his Council, were readily persuaded to lend their assistance in reconciling him to their own church; and they were instructed to whisper suspicions and to excite jealousy of the Colignys, respect for whom was believed to be one of his strongest ties to the Reformed. Having thus weakened the outworks by his agents, the Cardinal himself directed the main attack; and began by hinting that the Pope's consent might be obtained to the repudiation of his heretic consort Jeanne d'Albret; and to his union with the widowed Queen of Scotland, whose hand would confer not only the sceptre of that kingdom, but most probably that of England also.† Antony, although not less unfaithful to the marriage bed than our own Charles II., like him also had sufficient sense of shame to reject the atrocious proposition of wronging an exemplary consort. The Cardinal, however, was by no means disconcerted; he next pointed to the high esteem in which Pius IV. was held by the court of Spain; and to the facility with which his good offices might be procured in order to obtain either the restoration of Navarre itself, or, if that were not feasible, an equivalent indemnity. The fickle and too credulous prince listened with open ears to the wily proposal, and negotiations were accordingly soon in progress. The Pope dispatched a Nuncio to Madrid; the King of Spain consented to appoint a Commission of Review, but at the same time, notified to the *Duke of Vendôme*, the only title under which he recognised the Pretender to Navarre, that, as a preliminary, he must feel assured that he was not treating with a heretic; and that no testimony of attachment could be so grateful as the dismissal of the Reformed preachers.

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* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 683.

* Garnier, xv. 242.

† Mezeray, v. 50.

While this secret negotiation was pending, the dispute occurred concerning the registry of the edict of January: and the King of Navarre, although not yet prepared for the entire revelation of his future intentions, secretly prompted the opposition and contributed greatly to its prolonged maintenance. Beza was probably one of the first persons who detected symptoms of his apostasy; and he wrote cautiously, although strongly, to Calvin, expressing his indignation. After speaking of some ludicrous occurrences during a Conference which we shall presently mention, he adds that, besides that comedy, a tragedy also was being enacted; in which the principal character was maintained by one, who least of any ought to have assumed it; and whom, he should hereafter always call Julian. "As for him," he continues, "there is great need of the display of God's just judgments; and never has there been witnessed a similar instance of vacillation, treachery, and wickedness. In an audience which he gave me in his bed-chamber, he was not ashamed to treat me as if I had been ignorant of matters with which every child is acquainted; and from that moment he has taken no pains to dissemble his enmity against me; but has openly shown it, and exhibited himself as a madman under the manifest influence of the Evil Spirit. But God in his mercy has so deprived him of all sense, that even in his madness he is little to be feared."

The dispute in which Beza was now engaged concerned images; a point suggested by Catherine, either with a hope of contributing to union, or in order to amuse and deceive the Reformed Ministers. The council chamber at St. Germain was selected as the arena on which a deputation of theologians from both churches was to contend; and Catherine, the King and Queen of Navarre, the Cardinal Legate of Ferrara, the Cardinals of Bourbon, Châtillon, and Tournon, the privy councillors, and some of the presidents and councillors who had assisted in constructing the edict of January, assembled to witness the disputation. Beza spoke on the first day for two hours; and the controversy appears to have been conducted with some playfulness and good humour. Thus, when one of the Sorbonnists maintained that in the time of St. Denys, whom he affirmed to be a disciple of St. Paul, images were employed in Paris, and cited the painted windows in the Church of St. Benoît, in proof of his assertion, Beza drew down peals of laughter by a jest of no very extraordinary pungency, "that the argument was as fragile as glass." The ministers repeatedly urged the prohibition of images in Scripture; to which the General of the Jesuits answered that all things we ought to do are not enjoined by Scripture; first, because if they were so, the Bible would be too unwieldy a volume; and secondly, because if the Code defined every minute action, no change could possibly at any time be admitted. But the Romanists were far from agreeing among themselves. Despence, Boutillier, Picherel and Salignac, altogether abandoned the defence of representations of the Trinity, and of any one of the three persons of the Godhead; and Beza has most graphically described the distress of the unhappy Cardinal de Tournon, when he perceived the tendency of their speeches. The president, he says, as Salignac went on, first groaned inwardly, then grumbled openly, next rose from his chair and walked to the fireplace, and at last fairly buried himself out of sight in the farthest corner of the room. Montluc supported the same opinions "magnificently," founding his arguments on Scripture and on the Fathers, and maintaining his position by correct and powerful reasoning. He complained also of a personal grievance inflicted on himself by the Sorbonne. It seems that the Faculty, without due respect to his Episcopal character, had condemned a book written by him for the use of his clergy, in the diocese of Valence, and containing sound and Christian doctrine; while at the same moment it had authorized a very stupid and silly rhyming volume, by one Arthus Desiré, which, among other evil matters, had thus falsified the IId Commandment in doggrel:—

"Thou shalt make a graven Image,
At thy choice of every kind,
Honour it and pay it homage,
God in *that* great joy shall find."

The Bishop of Valence, and the four Doctors who agreed with him, then drew up a paper, founded on the above admissions; and expressing their willingness to consent to the removal of all Sculptures and Paintings of the Trinity, as prohibited by Scripture, by Councils, and by many personages of sound wisdom and saintly life. They condemned also the unseemly and licentious carved work which often profaned Ecclesiastical buildings, and the representations of the legends of those Saints, both male and female, whom the Church rejected as Apocryphal. They were content to abolish the adoration, salutation, osculation, investment, and coronation of Images; the offering of vows to them, and the processions in which they were carried about, whether through the streets or in Churches. The other Divines admitted that there might be a few abuses which demanded Reform, but stoutly supported the necessity of retaining the Images altogether.

Beza in consequence presented a long written address to the Queen, in which his main argument was founded upon the IId Commandment, unlawfully retrenched from the Decalogue by the Church of Rome, as he proved by the authority of the Fathers. He protested against any misinterpretation, which might represent him as condemning Painting and Sculpture in general. They were innocent and necessary Arts, when not employed in opposition to Religion and Conscience; but the danger of their ministering to Idolatry had been discovered not only in the time of the writers of the Old Testament, and in the first three centuries of the Church, but also by the wisest Legislators and Moralists of Paganism. Witness Numa and the Lacedemonians among the former; Varro, Horace, and Perseus among the latter. He then critically examined the word Idol, which some had wished to restrict to Images of the Heathen Gods; and he proved by reference to Euripides, Homer, and Virgil, (if in agitating Sacred themes he might be permitted to name such Profane Poets) that εἴδωλον, εἰκὼν, ὁμοίωμα, *imago* and *simulacrum*, were altogether synonymous. These Philological niceties, he continued, are little however to the purpose. God's prohibition of Idolatry is universal; and if Images be worshipped, whether by Pagans or by Christians, they are worshipped alike in direct violation of the Divine Law. It is idle to urge that the prohibition delivered in the Old Testament relates solely to the Jews, and, as a part of their Ceremonial Law, is abolished together with the rest of it; those who argue thus should be prepared at the same time to prove that Idolatry was a sinful tendency peculiar to the Hebrew nation; whereas, in point of fact, it is a vice which besets Human Nature itself. In a word, the Commandment was delivered for all men and for all seasons, and St. Augustin has well said that so far as it is concerned, *we* are now the Jews. The Cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant have been cited as an exception, and they are so. But they were fashioned after an express injunction from God; and can the Church of Rome produce any similar injunction for any of its Images? moreover, the Ark of the Covenant was deposited in the Sanctuary, remote from the general eye, and therefore not exposed to the abuse of adoration. No worship was paid by the Jews either to the Sanctuary or to the Altar, any more than to the fire which blazed, or to the victim which burned on the latter; and the Romanist who affirms otherwise may be accused on similar grounds, and by borrowing his own argument, of worshipping the pig of St. Anthony, the horse of St. Martin, and the Devil of St. Michael, with no less fervent devotion than that which he offers to the Images of those Saints themselves.

In reply to the customary argument that honour is not directed to the Image, but to that which the Image represents, Beza triumphantly inquired (and the inquiry has never yet been answered) why then is any local superiority admitted? Why is one Image considered more holy and more potent than another? Why are pilgrimages made to distant Images when there are others, perhaps of far better workmanship, near at hand? Again, is it tolerable that in a Christian Church an Image of the Virgin Mary should be addressed in terms appropriate solely to the Almighty Father, "*omnibus es omnia!*" If the Virgin were yet alive and on Earth how would the humility and lowliness of heart, which she ever so conspicuously evinced, be shocked by the hourly impious appeals to her supposed maternal authority over her blessed Son; "*Roga Patrem, jube Natum!*" "*Jure Matris impera!*" Then, adverting to the reputed miracles performed by Images, he contended that by the evidence of judicial inquiries, most of them had been indisputably proved impostures; and even with regard to such as remained undetected, it was detracting honour from God, the sole Author of Miracles, to attribute any hidden virtue or mystic efficacy to wood or stone. Passing on to a review of the long controversy about Images maintained in the Greek Church, he concluded by affirming that not less Idolatry might be occasioned by Crucifixes than by Images themselves; and the only part of this Memorial, distinguished as it is by acuteness of argument and soundness of learning, in which we perceive any approach to special pleading, is a somewhat too subtle distinction which it attempts to establish between the sign of the Cross and a material Crucifix. The propositions appended to this document were that Images should be altogether abolished; or if that measure were thought too sweeping, that the King would consent to the removal of all representations of the Trinity or its separate Personages; of all Images which were indecorous, as for the most part were those of the Virgin; of such as were profane, as those of beasts and many others, produced by the fantastic humours of Artists; of all publicly exhibited in the streets, or so placed at altars that they might receive superstitious veneration; that no offerings or pilgrimages should be made to them; and finally, that Crucifixes also should be removed, so that the only representation of the Passion of our Lord might be that lively portrait engraved on our hearts by the word of Holy Scripture.

If the suggestions of Montluc and his party, so accordant with the propositions of Beza, had been admitted by the general Body of the Gallican Church, this Conference seemed to promise a nearer approach to union than any of its predecessors; and it must be admitted that the concessions to which the moderate Romanists inclined were sufficiently ample. But the opinions of those inveterately hostile to all Reform ultimately prevailed, and the only result of the discussion, says Beza, (without perceiving, or at least without adverting to the fact, that he is giving an account applicable to almost every Synod, Conference, and Council in which Religious differences have been agitated,) was that each party abided by its own opinion. The General of the Jesuists indeed was importunate with the Ministers for a promise that they would attend the Council of Trent; and so troublesomely pressing was he, that he pursued them even to their beds with assurances that the Pope would not have his own way in that Assembly. Thus harassed, they represented to Catherine their chief difficulties, and the means by which they might be removed. First, their unwillingness to acknowledge the authority of the Pope to summon a Council at all; which objection they would compromise by attending at the command of the King: secondly, the probable absence of the Representatives from other countries professing their own Religion; which barrier the Queen herself might assist in overcoming by expressing a wish to her Protestant allies that they would send Deputies. The stipulations which they made were that, in remembrance of the fate of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and indeed of their own recent personal experience—although no men were more willing than themselves to encounter danger whenever the glory of God might so require it—the Council should not be held in any place mediately or immediately dependent on the Romish See, or on any Prince uniting Ecclesiastical with Temporal authority; that in their safeguards, a clause should be inserted expressly opposed to the dictum of the Council of Constance, that faith was not to be kept with Heretics; that at the council they should have full parity of rights with all the other Deputies; that in all questions discussed, the Canonical Scriptures should be the sole standard of reference; and that such passages only of the Fathers might be cited as were founded on Scripture; that the Ministers should be represented by a plurality of their own voices; and that during the Sitting of the Council, all Religious disputes should be suspended in France by the strict observance on both sides of the Edict of January.

It does not appear in what manner Catherine received this memorial. Her thoughts indeed must have been too wholly engrossed by the danger which threatened her own power from the increasing ascendancy of the triumvirate, to permit of her paying much real attention to the ministers now avowedly deprived of the protection of the King of Navarre. On the last day of the Conference, that Prince who had so long sought an opportunity of declaring himself, and thus of gratifying the Spanish Court, affirmed that the ministers, after all their repeated vaunts, had failed in discomfiting the Catholic theologians; and he denounced them therefore as Charlatans and Impostors, with whom he held it disgraceful to maintain farther intercourse. He also immediately removed his son from the Reformed Governors to whose care he had hitherto been committed for education, and surrounded him with others of the Romish persuasion. His Queen was sensibly affected by this unexpected act of violence. Passionately embracing her child, at that time in his ninth year, she entreated him to abide in the Faith in which he had been originally trained, and mingling threats with caresses, she menaced him with disinheritance if he became a renegade. When Catherine recommended patience and a seeming conformity to her husband's will, she indignantly replied, that rather than attend mass, if she had her kingdom in one hand and her son in the other, she would throw both into the bottom of the sea. On the opposite part, the Spanish minister, the Duke d'Alva, gratefully acknowledged this homage offered to the Catholic religion; and while he declined entertaining any proposal for the restitution of Navarre, now an integral part of the Spanish dominions, he offered a compensation, to be tendered by the free grace of his Master. Sardinia, which he represented as a second Paradise, might be guaranteed to Antony; and if the possession of that happy and productive island were not considered sufficient, the confederated arms of Spain, of France, of the Pope, and of the Knights of Malta, might conquer for him the kingdom of Tunis, and extend his territories almost without limit in Africa. For the present, if he sought to accelerate the fulfilment of these splendid hopes, he could not more substantially advance his interests than by procuring the removal of the Châtillons from the French court.

Coligny and his brothers, warned of the approaching demand, which was to be supported by the Spanish envoy personally, and perceiving moreover the inability of Catherine to resist, prudently saved the Queen from mortification and themselves from affront, by a voluntary retirement. The return of the Duke of Guise to Paris, from which he had been absent during the whole winter, gave additional cause of just alarm to the Huguenots; and the commencement of the civil war which ensued, is usually dated from a bloody incident which occurred during his journey. In his route, the Duke's passage lay through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, in which a Huguenot church had been established during the preceding year. The rapid increase of this congregation, on a spot scarcely three leagues removed from the principal domain of the Guises at Joinville, had given especial offence to the Duke's mother, Antoinette de Bourbon, a bigoted Romanist; and, urged by her persuasions, Guise had attempted some months before, first to terrify, and afterwards to convert these insolent heretics, who were represented as bearding him even in his own principality. But the Reformed were too numerous to be intimidated, too well instructed to be seduced; and the *gens d'armes* retired after an idle demonstration, the ecclesiastics after being forsaken by many of their followers who attended the minister's preaching and embraced his doctrine. With these causes of previous irritation, the Duke of Guise entered Vassy, accompanied by the Cardinal of Lorraine and a numerous suite, on Sunday the first of March; not so much perhaps with a design of suppressing the Huguenots by force, as with a hope that the authority of his presence might contribute to their dispersion. As he approached the town, on hearing the chime of bells at an unusual hour, he inquired its meaning, and was answered that it was a summons to the Huguenot worship. At that announcement, a deep, although indistinct murmur ran through his train, in which, as was usual with men of high rank, was mingled a disproportionate number of pages and lacqueys, ever prompt to violence and greedy of plunder. While the Duke halted in the principal street, where he was joined by a reinforcement of sixty horse, which had been assembled in the town eight days before, many idle stragglers from his suite wandered off to the meeting-house; some indignant at the open display of heresy, some wishing for a quarrel in which they might be gainers by pillage, and others attracted solely by curiosity. The more mischievous among them began to insult the assembled congregation, (about twelve hundred persons of both sexes and all ages,) with rude taunts and mockery; repeatedly calling them dogs, and rebels to their King and God, although they were gathered together unarmed and strictly in conformity with the edict of January. The Huguenots were provoked to retort, till evil words were succeeded by a shower of stones; and when the Reformed closed the doors of the large barn which served them as a meeting-house, the Guisards dismounting from their horses, burst in and attacked the unresisting crowd with drawn swords. The shrieks of women and children imploring help and mercy, the trampling of those who were either rushing in or seeking exit, the shots fired at some of the Huguenots, who, thinking to escape by untiling the roof, were brought down "like so many pigeons," and the general clamour of the tumult, soon called the Duke to the spot;

and while attempting to check the conflict, he received a slight scratch on the cheek, which drew blood. The sight of their master's wound inflamed the fury of his retainers, and gave the licentious among them a pretext for unbridled outrage. In spite of his menaces and entreaties, in which there can be no doubt he was sincere, sixty Huguenots were killed, and more than two hundred wounded; among the latter was their pastor, Leonard Morel, first brought on his knees by a pistol-shot, and then twice savagely cut on the head by a sword. The benches and pulpit were shattered in pieces, the Bible and service books destroyed, the dead bodies of the fallen victims stripped for plunder, the alms' chest was despoiled of its contents, and some houses in the immediate neighbourhood were broken open and robbed.

Miserably distracted as was the condition of France at this moment—for there was scarcely a town of any note in the provinces which had not witnessed scenes of violence and outrage, arising from religious dissension—no event so flagrant as the massacre at Vassy had as yet forced itself on public notice. The Reformed ministers at Paris were advised by the governor to suspend their meetings in the suburbs for a few days, till the first exacerbation had subsided; but they peremptorily refused such an abandonment of duty; and demanded his protection so long as they observed the provisions of the King's edict. Their congregations then determined to address an accusation of the Duke of Guise, not to the Parliament, notoriously hostile to their interests, but at once to the crown; and the nobility deputed Francour, —the ministers, Beza,—to convey their memorial to the Queen Mother, who, together with the King, had withdrawn from the turbulence of the capital to a small but favourite residence at Monceaux en Brie. Catherine graciously answered, that she would direct information to be taken, and that a thorough inquiry should be instituted, provided the Huguenots remained quiet; she hoped that the Duke of Guise meantime would not continue his journey to Paris, which indeed she had written to forbid.* The King of Navarre was present at the audience; for Catherine, not without hope of weakening the new ties by which he had bound himself to the Triumvirs, if she could withdraw him but for awhile from Paris, had spread a lure which she well knew the weak prince would not be able to resist; and when she ordered the fair La Rouet, one of her maids of honour, to accompany the court, she rightly anticipated that the King of Navarre would follow. Sternly regarding Beza, he accused the Huguenots of now attending worship with arms! Beza replied, that arms, when borne by men of discretion, were the surest guarantee of peace; and that since the transactions at Vassy, their adoption had become necessary till the church should receive surer protection; a protection which he humbly requested, in the name of those brethren who had hitherto placed so great dependence on his majesty. The Cardinal of Ferrara here interrupted him by some incorrect representation of the tumult of St. Medard; but he was silenced by Beza, who spoke of those occurrences as an eye-witness, and then reverted to the menacing advance of the Duke of Guise upon Paris. The King of Navarre declared with warmth, that whoever should touch the little finger of "his brother," the Duke of Guise, might as well presume to touch the whole of his own body. Beza replied with gentleness, but with dignity; he implored the King of Navarre to listen patiently, reminded him of their long intercourse, and of the special invitation from his majesty in consequence of which he had returned to France in the hope of assisting in its pacification. "Sire," he concluded in memorable words, "it belongs in truth to the Church of God, in the name of which I address you, to *suffer* blows, not to *strike* them. But at the same time let it be your pleasure to remember that THE CHURCH IS AN ANVIL WHICH HAS WORN OUT MANY A HAMMER."†

The Duke of Guise nevertheless proceeded onward, and entered Paris by the gate of St. Denis, escorted by the Constable, the Maréchal St. André, and a numerous and well-appointed retinue. Almost at the same moment, the Prince of Condé, returning from a sermon preached without the walls, passed through the gate of St. Jaques; and the two companies encountered each other while traversing the city. The collision, however, was without any evil result; and, although both parties were armed, they did no more than courteously salute each other in passing. Many circumstances attendant upon this re-appearance of Guise, were calculated to excite just umbrage and alarm in the breast of Catherine. It was remarked that he had purposely deviated from the customary route, and had made an unnecessary circuit, in order to enter Paris by the gate of St. Denis, the approach always selected for the state processions of the King; that the Præfects of the Commercial Guilds and the aldermen of the city had received him with civic honours; and that the shouts of the rabble were couched in terms hitherto reserved for the ear of royalty. These pointed coincidences awakened in Catherine so profound a suspicion of Guise's ulterior and ambitious designs, that she threw herself altogether on the Prince of Condé; and her letters, which are still extant, betray the keenest anxiety for his support. At a subsequent period, indeed, when it was her policy to deny this connexion, and Condé, in order to prove its existence, exhibited these letters to the German Protestant courts, she put a gloss upon their contents, which is among the most memorable instances of her extraordinary subtilty. Every sentence appeared so ambiguously worded, as to admit a double meaning, and all dates had been purposely omitted. She contended that her sole object was to induce Condé to leave Paris; and with but little violence it certainly was possible to put that construction on her expressions; yet, at the same time, it is plain to the simplest understanding, that such an interpretation was not that which she intended to be most obvious.

The Prince of Condé did indeed retire; not in compliance with any wish expressed by Catherine; but from his own perception, that if he remained it must be to encounter a most unequal contest. The Triumvirs were now united in Paris, within the walls of which city lay their principal strength. Their intention to obstruct the fulfilment of the edict of January was manifest from the violence committed at Vassy; and the Huguenots, if they sought to preserve themselves from annihilation, could do so only by the sword. But if the sword were first drawn in the capital, in the face of a greatly superior enemy, little would be their prospect of success. One mode, indeed, occurred to some of their more zealous leaders, by which they might free themselves at a blow; but it was a mode too detestable to be adopted; and when they proposed to the Consistory to assassinate the Duke of Guise, while present at a religious solemnity, at which he had declared his intention of assisting, they were peremptorily forbidden to entertain such a project; and instructed that the will of God must be endured without resorting to guilty measures for escape from calamity.

In order to effect a junction with the forces which the Admiral had been collecting, the Prince of Condé withdrew to Meaux. The policy of this abandonment of the capital has been arraigned;* and one of its immediate disadvantages was considerable; it enabled the Triumvirs to secure without opposition the persons of Catherine and the King, whose names they sagaciously foresaw would be a tower of strength in the approaching conflict. When the royal train entered the Castle of Melun, in which they were first lodged, an attendant, intentionally or inadvertently, remarked in their hearing, that more than a century had elapsed since its towers were appropriated to any other purpose than that of a state prison. The Queen listened to the words unmoved, and with a cheerful countenance; her son, not yet confirmed in dissimulation, burst into natural tears. On the following morning they were conveyed to Paris, where the Constable signalized their entry by a petty triumph, the destruction of two meeting-houses, together with their desks, pulpits, and benches. These narrow-minded outrages, little worthy of the high dignity of his illustrious name and office, gained for him a brief popularity from the Popish rabble, and from the Huguenots the well-deserved sobriquet of Captain *Brûle-banc*.

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* This is the account of Catherine's answer, if not written, most probably furnished by Beza in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 2. Garnier, without citing any authority, makes her state that she knew the Duke of Guise to be so discreet and prudent, that she could not believe all she heard of him. xv. 268. But Catherine, at that moment, had neither reason nor inclination to speak thus favourably of the Duke of Guise.

† A device suggested by this noble apostrophe is engraven on the title-page of the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* Three warriors in complete armour, representing the Triumvirate, are beating an anvil with sledge-hammers, one of which is just shattered in its handle. The groupe is encircled by the following legend:

Plus à me frapper on s'amuse
Tant plus de marteaux on y use.

* It is defended at much length by De la Noue, who has devoted an entire chapter to the question. He states that the "assured strength" of the Protestants in Paris consisted of only "300 Gentlemen and as many trayned Souldiours, 400 schollers, and a few voluntarie Burgeses of no experience. And what else was all this agaynst in manner an infinite number of people, but a small flie agaynst an elephant. I thinke that onelie the Novices of the Conventes, together with the Priestes' wenches comming soudainelie upon them, with fagot stickes in theyr handes, had been able to have withstoode them." *Certaine observations of divers things happened in the three first Troubles of France appended to the Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the* Lord de la Noue, translated by E. A. 1587, p. 351.

Condé meantime, well convinced that civil war was inevitable, concerted measures with the Admiral for the surprise of Orleans; a city, the possession of which, next to that of Paris, seemed most important to their interests. Commencing his march from Meaux, at the head of fifteen hundred horse, he was detained for several hours at Angeville by letters from the Queen, proposing accommodation; they had been despatched by the suggestion of the Triumvirate, and they nearly proved fatal to his enterprise. Warned, however, by a messenger from Coligny that the enemy sought only to amuse him, and that their troops, already advancing, might perhaps gain a march, he spang immediately to the saddle, nor drew bit till he arrived at the gates of Orleans. In his speed, many of his followers were either thrown from their horses, or lost their caps, gloves, cloaks, and other equipments by the way; so that the travellers whom they passed in their desperate gallop marvelled greatly at the uncouth spectacle which they presented, doubting whether they were madmen or drunkards.[*] It was on the first of April that the Prince entered Orleans, the streets of which city were lined by eagerly expectant Huguenots, singing Psalms as he passed between their ranks.

On reviewing his adherents, the Prince of Condé had good reason to be well pleased. Among the most distinguished were numbered the three Châtillons; Antoine de Croy, Prince of Porcean, one of the greatest captains of his time;[†] Francis Count of la Rochefoucault, an experienced officer, and the most rich and powerful Baron of Poitou; René Viscount of Rohan, a cousin of the Queen of Navarre; Antonie Count of Grammont, who headed six thousand veteran Gascons; Gabriel Count of Montgomery, the well-known soldier of Scottish descent, who had been compelled to absent himself from Court since the day of his fatal Just with Henry II.; the Lords of Soubise, of Duras, of Mony, of Esternoy, and his brother, of Genlis,[‡] all valiant commanders; besides a numerous train of other brave and gallant gentlemen of ancient families. By the advice of these distinguished counsellors, an association was formed in Orleans, on the 11th of April, after a solemn reception of the Communion. The manifesto which it immediately promulgated declared that the audacity, rashness, and ambition of certain subjects of the King were so great, that they had not only taken up arms against the royal edicts, but had also put to death a large number of peaceable citizens, assembled for the worship of God, under the protection of those edicts; and furthermore had seized the persons of the King and Queen, and the Duke of Orleans. That such acts evinced a design, under the pretended authority of the King, now imprisoned and detained in captivity, to ruin the true religion, and all those of the nobility and *Tiers Etat*, who had embraced it. That the undersigned, therefore, desirous to restore the King to safety and the Queen to authority, and to preserve to his subjects the liberty of conscience which had been guaranteed to them by royal edicts, advised and sanctioned by the Princes of the Blood, by the Privy Council, by the *Notables*, and by the majority of the States, were now compelled to have recourse to arms; the sole means with which God had furnished them for the resistance of oppression. They swore, therefore, before God and his angels, to observe inviolably, and in every point, the terms of the Association and Holy Companionship into which they now entered. First, they renounced all private interests and passions, addressing themselves entirely to the honour of God, the deliverance of the King and Queen, and the observance of the edicts; for which objects they would employ their bodies, their property, and their very last drop of blood. The Association should continue until the King attained his majority, at which time they would submit themselves entirely to his single will and pleasure, confident that they should be able to render a good account of the purity of both their motives and actions. Secondly, in order to evince that purity, they swore not to suffer any offence, which might derogate from the Commandments of God and the King, to be committed with impunity by any member of their association; determining to execute justice strictly against idolatries, superstitions, blasphemies, uncleanness, violence, rapes, pillage, breaking of images, plunder of churches, and in general against all acts prohibited by God and the edict of January. In order to secure obedience to the word of God, they determined to entertain among them good and faithful ministers, who should teach God's will, and to whom they would constantly afford a ready and patient hearing. Thirdly, they named for their chief and leader the Prince of Condé, by birth one of the natural Councillors and Protectors of the crown; they swore obedience to him in every thing which concerned the Association; submission to whatever punishments he should adjudge against rebellion or negligence; and equal obedience and submission to any deputy whom he might appoint, in case of an interruption of his executive duties. The Prince, on the other hand, accepted this high charge, in conformity with the tenor of all the conditions of the Association. Fourthly, they comprised and associated within their present fellowship, all members of the King's Council, excepting those who should bear arms against their conscience, and in order to restrain the free will of the King and Queen. Such persons they denounced as guilty of high treason, and as disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the above purposes, which they repeated were the maintenance of the honour of God, of the peace of the kingdom, and of the liberty of the King, under the government of the Queen his mother, all, from the highest to the lowest among them, swore to place at the disposal of the Prince of Condé, arms, horses, and personal service to the very uttermost extent of their ability; and whenever they should hear of violence committed against any member of their association, in any part of the kingdom, contrary to the edict of January, to assist him according to the Prince's orders, as if the wrong had been offered to themselves individually. Finally, if any treason or rebellion should be detected in their body, they swore, as they hoped for a portion in paradise, to reveal it on the moment to the Prince their leader.

A somewhat detailed notice of this important document has appeared necessary, because it throws much light on the avowed objects of the Huguenots; and by the extraordinary powers which it bestowed upon the Prince of Condé, plainly evinces the unbounded confidence reposed in him by his party. But our limits will not permit us to follow step by step the ensuing war of manifestos, which precluded the more active contest in the field. The Triumvirate, and their tool the Parliament of Paris, loudly affirmed that the King was in the enjoyment of entire liberty, and they employed his name in letters patent, as if issued by himself, to avouch this falsehood. They took pains also to impress a belief that the edict of January would be observed; but when it was added, that this was only to be considered a provisional law, and that Paris was to be excepted from its operation, the boon was rendered of little value.

CHAPTER VII.

Mutual outrages—Enormities of Blaise de Montluc and of the Baron des Adrets—IIId National Synod—Alliance between the Huguenots and Queen Elizabeth—Her Manifesto—The armies take the field—Siege of Rouen—The King of Navarre

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[*] De Thou, xxix. 13. "Innumerable were the people that they mette by the waie going to Paris, who, beholding the mysterie of this course, and withal that none asked them anie question, did, for the most part, at the first thinke that all the fooles in Fraunce had been there assembled, or else that it had been for some wager . . . . . for ordinarilie by the waie they might behold servants cast downe, horses shouldered and tyred, and sumpters overthrowen, which bred continual sporte even in those which did runne."—De la Noue, 354.

[†] The Prince of Porcean, when on his death-bed, suspecting his wife, a niece of the Prince of Condé, of some inclination to Henry (son of Francis) Duke of Guise, made it his last request, that, if she married again, she would not bestow her hand upon that man in the kingdom whom he considered to be his greatest enemy. We do not know whether the widow-elect gave the promise required; but in due season she became Duchess of Guise.

[‡] Adrian de Hangest, Lord of Genlis, is remarkable for having been the father of thirty-two children by one wife, Frances du Maz, and yet more so in that all those children died without issue.

wounded—Rouen stormed—Adventure of De Cirille—Death of the King of Navarre—Condé's Dream—Battle of Dreux—Death of the Maréchal St. André—Capture of Montmorency and Condé—Siege of Orleans—Assassination of the Duke of Guise—Account of Poltrot—He accuses the Admiral and Beza—His execution—Defence of the Admiral and Beza—Condé advises with the Huguenot Ministers relative to Peace—Treaty of Amboise—Disappointment of the Admiral—Peace with England.

During the fearful pause which now occurred while the hostile parties were gathering strength for battle, France was convulsed throughout her whole circuit; and each cause was dishonoured, perhaps with equal frequency, by the excesses of some of its followers. Even in Orleans, and under the very eye of the Huguenot leaders, who proclaimed and endeavoured to enforce the strictest discipline, fanatical violence exhibited itself in the continual plunder of churches and the demolition of their ornaments. The Prince of Condé, when summoned one day to repress a tumult in the church of St. Croix, repeatedly ordered an image-breaker to desist from his work of destruction. But the enthusiast pursued his task without noticing the command; till the Prince, irritated by his obstinacy, and willing to strike terror by a single strong example, levelled a pistol, and threatened him with instant death. Undeterred by this menace, the zealot calmly replied, "Have patience, Sir, but for a few minutes, until I have destroyed this idol, and then kill me if you please."*

Happy would it have been if senseless stones had proved the only objects of violence; but when on the occupation of Orleans, the chief cities in many of the surrounding provinces declared in favour of the association, the Huguenots in Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Angoumois, and Berry, took arms and chased the priests, often not without much bloodshed, from the numerous opulent ecclesiastical foundations with which those districts abounded. On the other hand, Sens, Amiens, and Abbeville were severely visited by the Catholics; and in the first-named town more than 100 Huguenots perished in a single day. In the South, the devastation was still greater; Orange was sacked by a detachment of Papal troops from Avignon, who practised barbarities which we cannot venture to detail, but which are too well authenticated by the incontestible evidence of De Thou.† "Great and marvellous is the pity!" exclaims Pasquier, writing at the moment, "every body asserts his religion, his loyalty, and his patriotism, but I see not one who under these goodly pretexts does not do his utmost to ruin the kingdom from its very base. All around me is trouble and confusion." "It would be impossible," he continues, "to relate the manifold atrocities committed on the one side and on the other. Wherever the Huguenots have the mastery, they shatter the images, those ancient cements of popular devotion; they demolish monuments and sepulchres, so that in passing through Clery they violated even the tomb of Louis XI., and they plunder all the treasure which piety has hallowed in the churches. In reprisal, the Catholics stab, drown, and massacre every sectary whom they recognise, so that the very rivers are choaked with the dead. And many are those who, affecting to espouse the public quarrel, revenge their own private feuds, and perpetrate crimes at which their leaders are forced to connive."‡

Upon themes thus revolting, it is by no means our intention to expatiate;§ but there are two personages who obtained by their enormities a notoriety so hideous, that the history of the times would be imperfect if we passed them over wholly in silence. Blaise de Montluc, governor of Guyenne, had adopted principles widely different from those professed by his brother the Bishop of Valence. "He was very cruel in these civil wars," says a writer, who has endeavoured to represent his crimes as so many virtues, "and he gained in them large sums of money; so that although in their outset he was but scantily provided, at their close he found 100,000 crowns in his coffers; yet he did not wish for the total extermination of the Huguenots, it being a favourite maxim with him that a tree which yielded fruit so rich should neither be cut down nor uprooted." This savage, whose reckless perpetration of wholesale butchery obtained for him the distinguished honour of a marshalship of France, has taken pains to blazon the atrocities of which he felt proud; and every step in his career of blood has been traced by his own pen in autobiographical *commentaries*. No sooner had he received the commission by which he was authorised to ravage his province, than he began strict inquisition into the "strange names" of overseers, deacons, consistories, synods, and conferences; "food of which kind," he adds, "never yet had furnished me with a breakfast." In a similar strain of bitter sportiveness, which, like the sneer of Goëthe's embodied fiend, aggravates the horrors he is relating, he proceeds to inform us that in the outset he secretly provided himself with two executioners; that, from their constant attendance upon him, they went familiarly by the name of his lacqueys, and that both were completely equipped for their trade, and furnished above all with a very keen-edged axe. Thus esquired, he issued forth on his first adventure, and at St. Mezard he encountered four Huguenots, who were accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the King. Seizing one of them by the throat, and loading him with terms of execration, he dashed him forcibly to the ground, where he fell against the stump of a broken cross. Then calling out to the executioner "strike scoundrel!" it was not easy to tell whether the words or the blow were first ended, and half a foot of the broken cross was cut through at the same time with the neck of the victim. Of the others, two were hanged on the next tree; the last, a deacon but eighteen years of age, received assurance that his life should be spared, but was so severely beaten that he expired ten days afterwards. "And this," concludes Montluc triumphantly, "was my first achievement when I set out from home, without either sentence or writing, for I had heard say that it was wisest to begin with execution." At Cahors, in one day, "to make short work," thirty or "forty" Huguenots, (so carelessly did he keep account of human life!) were hanged or broken on the wheel. At Gironde, sixty were strung up at once to the colonnade of the Town hall. At the storming of Montsegur, he numbered 700 dead bodies in the streets, and rejoiced in the farther assurance that a great many other victims had perished by leaping over the walls. At Pene, and afterwards at Lectoure, he filled up very deep wells with the corpses of the slain; in the latter place the festering piles were heaped so near the mouth that they might be touched by the hand; and in both cases he chuckles at the remembrance "that it was an excellent method of disposing of those naughty boys." But the consummation of his brutal delight was reserved for Toulouse, in which city, as he records with overflowing satisfaction, he "saw more heads fly than ever he had seen before!"

Impossible as it may appear, Montluc was equalled, if not exceeded in barbarity by one whom ungovernable resentment and temporary interest induced for a while to ally himself to the antagonists of the Triumvirate; but whose total want of principle and subsequent bitter enmity against the Huguenots happily exclude him from even nominal connexion with them in their religious profession. Françoise de Beaumont, Baron des Adrets, after having served in youth with no small distinction in Italy, was frustrated in a legal process by the influence of the Duke of Guise, and retired to his estate in Dauphiné thirsting for revenge. By his intrigues in that province, having excited a tumult which led to the assassination of its governor, he seized his office; and announced to the Queen Mother, with whom he entertained a secret correspondence, that he had been elevated to it by popular election; and that, together with the faithful subjects who had selected him as their leader, he was about to march on Paris for her deliverance. His operations, however, were directed in the first instance on Lyons, which he surprised and mastered; and by rapid and most unexpected movements he spread terror throughout every city of the South, "which dreaded him more than a hurricane sweeping over the standing corn." Continuing to act in the name of the Prince of Condé, he enriched himself by pillage from every town which he occupied, and especially by the demolition of the opulent and celebrated Chartreux, near Grenoble, the Parliament of which city he compelled to attend the Huguenot service. On one occasion, after having sacked the castle of Monthrison, in Veneissin, he put half of its garrison to the sword at the moment, and reserved their comrades, to whom he had promised quarter, for a more horrible mode of death, which he had on former occasions inflicted elsewhere. The keep of the castle was remarkable for its height, and Des Adrets seating himself after dinner on its platform, commanded that his prisoners should be led out, and looked on with grim delight while they were forced to throw themselves from its battlements. One only out of the whole number escaped, and he owed his life to a cool and ready answer. He had already run thrice to the very edge of the tower, and as often had shrunk back from the fatal leap, when Des Adrets impatiently taunted him with cowardice, and desired him not to lose more time. To his no small surprise, the soldier turned round without one mark of fear, and replied with unmoved self-possession, "Brave as you may be, my Lord Baron, I will give you ten times before you take that same jump." Struck by so unexpected a challenge, the wretch relented; but in the same breath in which he gave this victim freedom, he summoned another to the tower, and renewed the horrors of his diversion. When intelligence of these atrocities reached the ears of the associated Huguenots, they exclaimed that Des Adrets was a Goliah who dishonoured the armies of Israel, and the Prince of Condé immediately superseded him in the command with which he had been unworthily entrusted. This dismissal awakened feelings of resentment in Des Adrets more lasting than those which he had entertained against the Duke of Guise; and at a subsequent period we find him engaged in open warfare against the Reformed, although with success far different from that by which he had been distinguished while their adherent.

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* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 32.

† xxxi. 11.

‡ *Lettres*, tom. i. liv. iv. pp. 232, 233.

§ The catalogue of victims who suffered under the persecution of Sommerive, deputy-governor of Provence in 1562, occupies forty pages in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* iii. 337, 377, and contains the following subdivisions of wretchedness. *Ceux qui ont esté tirés des prisons, pendus, précipités et massacrés, bruslés, lapidés, tués et trainés, tués et précipités, morts d'espouvantement, fendus et desmembrés vifs, enterrés tous vifs, desenterrés et jettés aux chiens, morts de faim et de froid, arquebuzés, enfans tués, enfans morts d'espouvantement, enfans marts de faim;* besides other modes of destruction too horrible for citation.

To return to Orleans. The IIId Synod of the French Reformed church was held in that city on the 25th of April, but its transactions were altogether unimportant. The Prince of Condé, well aware that the Guises had negotiated for auxiliaries, both with the Pope and with the king of Spain, sought to strengthen himself also by a foreign alliance. None, however, could be more odious to France than that in which he engaged, and none was ever more unproductive of advantage. The greater part of Normandy was in his possession, and he offered to deliver Havre to the English, provided Elizabeth would garrison it with 3000 men, furnish 3000 more for the defence of Rouen and Dieppe and advance a subsidy of 100,000 crowns. This proposal was readily accepted, and the troops were immediately despatched; but Dieppe being found untenable, was as immediately abandoned. It could not but be remarked, much to Condé's injury, that he thus voluntarily surrendered to the inveterate enemies of his country, a post commanding the mouth of the Seine, furnishing a key to the very heart of the kingdom, and far more important than Calais, which the bravery of the Duke of Guise had won from their dominion. Elizabeth hated the Guises from her very soul; the duke had commanded the French army by which Calais had been reconquered; the Cardinal of Lorraine had been indefatigable in efforts to procure her excommunication at Rome; and both of them were uncles to Mary of Scotland, her rival both as a queen and as a woman. In her manifesto, therefore, on concluding this treaty, she pointedly denounced them as authors of the troubles under which France was suffering; she spoke of the danger to which the person of the Christian king, her good brother, was exposed by the ambition of some of his subjects, which not only placed his own realm in peril, but all Christendom also, and especially England. Alluding to Vassy, she lamented that the name of the captive king had been abused to authorize the butchery of his unarmed and innocent people, the sack and spoil of his richest cities, the breach of his best advised edicts, the persecution of the princes of his blood and of his nobles, the ruin and destruction of his loyal servants. These and an infinity of similar crimes, she said, were perpetrated for no other object than to satisfy the particular interests and passions of certain individuals, who had violently broken down ordinances framed after long and mature deliberation by the states of the kingdom, for the repose and tranquillity of religion, and for the good of the realm and its sovereign. She then complained that many of her subjects trading to Britany had been seized and plundered, and those who defended themselves massacred, by officers of the French government, under no other pretext than that they were what are called Huguenots; that her remonstrances had been disregarded, and therefore that, in order to counteract the violence of the Duke of Guise (mentioning him by name) and his adherents, she had resolved to send over troops who might preserve certain ports for her brother, the king, during his minority. In conclusion, she affirmed before God, his angels, and all mankind, that she had no one object in view except the defence of the loyal subjects of her said brother, who apparently could not otherwise escape destruction.*

We pass over the fruitless negotiations between Catherine and the Prince of Condé. Their personal conference at Thuri,† in the beginning of June, appears to have produced increased exacerbation; and the queen either possessed, or affected to possess, but little power to assent to any proposition which Condé might be justified in advancing. When negotiation failed, an attempt was made by the parliament of Paris to separate the Prince of Condé from his associates; for in an *Arrêt* issued by its authority, exceptions were made in his single favour, while the Châtillons and other Huguenot leaders were denounced as enemies of God and of the crown of France, disturbers of public repose, and criminals guilty of high treason, whom it was the duty of every loyal subject to arrest and bring to punishment. The prince avoided the snare by a declaration in which he identified himself in all points with his friends.

Both armies were now in the field; and a pleasing picture has been drawn of the moral discipline of the Huguenots at the opening of the campaign. Prayers were read night and morning at the head of each regiment, by its own minister; no cursing nor reviling was heard in the ranks; no gambling nor debauchery sullied the camp. Peasants, tradesmen and strangers resorted in safety to the military quarters, and neither the hope of forage nor of plunder allured the soldiers from their standards. In numbers they were much inferior to the Royalists; who being thus enabled to adopt their own choice of movement, successfully occupied Blois and Tours; stormed Poitiers, and put its garrison to the sword; obtained possession of Bourges through the culpable weakness of its governor; and then determined upon the investment of Rouen, before it could be strengthened by the arrival of the English.

That city, the strongest in Normandy, was entrusted to the charge of Montgomery, the most enterprising chief among the Huguenots. Its garrison consisted of 1500 veteran infantry, nearly 600 horse, and a numerous band of civic militia, in whose ranks many women served with distinguished bravery. To these were afterwards added a re-inforcement of 220 English, under Lord Grey. The king, the queen mother, and the king of Navarre, took their station in the lines. Catherine was bitterly indignant when she saw the English detachment enter the city, apprehending that it might ultimately fall into their possession. She daily reconnoitred the outworks, regardless of the shower of balls which fell around; and when the Duke of Guise and constable remonstrated against her exposure to danger, she told them laughingly that she had full as much courage though not as much strength as themselves. The Duke of Guise pushed his approaches rapidly; and his Mines, the chief weapons employed in sieges in those times, were so skilfully constructed that ultimate success appeared certain. Three weeks had passed in these operations, when the king of Navarre,—who, however deficient in moral courage, was physically brave, and who was piqued by the superior reputation which the Duke of Guise had acquired,—exposing himself too openly in the trenches, was struck by a musket ball. Twelve more days elapsed before a final assault—it was the seventh—proved successful. The carnage was then horrible; Montgomery made good his retreat, but the greater part of the English detachment perished in the breach, and the city was given up, during eight days and nights, to the license of a ferocious soldiery. Wearied with adjudging to imprisonment the numerous Huguenots who were dragged before him, Brevedent, the lieutenant of police, at length recommended from the seat of magistracy a more summary process. "Why," said he, with a hideous blasphemy, "do you crowd the dungeons? Can you doubt what you ought to do? Is the river yet full?" Nor was it only from the first horrors of a triumphant storm that the miserable Rouenese were to suffer: their protracted defence, which for its gallantry might have excited admiration, was viewed as a crime; and its chief authors having escaped the fury of war, were destined in cooler blood to execution. Jean de Bosc, Lord of Mandeville and President of the Court of Aids, was beheaded. A less honourable punishment was inflicted on two ancient councillors of the city, and on Augustin Marlorat, one of the twelve ministers who, it will be remembered, had been deputed to Poissy. The prisoners met their fate with constancy, more especially Marlorat, who was exposed to much rudeness and even violence from the bystanders at his execution. His death excited profound grief and indignation at Orleans, and two prisoners of some note, the Abbé de Gastines and Baptist Sapin, the latter a councillor of parliament and brother-in-law of the first president Le Maître, were dragged to the scaffold in reprisal.

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* The Manifesto may be found at length in the *Mem. de Condé*, iii. 694.

† De la Noue, who was present at the conference, has left a very touching picture of it. One hundred men on either side accompanied the queen and Condé respectively, and they were ordered to keep at a considerable distance asunder. "Having thus beheld eyther other for the space of halfe an houre, each coveting to see one his brother, another his unkle, cousen, friende, or old companion, they craved leave of their superiours, which was hardlie graunted, in respect that at the first they were forbidden to meete for feare of injuryes and affrayes. But so far were they from quarrelling, that contrariwise there was nothing but salutations and embracings of such as could not forbeare the demonstration of amitie unto those whome parentage or honestie had united unto them. . . . . . . Then waighing with themselves that all these greetings would bee converted into bloudie murthers, uppon the least token of battayle that the superiours shoulde give; that the viseardes being shut and readie, furie having vayled their sight, one brother would scarce pardon another, the water even stoode in their eyes. Myselfe was then among the Protestants, and I may trulie saie, that on the other side there were a douzen friendes whom I accounted as deere as my owne brethren, who also bore me lyke affection. Private amitie did as then live, but since these great calamities had course, and conversation discontinued, it is even dead in many."—356.

The unexampled escapes of an otherwise obscure individual from the perils of death, on more than one occasion during this siege, have given him fair title to remembrance. François de Civille, a gentleman serving in the garrison at the head of his own company, was wounded in one of the assaults by a musket ball, which entering at the right jaw lodged in the hinder part of his neck. Falling into the ditch, without any signs of life, he was immediately stripped by the pioneers, thrown together with another corpse into a hole, and loosely covered with earth. This rude burial happened about mid-day; and, at night-fall, a servant of De Civille, anxious to convey his master's remains to his family, obtained assistance and disinterred both bodies. Wounds and blood however had so totally disfigured them, that even this faithful retainer was unable to distinguish which was that of his master, and he hastily replaced them in their graves; but as he withdrew, observing that an arm of one of them was still uncovered, he returned to protect it from violation by the dogs. While employed in this pious office, the moon shone brightly on one of the fingers still encircled by a diamond ring, which he recognized as his master's; and overjoyed at this first discovery, he was still more so when upon again disengaging the entire body he found that it retained warmth, and some faint tokens of breathing. The surgeons to whom he conveyed it, perplexed by the great number of wounded, refused attention to a case which they at once pronounced to be desperate; and four days elapsed during which De Civille received neither sustenance nor medical aid. At length, his wounds being dressed and some food administered, although not without difficulty from the convulsive locking of the teeth, he was slowly advancing to recovery, at the moment of the storm. During the horrors of that attack, the chamber in which he was lying helpless and unprotected was forced, and he was thrown by some ruffians from its window into the court-yard. His fall was luckily broken by a dung-heap below, on which during three days and nights he lay unassisted and without nourishment, till having been found and relieved by some friends, he recovered, and survived for more than forty years afterwards.

The fate of the King of Navarre was less happy. He was conveyed on a shutter from the trenches immediately after receiving his wound; and although he suffered so much agony from the motion that his bearers were frequently compelled to stop, and the surgeons on examination were unable to find the ball, the hurt at first was not considered dangerous. His hours of confinement were spent in toying with La Rouet and in feeding an idle fancy on exaggerated visions of the riches and delights of his promised Sardinian kingdom. When informed of the capture of Rouen, although still a prisoner to his couch, he projected a triumphal entry. The wall of his chamber was thrown down, to allow the passage of a litter, and he was carried in it through the breach in the ramparts, preceded by military music. His wound meanwhile was prevented from healing by the presence of the ball and of some pieces of shattered bone; and the commencement of internal mortification threatened a fatal result. As his danger manifestly increased, he threw aside all worldly thoughts, and bent himself wholly to the care of his salvation. Still halting, however, between the two creeds, he first confessed and received the *viaticum*, according to the Catholic rites: and afterwards, when visited by Catherine, who urged upon him attention to the Scriptures, he summoned one of his physicians, Raphael de Mezieres, a Protestant, listened attentively to him while he read the book of Job, and then declared that, if he were permitted to recover, he would openly profess and maintain the tenets of the Confession of Augsburg. Wearied by the tediousness of his confinement, he sought relief from change of air and place, in opposition to all medical advice, and while proceeding in a boat down the Seine, he was seized with shiverings, and compelled to land at Andely. It seemed as if neither church were willing to relax its doubtful hold upon his belief, while he retained one breath of life: for as Raphael prayed by his side during his last agonies, a Dominican friar was stealthily introduced in disguise through the zeal of his brother, the Cardinal de Bourbon. The King evinced consciousness of the monk's presence, without however paying him attention. Already in the convulsions of death, he grasped the beard of one of his domestics, an Italian, and with his last words, urged him to be faithful to the Prince his son, and to warn that son to preserve his fealty to the crown of France. He died on the 17th of November, in the forty-fourth year of his age, little respected or regretted by either of the contending parties; and more blamed for the abuse, than approved for the possession of any good qualities with which he might have been originally endowed.*

Condé meanwhile had been largely reinforced from Germany; whence the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wirtemburg, the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse had despatched to his assistance 3300 *Reitres* and 4000 *Lansquenets*;† a force enabling him to move on Paris, which he hoped to find almost defenceless. The enterprise miscarried in consequence of the rapidity with which a portion of the royal army broke up from Rouen; and Condé retired on Normandy in disappointment. Thither also he was quickly followed; and the hostile forces took up a position near the little town of Dreux, so close to each other that a battle appeared inevitable. The Constable and St. André, however, who were in command of the Royalists, shrank from the responsibility, and they had recourse to Catherine for instructions. Never was the ingenuity of that wily Queen more severely taxed to avoid committing herself by a perilous decision, and never was she more happy in securing her extrication from difficulty. "What?" she inquired sarcastically of Castelman, the bearer of the demand, by whom this interview is related, "do the great captains of our time, send to ask a woman and a child whether Frenchmen shall draw their swords against each other? Nurse," she continued, turning to the King's nurse, a Huguenot, who chanced to enter the apartment at the moment, "since women are now chosen as Councillors, let us hear *your* opinion—shall the army give battle or not? The nurse, when pressed, replied more than once, that since the Huguenots would not listen to reason, she thought a battle was necessary. The privy council resolved that those who were honoured with military command were alone competent to judge of the propriety of military movements; and the generals, satisfied to find that the wish which they privily cherished for engagement did not meet with opposition at Court, resolved to give battle without farther delay.

The memorable day which followed was not without its omens. "Of the two incidents which I am about to relate," says the Historian who records them, "I can fully avouch the truth; one I witnessed with my own eyes; the other I heard with my own ears." On the morning before the battle, as Condé was passing a rivulet near the Castle of Maintenon, an aged woman, stepping into the mid stream, caught hold of his boot and stopped him. Then, after regarding him for a while earnestly in the face, she loosed her grasp, uttering these words: "Go on, Prince! much wilt thou suffer, but God is with thee." The Prince compassionating the wildness of her manner, moved by the solemnity of her expressions, or willing to encourage his followers by accepting the prophecy of good fortune, answered by thanks and a request for her prayers.

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* *Le Roy de Navarre est mort d'un coup de bale, qui n'est regreté des uns ny des autres.* Pasquier *Lettres, liv.* iv. tom. i. p. 234. But his character is, for the most part, represented with numerous contradictions; and the single point on which historians agree, regards the fineness of his person. Garnier, who may be trusted for having consulted most of his predecessors, after describing him as largely gifted with excellence by nature, as full of integrity, bravery, generosity, and as being in all points "a good citizen," finishes the picture by informing us that he had nevertheless one little defect: he was irresistibly given to picking pockets *(filouterie)*, insomuch that his pages always searched his clothes after he had undressed, in order that they might restore the property which they contained to the persons from whom he had stolen it.—xv. 370. *Quel vrai citoyen!*

† *Rittern un Landsknechte*, German horse and foot-soldiers.

The second occurrence is far more striking. Condé on that same night being already in bed, and conversing familiarly with his attendants, turned to the minister who had just read prayers to the company. "To-morrow," he said, "if I am not much mistaken, whatever the Admiral may think, we shall certainly fight. Now, although I know that little faith is to be given to dreams, I must tell you that which I dreamed last night. I thought that I had engaged in three battles, one after the other, and that I finally gained a victory, seeing my three enemies dead. But I myself, also, was mortally wounded; so that, having ordered the three corpses to be laid one upon the other, I placed myself above them, and rendered up my spirit to God." If it were Beza (and it probably was so) to whom the above words were spoken, he answered wisely with regard to the origin of these sleeping images, stating that the dream was the result of the waking thoughts by which the Prince had long been anxiously occupied. The vague prediction hazarded by the excited fancy of the new Sibyl demands little notice; but the subsequent realization of Condé's dream, to the very letter, may justly be numbered among the most remarkable of those coincidences which have sometimes appeared to defy the ridicule, if not to refute the reasonings, of that scepticism which denies the existence of any presentiment of futurity.*

Military details little belong to our narrative. The Battle of Dreux would have been won by the Huguenots, but for the coolness and presence of mind of the Duke of Guise.† That prince, who had twice held the distinguished rank of Lieutenant-general of France, did not choose on this occasion to act subordinately to the Constable; much less did he wish to dispute the command with him. He took his post, therefore, with a body of reserve, forming about six hundred horse, and chiefly composed of his own private friends. With these troops he was to act at discretion; and at a critical moment, when the rashness of the Constable had sacrificed one entire division, and lost both his own liberty and that of St. André, who had hastened to his assistance, Guise, by a seasonable charge, compelled the Admiral to retire, and thus, by keeping possession of the field, established his claim to victory. The loss on each side had been nearly equal; and between the two armies, not fewer than eight thousand men were killed. Among them was the Maréchal de St. André himself, pistoled in cold blood after he had surrendered, by a gentlemen named Bobigny, in revenge for a private wrong. But the most remarkable chance of war was that by which each of the opposing commanders in chief became a prisoner in the hands of his enemy. Montmorency was wounded and captured early in the day. The Prince of Condé, fighting even after the retreat of the Admiral, and ever found among the rearmost of the combatants as his own division slowly followed, would have drawn off in safety, but for the exhaustion of his horse. His interview with the Duke of Guise, when led to his tent after the battle, was distinguished by chivalrous feeling on both sides. Their numerous mutual injuries, the strong desire which each had avowed for revenge by an appeal to personal combat, their hostility but a few minutes before on the field of battle; all these causes of repulsion were forgotten in each other's presence; they exchanged courtesies and kindnesses, partook of the same table, and at night, as Condé's baggage was lost, according to a custom warranted by the times, they shared the same bed.

Paris meantime was deeply agitated. Rumours had arrived of a total defeat, and it had been confirmed by fugitives from the scene of blood itself. One of these evil messengers, a Gascon officer of distinguished courage, named D'Aussun, having witnessed the signal discomfiture of the Constable, and thinking that all was lost, rode at full speed to the capital, and announced the misfortune. So profound was his sensitiveness of wounded honour, that when he afterwards learned the real event of the battle, in spite of the endeavours of the Duke of Guise to restore his self-esteem, by reminding him of his former well-earned and brilliant reputation, he refused all food, and died after five days of mental suffering, more acute than that arising from his voluntary abstinence. The conduct of the Queen Mother during these few trying hours of suspense has been variously represented; and a speech has been sometimes attributed to her, fully characteristic of her undisguised indifference concerning religion. "Is it so?" are said to have been her words when informed that the royal army was defeated, "then we shall say our prayers in French!" But the story is improbable; for Catherine's fears must have been too powerfully awakened at that moment to permit the escape of so light an expression. Whatever might have been her wishes or designs before the open outbreak of war, and however much she might have rejoiced in any check to the power of the Triumvirate, she had latterly exhibited herself in too close union with them, not to render a complete triumph of the Huguenots a subject of the most painful apprehension; and she must have wished more than ever for the preservation of her favourite balance of parties. She had amused and deceived Condé; she had proclaimed the Châtillons traitors, and menaced them with the infliction of capital punishment; and what forbearance was to be expected from such enemies if left uncontrolled? Great, therefore, was her relief when, on the morning following the battle, a despatch arrived from the Duke of Guise, giving a succinct account of the alternations of fortune, and accompanied with the captured standards as a proof of its happy result.

Catherine, however, was still involved in no small difficulty. Freed from alarm at Coligny's possible resentment, she now perceived that the Duke of Guise had become all-powerful from the absence of competition. The deaths of the King of Navarre and of St. André, and the captivity of Montmorency, had left him without a rival; and, if the Queen had hesitated to bestow, he was doubtless fully prepared to extort the appointment of Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom. In that authority, he greatly strengthened himself by an unusually lavish distribution of military patronage; and, having promoted the chief officers whose attachment he either wished to secure or had already experienced, in the commencement of the following year he made preparations for besieging Orleans. The Admiral, after a skilful retreat, had wintered in that city, where he had been unanimously elected Chief of the Huguenot Association, during the captivity of their original leader. As Spring began, he left the garrison well provided, and made an incursion into Normandy with his Reisters; and while he was absent on that expedition, the Duke of Guise commenced the seige. Under his active superintendance, the approaches were rapidly conducted; and so proudly confident did he feel of success, that when some one spoke of difficulty, he replied with an oath, that since the sun found entrance into Orleans, *he* also would enter it. But, on the evening of the 18th of February, while returning to his quarters, after having made dispositions for a general assault on that very night, with almost a certainty of success, he was wounded in the back of the right shoulder by three pistol-bullets. Unapprehensive of danger, and consulting his ease, he had laid aside his cuirass; and the shock at first made him bow upon his horse's neck; but soon recovering, he observed to the two attendants with whom he had been conversing, "They have long owed me this, but I think it will be nothing." The wound, however, quickly manifested dangerous appearances, and he prepared for death with great firmness and devotion. The Queen Mother visited him; he took an affectionate leave of his Duchess; tenderly exhorted his eldest son Henry; and made a pointed declaration, which few will be so uncharitable as to disbelieve, that he was innocent of any premeditated intention of bloodshed at Vassy; and, after lingering six days, expired in his forty-fourth year, leaving behind him a reputation for lofty powers of intellect, for courtesy, generosity, and valour, not exceeded by that of any of his contemporaries. How far these liberal gifts of nature were marred and defaced by immeasurable ambition, may be best determined by asking from the foregoing narrative in what degree they contributed to the glory, the happiness, or the tranquillity of his suffering country?

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* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. ii. 228, 9, a portion probably written by Beza, who was present at the Battle of Dreux.

† De La Noue mentions a very striking particularity in this battle most characteristic of the miseries of civil war. "Although both armies were above two long houres within a cannon-shot each of other, as well to put themselves in array as to contemplate their adversaries, yet was there not any skirmish, small or great, before the general battell; albeit, in many other battels that have been fought, the same have been the forerunners. . . . . They every man stoode fast, imaging in himselfe that they who came against him were no Spaniards, Englishmen, nor Italians, but Frenchmen and those of the bravest; among whom were their companions, friendes, and kinsefolkes, as also that within one houre they were to slay each other. This bred some horror; neverthelesse, without quayling in courage, they thus stayed untill the armies moved to joyne."—380.

The wretched perpetrator of this foul assassination was Jean de Poltrot, Sieur de Merei in the province of Angoumois, misrepresented by a recent Historian as "a deserter from the Huguenot army, and in the pay of the Admiral." The first of these statements, as we shall perceive, is altogether untrue; the second does not contain the whole truth, and implies a falsehood. Poltrot, although scarcely six and twenty years of age, had seen much service, not altogether of the most reputable nature. His first employment was under the Seigneur de Feuquieres, formerly governor to the young King, for whom he acted as a spy in the wars of Picardy; and he next attached himself to the Sieur de Soubise, at that time commanding in Lyons. To that officer he once stated his intention of delivering France from her miseries by the assassination of the Duke of Guise; and the declaration was received as wild and idle talk, which Soubise, however, thought it right to correct, by charging the boaster to perform his ordinary duties, and to leave God to execute His own purposes by His own methods. Not long afterwards, Poltrot was sent, accidentally as it seems, with a despatch to the Admiral, then at Selles in Berri; and he conveyed at the same time a request from Soubise (which is worthy of observation as refuting all suspicion of a designed transfer of this envoy to the Admiral's service,) that he might not be detained, as he was of use in Lyons. At his own request, however, he proceeded round by Orleans, in which place he stated that he had private business to transact. The Admiral, on his return, unexpectedly found him in that city; and, having heard more from Feuquieres of his *peculiar* capabilities, he gave him twenty crowns, and commissioned him to make observations on the enemy's camp. There, the ready knave obtained an introduction to the Duke of Guise, and so far deceived him as to be engaged on his side also for some treacherous attempt on Orleans, whither accordingly he returned without suspicion. The Admiral was satisfied with the information which he brought back; and wishing to procure yet closer insight into the designs of the besiegers, when Poltrot complained that he was badly mounted for an enterprise which might require a fleet horse, he ordered him a hundred crowns more to effect his desired purchase. Such, there can be little doubt, was the uttermost extent of Poltrot's connection with the Admiral, and so far and no farther was he "in his pay." His introduction to the Duke of Guise was obtained under the pretext of desertion from the Huguenots; but his real title was yet lower in the evil graduation of dishonour; he was not a deserter, but a spy.

After a short second abode in the camp before Orleans, Poltrot, on the morning of the fatal day, mounted his new horse, and riding to a wood in the neighbourhood, fell on his knees and prayed fervently to God that if the act he was about to commit was displeasing in His eyes, He would so far influence him by inward grace as to produce a change in his design; if otherwise, that He would strengthen and confirm him in his great purpose. "At the conclusion of this prayer," he says in one of his confessions, "I arose with so much lightness of spirit, that it seemed as if God led me by the hand to the execution of my enterprise." He took his post accordingly, and levelling a pistol at the Duke's shoulders as he passed, from a suspicion that he might wear a shirt of mail, he discharged it with murderous effect at the distance of six or seven paces. Then, clapping spurs to his horse, he eluded immediate pursuit; but after riding the greater part of the night, he discovered, on the following morning, that in consequence of his agitation and of want of sufficient acquaintance with the country, he had travelled nearly in a circle, and was still almost close to the spot whence he had originally started.* Both himself and his horse were so overpowered with fatigue, that repose became necessary; and, while sleeping profoundly in a neighbouring farm-house, he was arrested on suspicion, and soon acknowledged his crime.

In reviewing the numerous and contradictory depositions which were afterwards extorted from Poltrot, the conclusion at which we arrive respecting his character is, that he was simply a mercenary ruffian; who, although he had not bargained for his deed of blood beforehand, felt strong expectation that it would be rewarded after its perpetration. No tinge of insanity discolours his confessions; and except in the single instance of the prayer above mentioned, which rests but on his own worthless authority, not a trace appears of the fanaticism and mistaken sense of duty which afterwards deluded Jacques Clement and Ravaillac into the commission of similar crimes. When first seized and examined before the Queen and council as to his employers, he accused the Seigneur de Feuquieres, and a Captain Brieu who had been killed before Rouen. Those persons, he added, introduced him to the Admiral, who renewed the proposal, and offered golden recompense. The Comte de la Rochefoucault was privy to the design; and Beza and another minister with whose name he was unacquainted, but whom he described to be of low stature with a black beard, represented it as pleasing to God and as a sure passport to Heaven. After these denouncements, he warned the Queen that similar attempts were meditated against her life also; and that he had seen in the Admiral's suite numerous determined spirits who had devoted themselves to the removal of every Catholic who might be appointed to succeed the Duke of Guise in his command. These avowals were alternately repeated and denied with a view no doubt of gaining time and postponing his sentence, till on the 18th of March, the prisoner, after undergoing the question, was immediately dragged from his agonies in the chamber of torture to the Place de Grêve, there to endure the yet more fearful and protracted sufferings which the French law adjudged as the punishment of a regicide.*

To the criminatory depositions of Poltrot, an answer was returned under the signatures of the admiral, the Comte de la Rochefoucault and Beza, replying clause by clause to the accusations. The admiral explained his acquaintance with the assassin in terms similar to those in which we have already stated it; and then most particularly declared before God and man that the charge of instigating him to his crime was falsely and wickedly conceived; that all the world was acquainted with what had passed between the Duke of Guise and himself; that he admitted frankly that before the late tumults he had known several persons who avowed an intention of killing the said duke, but that he had invariably discouraged and discountenanced such a course; and, as the Duchess of Guise could sufficiently testify, had often forewarned her late husband of the times and places designed. That it was true that since the massacre at Vassy, and since he had been compelled to draw his sword for the maintenance of the king's edict and the protection of the poor oppressed against the violence of the said duke and his adherents, he had continually pursued them as public enemies of God and the king; nevertheless he protested, on his life and honour, that he had never given assent or approval to any attempt upon the person of the said duke; while on the other hand he well knew that both the duke and the Maréchal de St. André had employed agents for the assassination of the Prince of Condé, of himself, and of his brother the Sieur d'Andelot. He acknowledged that, on this account, whenever he had since heard any one say he would kill the Duke of Guise if he had the power, he had not been forward in forbidding him; but once more he declared upon his life and honour, that he had never courted, nor induced, nor solicited any person to such an act by words, money, or promises, by himself or by any other, directly or indirectly. He then explained the services on account of which he had given money to Poltrot; noticed the improbability, even if he had entertained the design imputed to him, that he should have admitted a person of such a class to his confidence; and concluded by owning his recollection that Poltrot once told him it would be an easy matter to kill the Duke of Guise; but that he paid little attention to the words at the time, and upon his life and honour had never opened his lips to encourage the proposition.

La Rochefoucalt peremptorily denied that he had ever heard the design mentioned. Beza declared that, notwithstanding the great and general indignation aroused against the Duke of Guise on account of the massacre at Vassy, he had never entertained an opinion that he should be proceeded against otherwise than by the methods of ordinary justice; for the attainment of which purpose he had assisted with other deputies from the Reformed churches in presenting a memorial to the queen and the late king of Navarre. He admitted that since the duke had commenced the war, he had exhorted the Reformed both by letters and sermons to use their arms; but he had at the same time inculcated the utmost possible moderation, and had instructed them to seek peace above all things next to the honour of God; taking heed that they were not deceived. Moreover, that since he esteemed the Duke of Guise to be the principal author and fosterer of these troubles, he had numberless times prayed God that he would either change the duke's heart, (of which indeed he never entertained any hope) or else that he would deliver the kingdom from his tyranny: but that he had never held communication either by himself or any other, with Poltrot, with whom indeed he was wholly unacquainted. In the act committed by that person, however, he recognized the just judgment of God, menacing similar or yet greater punishments to all the confederated enemies of his holy Gospel, who are the occasion of so many miseries and calamities to France. Then, commenting on some particular phrases which Poltrot had attributed to him, he expressed a willingness to rest his defence singly upon their manifest falsehood: for, God be thanked! he was not so ill instructed in his duty as to misapply Scripture by exhorting one who designed to commit murder, to "take up his Cross even as his Saviour had taken it up;" and much less did it accord with the doctrine which he professed, to promise any man Paradise as a reward for his works.

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* A similar instance of bewilderment, arising from guilt and fear, occasioned the apprehension of James of Lindsay, after he had assassinated Roger Kirkpatrick in his own castle of Caerlaveroc. See Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, iii. 359.

* The Duke of Guise, as Lieutenant-General of France, resented the person of the King; and therefore his murder was considered to be regicide.

This paper, when signed, was despatched to the queen before Poltrot's execution, with a request that he might be committed to secure custody, in order that, whenever peace, so much to be desired, should be concluded, he might be confronted with those whom he had accused; and in case this means of justification should be denied by his immediate execution, protesting against such a measure as injurious to their good repute. A letter from the admiral to Catherine accompanied their joint declaration; and it concluded with words which no man could have employed whose conscience accused him of being accessory to murder. "Nevertheless, Madam, I would not have you suppose that I use these expressions out of any regret for the death of M. de Guise; for I esteem it the greatest blessing which could have happened to this realm, to the church of God, and especially to myself and to all my house; and it remains with your majesty's pleasure whether it shall not be the means of restoring tranquillity to France." It is not with so frank an avowal of undisguised satisfaction that an assassin speaks of the death of him whose murder he has privily compassed; and Coligny's innocence of this dark crime may be fairly deduced from the sincerity with which he expresses his sense of the great advantages resulting from its commission.

The punishment adjudged to the assassin had been that of a regicide. The obsequies of the murdered duke were celebrated on the day of Poltrot's execution with regal pomp and at the public expense; and his corpse, after a solemn service at Nôtre Dâme, was conveyed to the family sepulchre at Joinville. His high offices were partitioned between his sons, although as yet only boys; Henry Prince of Joinville became grand master of the palace and governor of Champagne; and Charles, afterwards Duke de Mayenne, was invested with the dignity of grand chamberlain. Meantime the great revolution in the prospects of the Catholics, occasioned by the death of Guise and the captivity of Montmorency, had rendered them anxious for peace. Catherine and the Prince of Condé opened a preliminary correspondence, and more formal negotiations were afterwards commenced between the two illustrious commanders, who were still detained prisoners. Condé at first peremptorily demanded the full restoration of the edict of January, but the Constable as peremptorily rejected the demand; and the prince, finding that all hope of attaining his wishes to their full extent was denied, ultimately agreed to a compromise. How far the appointment of lieutenant-general, a brilliant lure which Catherine subtly held out, might dazzle his ambition and induce him to concede, could be known only to himself, and perhaps not even to himself distinctly. It was the plea, however, which he used in order to reconcile his followers to terms which disappointed their expectations; and relying, with but slight discretion, on Catherine's sincerity, he assured them that the influence which his office, when once attained, would give him with the king, rendered the ultimate gratification of their desires a matter of certainty.

It is plain however that he fully anticipated the reluctance which he was to encounter in obtaining the consent of his friends to the secret terms which he had determined to accept. Before giving his final answer to Montmorency he requested permission to hold a conference with some of the Huguenot ministers; and Desmoranges of Orleans, Pierius a Spaniard of Blois, and Roche Chandieu of Paris, were summoned accordingly. Some management, he felt, would be requisite in communicating with these deputies; he did not venture therefore at once to declare the clauses of the pending treaty, but he proposed two questions for their resolution. 1st. Was he bound to profess to the queen that, having armed in order to secure the observation of the edict of January, he would not lay down his arms until that edict should be restored in its fullest meaning, force, and purport? 2dly. If he were altogether unable to obtain the restoration of that edict, might he accept terms proposed by the queen, provided they were consistent with liberty of conscience? It needed but little sagacity on the part of the ministers to discover that Condé had resolved upon peace at all events, and that the edict of January would not be restored. Far from temporizing, however, they boldly expressed their sense of the great wrong which he would do the church by admitting any modification of that edict; and they declared that neither the queen nor himself, without offence to God and justice, could derogate, in however small a degree, from the high authority of a law constructed, promulgated, and sworn to by a solemn assembly of the state.

The questions proposed by the prince were taken into more full consideration by a Synod, consisting of seventy-two ministers, who returned a written answer to the following effect. After expressing an earnest desire for peace, if obtained on terms which they could subscribe consistently with duty, they stated those terms to be no other than the confirmation of the edict of January, without any restrictions or modifications. They demanded that the king should declare himself Protector and Conservator of the Confession of Faith presented to him in June 1561; and then (with that remarkable blindness which has so often made dissenters from an establishment intolerant to others even when seeking toleration for themselves), they pointed out the strong necessity of rigorous punishment being directed against all heretics and schismatics, whom they stigmatized by the names of Atheists, Libertines, Anabaptists, and Servetists. They required that the Reformed Synods and Consistories should be authorized by law; that their baptisms and marriages should be esteemed valid; that, in towns and villages in which they had not yet established churches, ministers might be freely admitted; that their religion, formed as it was on the ancient doctrines of the prophets and apostles, should no longer be called the New Religion; that restoration should be made of all property, offices, and dignities, of which any of their brethren had been deprived; and that the outrages committed against them at Vassy, Sens, and elsewhere, should be investigated and punished.*

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, which, in order to give it greater weight, was solemnly registered, Condé did not hesitate to proceed in his negotiation. Quitting the ministers when he found them intractable, he summoned a military council, composed of the officers in garrison at Orleans; explained to them that Catherine, in case her terms were refused, was fully bent upon the storm and total ruin of that city, an attempt in which her success was not to be doubted; laid the treaty briefly before them; and obtained their consent to its completion. The single condition for which he pleaded with the Queen was, that the ratification might be delayed till the return of the Admiral from Normandy; he was answered by a permission to choose between an immediate signature or an immediate assault of Orleans. On the 12th of March therefore he signed, and on the 19th of the same month the King promulgated the Edict of Pacification, known from the town at which it was dated as the *Treaty of Amboise*.

The following were its chief provisions: 1. That all nobles holding fiefs directly from the Crown might enjoy in their own houses, with their families and such vassals as chose to resort thither, freely and without restraint, the exercise of the religion called Reformed. 2. That similar liberty should be allowed to those who held other fiefs, for themselves and their families, provided they did not inhabit towns, boroughs, or villages subject to higher jurisdiction, in which case they must obtain permission from the superior lords. 3. That in every bailliage and senescalship having appeal to a Court of Parliament, a town should be set apart, in the Fauxbourgs of which the said worship might be celebrated, and that no domiciliary visits should be made under pretext of religion. 4. That in every other town, except those above mentioned, in which the said worship shall have been practised before the seventh of the present March, one or two places should be appropriated at the King's discretion for its exercise; but that all churches which have been so employed must be restored to the Catholic priests. 5. Paris was affirmed to be "exempt from all exercise of the said religion." In the remaining clauses the Prince of Condé and all who had assisted him in the late "tumults," were declared to be good and loyal subjects, who had acted "with the best intentions for the service of the King;" and lastly, an enactment was made, which no edict, it may be thought, could be sufficiently powerful to secure; namely, that all injuries and offences which the late iniquity of the times had occasioned, should be considered dead and buried, and as if they had never existed; that no one, on peril of his life, of what state or quality soever, should reproach another for any thing that had passed, or dispute, quarrel, or argue on questions of religion; but that all men should live together as brothers and fellow-citizens.[*]

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* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. ii. p. 260.

Five days after the proclamation of this peace, the Admiral arrived at Orleans with a larger and better appointed force then he had led in the Battle of Dreux. His first disappointment was bitter, and he fiercely and indignantly denounced as ruinous a treaty which never ought to have been concluded without his participation. He forcibly displayed how far better at that moment was the condition of the Reformed than it had been at the commencement of the war. Two of the triumvirs were dead, the third was a prisoner, and yet the terms now accepted were inferior to those offered at the outset, when the edict of January might have been obtained for all France excepting the capital. Provision, he said, had been made for religion only among tbe rich; peasants occupied in ceaseless rural toil, and mechanics in the sedentary employments of trade, children, women, and aged persons could little be expected to perform a long journey to some privileged town, or to the Mansion of the Seigneur, for the benefit of worship; and consequently the Reformed doctrine must languish, and the great mass of the population would probably relapse into its former superstitions. In a word, he reproached the Prince with having injured the church far more by a single stroke of his pen than the Catholics could have done in ten years with all their armies.

The peace indeed was in many ways hasty and improvident. Whether Condé had been influenced by weariness of his imprisonment, by jealousy of the Admiral scarcely acknowledged even in his own heart, or by the promise of the lieutenancy; or whether Catherine had entangled him in any of those nets of blandishment which she was well skilled to weave, and for the construction of which she had ever held assembled in her court a train of matchless and not over rigid beauties, is not now to be determined. Each of these motives in turn has been assigned, and be it which it may that actuated his conduct, it must be admitted that he was duped and deceived. He exposed himself to suspicions of insincerity by listening to promises which chiefly affected his own private interests; he disbanded his troops when both his ranks and his treasury had just been amply recruited; and he violated the promise which he had made to England of not treating separately, at the very moment in which he ought to have been most grateful for the promptness with which she had afforded succour.

Meantime, he surrendered himself unreservedly to the pleasures of the court; and the death of his Princess removed every check upon the libertinism to which, even in her lifetime, he had been too much inclined. It was not till the honour of one lady of distinguished birth, and the wealth of a second of large possessions, had been sacrificed to the vain expectation of obtaining his hand, that the urgent remonstrances of the Huguenot ministers, on the scandal arising from his licentiousness, induced him to renew the nuptial bond. Undeluded by the false hope of an alliance with Mary of Scotland, which the Cardinal of Lorraine endeavoured to excite, he then selected for his consort Frances of Orleans, sister of the Duke of Longueville.

Havre was still occupied by the English; and Elizabeth having avowed her intention of retaining it till Calais should be surrendered according to promise, preparations were made for its immediate reduction. When the Constable summoned the Earl of Warwick, who commanded the garrison, he was answered that the English were his most humble and affectionate servants; but that they would rather die than disobey the orders of their Royal Mistress. In this parley many recognitions took place between several brave officers now arrayed against each other in hostility, who had lately fought side by side at Rouen. "We have stood in the same ranks, under the same banner, and we have shared the same prison," said Leighton, an Englishman, to one of D'Andelot's lieutenants; "how is it that we are now prepared to cut each other's throat?" "Each of us," replied Monins, "obeys the commands of his sovereign. All difference of religion between Frenchmen is terminated by the late peace; and his country is no less dear to a Huguenot than to a Catholic." The Prince of Condé himself was present in the camp; and Warwick, after a gallant defence, when his garrison was rapidly wasting under a contagious disease, and the interception of some despatches concealed from him the near approach of a powerful succour, assented to an honourable capitulation. On the morning after it was signed, a reinforcement of eighteen hundred men appeared in the port. But the relief was too late; and Elizabeth, disgusted by the ingratitude of her late allies, and finding little profit in the continuance of the war, soon afterwards readily negociated a peace.

CHAPTER VIII.

Majority of Charles IX.—The Queen of Navarre cited to Rome—Protest against the Citation by Charles IX.—Conspiracy for the abduction of the Queen of Navarre—It is frustrated—Progress of the French Court—Edict of Rousillon—Conferences at Bayonne—Vth National Synod—March of Spanish troops to the Netherlands—Levy of Swiss mercenaries for the service of France—Alarm of the Huguenots—VIth National Synod—Unsuccessful attempt to seize the King at Meaux—Letters of Pius V.—Battle of St. Denis—Death of the Constable Montmorency—The Huguenots reinforced from Germany—Treaty of Longjumeau—Continued outrages against the Huguenots—Design to surprise Condé—His escape to La Rochelle—Account of that City—Theatrical representation in it—Fierce Edicts by the King.

The active and ambitious spirits of Condé and of Montmorency, now disengaged from civil war, were equally formidable to Catherine; and, in order effectually to preclude them from all chance of too great ascendancy, and to preserve the sovereignty to herself by nominally transferring it to her son, she boldly resolved to proclaim the King's majority. The French law had by no means positively defined the age at which a royal pupillage ceased; but a constitution of Charles V., dated in 1383, having conveniently recognized fourteen years as the epoch, and maintained it on the not very conclusive precedents of Joash, Josiah, David, Solomon, and Hezekiah,[*] Catherine affirmed that it was the commencement of the fourteenth year, not its completion, which was there intended. It was not without some opposition that the parliament of Paris consented to register the edict promulgated at Rouen, which thus invested Charles with the full power of royalty. The deputies, when they conveyed a remonstrance, were received with severity; the King refused to enter his capital until the dispute should be terminated to his satisfaction, and after some farther debate the proposition was accepted. On his first arrival in Paris, Charles was perplexed by an unforeseen application. The retainers of the late Duke of Guise, clad in mourning habits, proceeded in large numbers to the palace. At their head appeared Antoinette of Bourbon and Anne of Este, the mother and the widow of the murdered Prince; his children followed,[†] and the sorrowing train was closed by many illustrious connexions of both sexes. On arrival in the presence chamber, they kneeled before the young King; and when he hastened to raise them from their posture of supplication, they earnestly besought him to institute a close inquiry into the foul crime which had deprived their family of its head. The Admiral was not, indeed, mentioned by name, but it was manifest that he was the object of attack. Charles, in answer, wisely confined himself to general assurances of sympathy, and to a promise that at a more seasonable opportunity the desired investigation should be commenced.

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[*] The treaty is printed entire in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 283. The guidance of that very useful and copious work terminates with the close of the first civil war. The XVIth and last Book contains a few particulars relative to the subsequent history of Metz.

[*] We have ventured to substitute *Hezekiæ* for *Hierimiæ*, probably an error of the Press in De Thou, xxxv. 7.

[†] Francis, Duke of Guise, left by his Duchess three sons. Henry, who succeeded to his father's title, Charles, Duke of Mayenne, and Louis, Cardinal of Guise; all distinguished characters in our future narrative.

The Huguenot ministers took early advantage of the restoration of tranquillity to assemble a IVth National Synod. The city selected was Lyons, and the meeting took place on the 10th of August; but its proceedings were utterly unimportant, being chiefly confined to a meddling and mischievous interference on matrimonial questions, in the resolution of which the Calvinistic divines rejoiced to exhibit their casuistry.* Not many months afterwards, the great Catholic Synod, the Council of Trent, closed its twenty-fifth and last sitting, after eighteen years of futile and inconclusive deliberation. It was, perhaps, on account of a bold remonstrance which the French Ambassadors at that Council addressed to Pius IV. in consequence of his partial adjudication of a dispute concerning precedency between them and the Spanish Envoys, that the irritated Pontiff ordered an affront to the crown of France, which might have been dictated by the imperious spirit of Hildebrand. Not content with deposing or suspending some of the most illustrious prelates of the Gallican church, among whom it may be sufficient to mention the Cardinal of Châtillon, brother of the Admiral, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, the Apostolic Council directed the Cardinal Inquisitors to address a penal monition and citation to the Queen of Navarre. "As it is the duty of the Holy Office, (was the declaration of this extraordinary instrument) to proceed against all persons suspected of heresy, so more especially should it take cognizance of any error in those who deriving sovereign power from God, ought therefore to serve and obey him from whom that power flows, and to acknowledge a loving mother in the Church. We have learned," it continued, "by common and notorious report, and to the sorrow of our spirit, that Jeanne, Queen of Navarre and Princess of Bearne has deviated, and every day more and more increases in deviation from the faith held, believed, taught, and preached by the Catholic Church; and we doubt not that this open and public error conduces no less to the destruction of her subjects than it does to her own eternal perdition. In order therefore to avert these ills and this grievous scandal, we cite the above-named Queen to appear, not by proxy, but personally, in our court at Rome, within six months from this summons, that she may there clear herself from the above charges. And if she should fail in obedience and contumaciously refuse to appear, we pronounce that she is excommunicated, that her children are bastardized, and that she has forfeited all her kingdoms, principalities, dominions, fiefs, estates, and other property of every kind, and condition; which accordingly may be seized and occupied by any one whom his Holiness or his successors shall please to confirm in their possession."

The Queen of Navarre, since the death of her late consort, had resided on her principality of Bearne in undisguised profession of the Reformed worship, and occupied chiefly in the education of her son. Her own means of defence were feeble, but her cause became that of crowned heads in general; excepting of the blind and bigoted King of Spain, by whom the outrage against her had no doubt been prompted. No sooner therefore had the above citation been affixed, according to custom, on the gates of St. Peter's and in other of the most public places in Rome, than the court of France directed a spirited protest to the Conclave. Charles announced that the Queen of Navarre must be considered under his especial guardianship and protection; first, on account of proximity of blood; secondly, in respect to her royal dignity, which gave her claim to the aid of every King her brother, and demanded his resistance of an assumed authority which might some day be drawn into an evil precedent against himself. The neighbourhood of the Queen's dominions in France, and her vassalage to the crown of that country for many of her fiefs, were next adduced as reasons on account of which the King felt great umbrage at the citation. No Pope had hitherto asserted the power of summoning a vassal of France to Rome; and it was altogether new that the Holy Father should pretend to confiscate any property within the French dominions, in direct opposition to all existing Concordats. For these and many similar reasons, the King felt deeply interested in the transaction, and deemed it marvellous strange that such an attempt should have been made, at least without previous communication to him; seeing that it regarded a relative in blood, a sister in dignity, a neighbour, an ally, and a vassal. The measure, he doubted not, had proceeded from some burst of irregular passion, occasioned by the false reports, the sinister impressions, and the evil counsels of ill-advised ministers; who for their own private interests were endeavouring to disturb the good understanding which subsisted between his holiness and the King. But, to take far lower ground; how, it might be asked, should the Queen of Navarre become acquainted with a monition affixed at Rome? Was it not most preposterous and contrary to every rule of justice, to summon that lady to answer for her religion, when the Queens of England and of Scotland and the Protestant Princes of Germany were left undisturbed in similar professions of faith? Above all, the King pointed out that the wounds occasioned by religious dissension, so recently healed within his own dominions, were likely to be irritated and bleed afresh, if all indulgence were denied to those who varied from the Catholic doctrine. Urged by these considerations, he earnestly appealed to the Holy Father, with all that devotion and observance which was justly his due, to recall and annul the offensive monition; and to take it in good part if the King should punish any of his subjects who had occasioned its issue. Otherwise he declared that if he were compelled to resort to the measures and remedies which had been adopted on similar occurrences, however deeply he might regret the necessity, nevertheless his object was so just and honourable, that in order to compass it he would exercise the whole force and power with which God had endowed him.

This concluding menace was effectual, and the Pope desisted. Yet the Queen of Navarre not long afterwards had well nigh become the victim of a deep-laid conspiracy, planned by some of her disaffected subjects among the Roman Catholics of Bearne. These traitors, after communicating with the King of Spain and his minister the Duke d'Alva, concerted a plan by which the Queen and her two children, the Prince Henry and the Princess Catherine, might be carried off from Pau and consigned to the dungeons of the inquisition. The negotiation had been pending more than a year when the principal agent, either struck with remorse or making an imprudent confidence during a severe illness, revealed its details to one who took measures for its defeat. A more vigilant and effective protection than the widowed Queen could afford now appeared necessary for the security of her son; and the future champion of the Huguenots, having been committed to the care of governors of undoubted attachment to the Reformed principles, was removed to the court of France, in order to complete his education.

In a progress which the King and the Queen Mother undertook during the spring and summer of 1564, they remained for some time at Rousillon in Dauphiné; a place which derives notoriety from an edict promulgated in it, explanatory, as was pretended, of the treaty of Amboise; but in fact violating many of its conditions. The Huguenot ministers had already been prohibited from officiating any where within ten leagues of the abode of the court for the time being, and from residing in any parts of the kingdom, except those in which they were customarily allowed to preach; and no one professing the Reformed doctrines, either layman or ecclesiastic, was permitted to open a school. By the edict of Rousillon, the privilege which had been granted to the Huguenot nobles holding in *capite*, of celebrating worship in their *Chateaux*, was restricted to their own families and their immediate tenants; if any other persons attended, the Seigneur was liable to a fine of 500 crowns for the first offence, and to confiscation of his Fief for a second. The collection of money also, for any purposes whatsoever, was forbidden under threat of corporal punishment. All those of either sex who during the late troubles had renounced their vows of chastity, and abandoning the monastic state had contracted matrimony, were peremptorily commanded either to relinquish their nuptial ties and return to the cloister, or else to quit the kingdom within two months. The galleys were denounced as the punishment for men, perpetual imprisonment for women disobedient to this harsh provision. The difficulties raised in the way of public worship by the first of these clauses, the overthrow of all church discipline by the second, and the cruel destruction of private happiness which the third must occasion, were severely felt by the Huguenots; and Condé who had retired to Valéry, the domain for which he was indebted to the infatuated passion of the Maréchal de St. André's widow, addressed, first a letter, and afterwards a very pointed remonstrance to Catherine. In the latter, he complained that, besides the infraction of the treaty of Amboise, murder was daily committed upon Huguenots, and passed unpunished by the magistrates. More than 130 persons were said to have fallen victims to open or secret violence. Among them was a gentleman of much distinction both on account of his individual qualities and of his extraction; Gilbert de la Curée, a strenuous Huguenot, who had displayed great courage at Dreux, and had been rewarded by the Queen of Navarre with the government of Vendôme. He was assassinated, during a hunting match, by the treachery of some powerful Catholics. Yet when his widow demanded inquiry, the application was coldly received at court, and the Lord of Cognée, a near relation of the deceased, being accused of some illegal step in a process instituted by him against the murderers, underwent a long and painful imprisonment, in order to strike terror into others. The King received the Prince of Condé's address with apparent friendliness, but returned a vague and unsatisfactory answer.

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* One question may afford a fair specimen of the frivolous matters occasionally submitted to grave discussion. "Chapter XVI. Cases of Conscience, xxxvi. A gentleman troubles the church, and wills that his wife come up immediately after him unto the Lord's Table, before any of the men. And although it had been ordained by the Synod of Caen, that he should follow the general practice of the churches, yet, nevertheless, he will not conform thereunto. The Assembly orders a letter, in their name, to be sent to him, advising him to walk with more humility."

The court wintered in the south; and in the course of the following summer, under a pretext of neighbourhood to the Spanish dominions which afforded Catherine an opportunity, rarely to be enjoyed, of familiar intercourse with the Queen Isabelle her daughter, the royal progress was continued to Bayonne. Thither also the Duke d'Alva repaired, ostensibly as the bearer of the collar of the Golden Fleece to Charles. The Queen of Spain and her *cortège* were lodged in a temporary building, erected for the purpose, adjoining the Bishop's palace in which Catherine had fixed her abode; and a private communication between these residences afforded facility for the secret interviews of the Queen Mother and the Spanish minister. The days were passed in spectacles of unwonted magnificence; the nights, if we may believe the almost universal voice of contemporaries, and among them of not a few Roman Catholics, in the arrangement of plans for the destruction of the Huguenots. The evidence of generally accredited rumour and of the accordance of future events with its purport, however strong, is not infallibly conclusive; but we see not how, after the remarkable conversation which Henry IV. overheard, it is possible to deny that these conferences at Bayonne were directed to the formation of an alliance against the Reformed. Henry, at that time a boy only twelve years of age, was the *enfant gaté* of Catherine; so fond was she of his society that she seldom allowed him to quit her side; and whether she attended Mass, or a party of pleasure, or even the King's most secret council-chamber, the favoured child had the privilege of admission. On one occasion he was present at a discussion between the Queen and the Duke d'Alva respecting the best mode of suppressing the new doctrine; and he especially remembered, and, as it appears, plainly understood, a figurative expression used by the unrelenting Spaniard, "that the jowl of a salmon was well worth a hundred frogs." He had sufficient prudence to conceal from the common ear the important secret implied in these portentous words; but he communicated them at the time to one of his most confidential officers, Colignon Chancellor of Navarre, who accompanied him to Bayonne, and by whom they have been transmitted to posterity as a damning evidence of the preconcerted blood-guiltiness of Catherine and her advisers.

The Vth national Synod of the Huguenots assembled before the close of this year; and, notwithstanding the prohibition contained in the edict of Rousillon, partly it may be supposed on account of the Prince of Condé's remonstrance, partly from the continued absence of the court which was then at Blois, the deputies boldly met in Paris. Their proceedings were for the most part without interest. They explained and limited the dangerous powers of suspension and excommunication. They regulated the admission to the Lord's table of such persons as "notwithstanding their knowledge and profession of Gospel truth," still retained Papal benefices; and we need not say that this adjustment between God and Mammon required no inconsiderable ingenuity. All promises of marriage, unless made in the presence of two witnesses at the least, if possible before the parents of the contracting parties, and in either case, "after solemn seeking of God by prayer," were declared to be null. Permission was granted for the marriage of a man with the sister of a woman to whom he had been betrothed, but who had died before the nuptials were celebrated. Children under twelve years of age were prohibited from admission to the Lord's table. And as if some unusual inroad had been attempted upon the gravity of the Calvinistic system, by unseemly attire and indulgence in the sportiveness of wit, ministers were first instructed to abstain from all gaudery in their own persons and in those of their wives and children, and to exhort their people to be modest in their habits; and secondly, all persons whom "God hath endowed with gifts and ability to write in defence of truth, were requested not to publish their thoughts in a ridiculous or injurious manner."

The King, in passing through Nerac, the principal abode of the Court of Navarre, insisted upon the re-establishment of the ancient religion, which had been abolished within that city, and he afterwards summoned an Assembly of the *Notables* for the following January. The edict promulgated at Moulins by that body when it met chiefly related to the better administration of justice, but in one of its LXXXVI clauses was included a renewal of the edict of Rousillon. The main object of this Assembly however was to promote and to witness a formal reconciliation between the houses of Guise and of Châtillon. For that purpose, the Admiral renewed his former oath, that he had neither concerted nor been privy to the assassination of the late Duke; and the declaration was accepted by the widowed Duchess and by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The young Duke, Henry, who had just returned from his first campaign in Hungary, in which he had served with great promise of future distinction, was not present at this interview. Dissembling all resentment, he nevertheless avoided any decisive expression of forgiveness; and it may be believed that to the very last he entertained a conviction of the Admiral's participation in his father's murder, sufficiently strong to justify in his own sight the bloody vengeance which he afterwards achieved.

But fresh cause of intestine discord soon arose. Philip II. had now altogether surrendered himself to the guidance of the ferocious d'Alva, and troops under the Duke's command were pouring from Savoy through Franche Comté and Lorraine, for the extermination of Protestantism in the Spanish Netherlands. The approach of a foreign army to the frontiers afforded Catherine a plausible excuse for gathering an extraordinary force; she put the garrisons in a state of complete defence, assembled troops in the Provinces, raised fresh national levies, and summoned 6000 mercenaries from Swisserland. It was not possible that in the existing circumstances of the kingdom, these active preparations should be viewed by the Huguenots without considerable alarm. The concurrent marches of the Duke d'Alva and of the Swiss were believed to be the results of that scheme against the Reformed supposed to have been framed at Bayonne; and the suspicion derived ample support from numerous other acts of the French Government. The edicts favourable to the Huguenots were daily violated; the towns which they had been permitted to retain by the Treaty of Amboise were dismantled; and forts, erected within the circuit of their demolished walls, were occupied by the royal troops. The ears of the Magistracy appeared deaf to any complaint tendered by a Huguenot, and the grossest outrages upon the personal liberty, the property, and even the lives of the Reformed, if not openly authorized, were at least allowed to pass unpunished and even uninvestigated. It was known that frequent couriers were exchanged between the French Court and Rome; little pains were taken by the Catholics to repress tokens of exultation at some approaching triumph; and more than obscure warnings were given that the time was now at hand in which their hated rivals would cease to enjoy that freedom which they had recently extorted from the King. Representations of these and similar circumstances were anxiously submitted to the Prince of Condé and the Admiral by their followers. Conferences were held among the chief Huguenot leaders both at Valéry and at Châtillon; but in all of them pacific counsels were inculcated. Nothing, it was said, was to be so much avoided as a renewal of civil war; nor was the sword to be drawn till every other remedy had proved ineffectual.

During these agitations, the VIth Synod assembled at Verteuil; and the ministers, as if unmindful of the great terrors gathering around them, were occupied for the most part, as heretofore, in the discussion of subtle points of casuistry, and in regulations tending to clog the freedom of matrimonial engagements. Thus, it was resolved, that if women whose husbands upon the account of trades were a long time absent from them should desire to be married they must apply to the Magistrates; and that ministers were to take heed not to solemnize the marriage of widows within times forbidden by the civil law. If two young persons should contract marriage foolishly and rashly, without consulting their parents or guardians, the remedy pronounced was not a little summary, "Let them be punished and chastised, and let their marriage, at the request of parents and guardians, be rescinded." The punishment most commonly in use appears to have been fasting, either for three whole days, "having given them but a little bread and water," or for one whole day with nothing allowed them for their nourishment. The Church, it may seem, wanted either power or inclination to visit offences by adequate penalties; for even in the case of fraudulent traders who, "*according to the custom of the country*, do falsify, disguise, or corrupt their merchandise, as stretchers or drawers of cloth," the pain adjudged was incommensurate to the crime. They were "to be admonished by the Consistory to forbear those cheats, and in case they do not desist to be laid under censure." The accomplishment of marriage was not to be deferred above six weeks after the promise of it; in case of farther delay the parties were to be called into the Consistory and admonished, and if afterwards they continued disobedient, they were to be committed to the civil Magistrate, who had power to compel solemnization. On their wedding-day parties were instructed to come "modestly to Church, without drums or minstrels, demeaning themselves orderly and gravely as becometh Christians; and let them come before the bell hath done tolling, that so the marriage may be solemnly blessed before sermon, and if they be negligent, or should come too late, let them be turned away unmarried."

This officious, and in some instances fulsome and offensive inspection of the private and domestic intercourse of their flocks, the details of which we abstain on more than one account from prosecuting farther, was probably of little avail towards the general improvement of moral habits, and certainly tended to depress the standard of female delicacy. Over the public administration also of the Church, the vigilance of the Consistories, without doubt, was abused; and we read with surprise, and not without some diminution of gravity, their "roll of vagrants," a sort of police Gazette, describing numerous unfit personages who had intruded themselves into the ministry. Thus the faithful are warned against "a certain fellow, a lean man, who hath been often taxed for having no call to the ministry, and being unordained yet preacheth." Another, "a man of mean stature, his beard waxing grey, deposed from the ministry at Usanchez by the brethren of Limoges for lying, cheatings, forgeries, roguish tricks, drunkenness, unchaste kissings, and at Pâmier for dancing and contumacy against the Church, intrudes himself into all places where he can get admission to preach." A third, a Franciscan friar, who quitted and resumed his cowl at pleasure, had been deposed, because he usurped the ministry of the gospel without call or ordination. As to his moral qualities, he had been "convicted of, and condemned for adultery, and accused also of being confederate with robbers;" in person he was "a fellow of great stature, yellow beard, and had lost two of his front teeth." Besides guarding against the above hypocrites, the Churches are advised to take heed also of a "certain old, grave, and bald-headed fellow, who, though he was never called or ordained, doth nevertheless take upon him to exercise the office of a minister;" of "a little dwarfish fellow;" of one "having a great red nose, who is a mercenary and most abusive fellow;" and lastly, of one who appears to have exceeded all the rest in the degree of abhorrence which he excited both by his partial adherence to Romish forms and his repudiation of some peculiarities of Calvinism. "John Clopet, alias Child, a wretch full of heresies, a champion for the mass, asserting its goodness; in two points only excepted, *viz.* Prayers unto the saints and for the dead; maintaining that the good and bad have equal privilege to communicate in the body of Christ, as also celibacy, and praying towards the east; and that commentaries upon Scripture are needless: and that Calvin did very ill in writing of predestination; and that man may keep perfectly all the commands of God. He is a fellow of mean stature, a yellowish beard, and speaks somewhat thick, plain in his looks, and tawny face, aged five-and-twenty."

But we turn from these grave frivolities to a more severe and painful narrative. The peril of the Huguenots hourly increased; although the Duke d'Alva had already entered the Low Countries, the Swiss, whose services were no longer required as a precaution against him, far from being countermanded, continued to advance upon Paris; and when Condé sought an explanation of this warlike aspect, he received idle excuses in reply. Meantime, sure advices were received from Huguenots of rank about the Court, notifying that designs were meditated against the life of the Admiral and the liberty of Condé; that the Swiss were to be distributed in Paris, Orleans and Poitiers; and that after the occupation of those cities, the tolerant edicts were to be altogether revoked. On this intelligence, both the Admiral and his brother, D'Andelot, expressed strong conviction of the necessity of immediate recourse to arms, and of anticipating the blow by which they must otherwise be destroyed. To remove the Cardinal of Lorraine from the kingdom, and to cut off the Swiss, were the avowed primary objects of the new movement. To what results it might ultimately tend was not perhaps distinctly contemplated by its authors themselves.

The little town of Rosoy en Brie was named as the place of general rendezvous; and thither accordingly, late in September, repaired the Admiral, D'Andelot, La Noüe, the Comte de la Rochefoucault, and about four hundred other Huguenot nobles and gentlemen. It was recollected how great an advantage had resulted to the Guises in the former war from the possession of the King's person; and the design therefore in the first instance was to surprise and carry off Charles, while he was engaged, on the Feast of St. Michael, in holding, according to announcement, a Chapter of the Order of that Saint. The Court had just removed to Meaux; and Catherine, till the very moment of the Huguenot gathering, was wholly unapprehensive of insurrection, and listened with incredulity to its first announcement. When she ascertained the alarming truth, her sole hope of escape was in temporizing till the Swiss could arrive by forced marches; and for that purpose she despatched Francis Montmorency, the Constable's eldest son, to amuse Condé by inquiries respecting the objects for which he appeared in arms. The stratagem was successful, and Montmorency prolonged his conference till he received intelligence that the Swiss were close at hand. On his return, a discussion arose relative to future proceedings. The Constable strenuously urged that the royal party should remain at Meaux; the town itself, he said, admitted of defence if it became necessary, and the Swiss would form a nucleus, round which a powerful army might soon be assembled. On the other hand, retreat was hazardous; for who should assure them that it could be effected without fighting? and if they fought, who could guarantee the result? Retreat also must in some degree wear the semblance of flight, which ill accorded with the royal dignity. Peace was hitherto unbroken; and till a blow should be either struck or provoked, there seemed good hope that it might still be preserved. These sound arguments, backed by the honest support of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, might have prevailed but for the opposition of the Cardinal of Lorraine. To his restless spirit, peace offered but few attractions; and his turbulent ambition pictured to itself hopes of aggrandizement for his nephews in the renewal of civil dissension.

It was resolved therefore to move at once for Paris, a distance of somewhat more than thirty miles, on the following night. The Swiss had rested but three hours after their hurried march, yet they were all at their posts by midnight; not a courtier, writes Castelnau, who shared in the peril, had armour, and the greater number were mounted on but sorry hackneys. Ill prepared as they were, however, nine hundred horsemen of gentle blood surrounded the persons of Catherine, the King, and the ladies of the court; and at daybreak, when they had advanced about four leagues from Meaux, they were encountered by the Huguenots in array. Some skirmishing ensued; and when the Swiss seemed hot for battle, and had grounded their shields, which with them was the first movement preparatory to combat, it was thought advisable that the King should draw off with a strong detachment, and proceed through by-ways with all speed to the capital; Montmorency engaging meanwhile to make head against the enemy. Two hundred chosen horse formed the royal escort, and Charles, exhausted by hunger and wearied by a journey undoubtedly perilous, and which might be considered long, according to the rate of travelling in those days, arrived at Paris towards evening. But even his night was not to be given to repose. The Huguenots, on perceiving that the King had withdrawn, did not long continue their skirmishing with Montmorency, and the two parties separated at Bouget after small loss on either side. A few stragglers, however, advancing on Paris in the dark, fired some windmills close to the walls, and the garrison, alarmed by the flames, beat to arms under expectation of an assault. The Cardinal of Lorraine, who had directed his steps to Rheims, was surprised on his route by a party of Champagners, who intercepted his baggage and would have captured its owner also, but for the fleetness of the Spanish genet upon which he fortunately happened to be mounted.

This enterprise of the Huguenots appears to have been rashly planned and feebly executed. Nothing short of complete triumph could justify so hazardous an attempt; and by its failure they brought upon themselves the obloquy of treason, a name which, if they had been successful, no one would have dared to attach to their boldness. Their previous wrongs and sufferings were little remembered; and it was easy for their enemies to represent that, in the midst of profound peace, they had risen in arms against their Sovereign, and had treacherously endeavoured to despoil him of his liberty, perhaps of his crown. The insult was never forgotten by the sullen and vindictive temper of Charles; and those who trace his subsequent atrocious deeds of blood to a remembrance of this single day, may not, perhaps, have erroneously calculated its effects. Pius V., who in the commencement of the year had been elected to the Tiara, and was eagerly engaged in opposition to the Reformed, seized the opportunity afforded him of stimulating the neighbouring Princes to co-operate for the extermination of the Huguenots. He wrote to the King of Spain, informing him of the "conspiracy," or, more properly, the "rebellion," which had occurred in France, and he despatched a special Internuncio to require his aid for its suppression. Priuli, Doge of Venice; Gonzaga, of Mantua, who had married the Duchess of Nevers, and was thus in possession of the great fiefs of that house; and Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, were solicited in like manner; and although the treasury of the Vatican was almost exhausted by sums advanced in assisting the Emperor and the knights of Malta against the Turks, and Mary of Scotland against her rebellious subjects, a subsidy of ten thousand ducats was paid to the Duke of Savoy, to furnish him with necessary equipments, and a considerable sum was forwarded to the Cardinal of Lorraine for general purposes.

No sooner had the King entered Paris, than the Huguenots, spreading themselves over the adjoining districts, blockaded the chief roads from Normandy, Le Perche, Mayne and Anjou; and by intercepting all convoys, reduced the capital to great distress. The Constable, although far from relaxing in his enmity against the Reformed, and continuing to affirm that the Treaty of Amboise was to be considered as only provisional, cordially and sincerely desired reconciliation. But his efforts were altogether ineffectual, for neither party manifested any willingness to concede; and since the populace of the capital, now straitened for supplies and impatient under privations, began to impute his pacific labours to want of courage or of fidelity, he was compelled, in spite of his reluctance, to commence more active operations. His first object was to dislodge the Huguenots from the important post of St. Denis, in which Condé had entrenched himself and fixed his head-quarters; and the disproportionate force which it was in their power to oppose, led him to expect little serious resistance. In his own ranks he counted sixteen thousand infantry and three thousand men at arms; exclusive of the civic militia, upon which, however, he placed little reliance. The Huguenots, on the other hand, in the absence of a corps of five hundred horse and eight hundred harquebuziers, detached under D'Andelot, mustered no more than twelve hundred infantry and fifteen hundred horse; most of these also were but half armed; and, in order to supply the want of lances, they had shod with iron heads the poles found supporting some booths at a late fair held in St. Denis. Well might the citizens of Paris inquire from their leaders how it was that "an Ant was allowed to besiege an Elephant!"

It was perhaps, however, this very inequality of numbers, which, in addition to his hope of avoiding hostilities altogether, had induced the Constable to be tardy in his movements. Little, indeed, could he suppose that commanders so experienced as Condé and the Admiral would venture to the forward position which they occupied without certainty of strong support; and the rashness with which they acted was in this respect their best security. On the 9th of November, the Constable beat up their quarters, and harassed them through the day with skirmishes, in order correctly to ascertain their force and position; and on the following morning, when he issued from the gates of Paris, with his whole army, turning to the bystanders, and reminding them of the murmurs of the rabble, which appear to have impressed him far too deeply, "This day," he said, "shall free me from the taunts of my enemies and the suspicions of the people; for my return shall be in triumph, if alive; or if a corpse, after a death of glory in the moment of victory!" The words, as we shall perceive, were ominously spoken. After many hours occupied in previous dispositions, when evening was already at hand, the Huguenots, to his surprise, not content with awaiting his onset, boldly advanced to the charge;* and being wholly unprovided with artillery, after receiving a few volleys from the royal cannon, they pressed on, hand to hand, and joined in close engagement. In the confused and almost wholly personal conflict which ensued and lasted for nearly an hour, all the Chiefs were at times exposed to imminent danger. The Prince of Condé had his horse killed under him, and was extricated with difficulty from the *mêlée*. When the bridle of a fiery Arab, upon which the Admiral was mounted, had been cut through, the affrighted animal, taking the bit in his mouth, carried his master into the heart of a troop of Royalists flying from the field, through which he dashed without being recognized. Each army was partially routed; the loss of each was nearly equal, and chiefly in cavalry, of which about seven hundred were killed between them; and if the Huguenots had not fallen back upon St. Denis, which they regained in good order, while their opponents continued to occupy the field, the victory might have been doubtful even in name. The title of success which the laws of war adjudged to the Royalists, was dearly purchased by the loss of their commander. It was upon the division led by the Constable himself that the main efforts of the Huguenots had been directed; and the gallant veteran, unbent by the burden of nearly eighty winters, evinced an activity and prowess not surpassed by the youngest soldier in his ranks. Wounded in four places, and abandoned by his followers, he still continued to fight; and had just cut down one of his assailants, when a Scotch partizan of the Huguenots, Robert Stuart by name, pressed him to surrender, and demanded his sword. The Constable indignantly replied by dashing its hilt in the face of his enemy so violently as to beat out three of his teeth, and the Scot, irritated by the blow, discharged a pistol through his body. The wound was mortal, for Montmorency's advanced age did not permit him to bear the weight of a cuirass of sufficient proof. His anxious request, on falling, was that he might be allowed to die on the field, but he was disengaged from the press around him, and carried into Paris, where he expired two days afterwards. His known valour and great military skill had seldom been requited by proportionate success; and in the seven pitched battles, in which he had been present, (in three of them as commander,) Fortune, for the most part, had shown herself adverse. His political experience and sagacity, and his profound knowledge of mankind, are the general theme of contemporary praise; and the chief fault attributed to him is one arising from intimate acquaintance with Courts,—a somewhat undue regard to his own private interests. Davilla relates a noble anecdote which no incident of the Constable's past life authorizes us to reject; and which all who value memorials of the more elevated portions of human nature would most unwillingly abandon. Undisturbed in spirit, and with tokens of the uttermost constancy, Montmorency felt his last agonies approaching; and when a priest offered some common-place consolation, he turned to him with a placid and serene expression of countenance, requesting his silence. "Ill, indeed," he remarked, "should I have spent my fourscore years of life, if I had not learned to die for a quarter of an hour!"

The death of Montmorency was viewed with satisfaction by Catherine, for it relieved her from an observant and powerful monitor, to whose authority she had often been compelled to defer. Even if she wept, as Brantome would persuade us, her tears, as we have more than once before perceived, were not always the key to her real feelings. His obsequies were conducted with much solemnity; and as a mark of especial honour, his effigy was borne upon his hearse; a distinction which custom had reserved for members of the blood royal. The office of Constable was not filled up; either because there was not any individual whom it seemed discreet to entrust with a dignity conferring so great a power; or more probably, because Catherine did not choose that the authority of her second and favourite son, the Duke of Anjou, for whom she obtained the post of Lieutenant-General, should be shared with any rival. The extreme youth of that prince made a council requisite for his assistance; but its members were carefully selected from persons of whose compliance with her will the Queen Mother felt assured.

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* Davilla assigns good reasons for the determination of the Huguenots to give battle; they could not retreat without fighting; the very existence of their army depended upon the maintenance of confidence; and the day was so far advanced that even if they should be beaten, they ran little hazard of being pursued.—Vol. i. lib. iv. p. 185.

We need not detail the military operations of the next few months. The Huguenots, satisfied with the reputation of having withstood the royal army notwithstanding their own great inferiority in numbers, fell back from St. Denis upon Loraine; and there awaited a junction with nearly 7,000 Reistres and 300 Lansquenets, whom the Elector Palatine had despatched to their assistance, under his son Prince Casimir. During a few days of anxious suspense before the arrival of this expected reinforcement, the confidence of the Huguenot army appears to have failed; and their drooping hopes were raised and their mutinous clamours silenced by the opposite qualities of their two Generals. Condé cheered his followers by sprightly and light-hearted sallies; the severe disposition of the Admiral enforced discipline by grave admonition. Even, however, when the much-desired Auxiliaries were at hand, new difficulties were to be encountered; and the provision of 100,000 crowns, which had been promised to the German soldiery, far exceeded the scanty resources of the Huguenot military chest, scarcely competent to supply the daily necessities of its own army. The Prince and Coligny, however, contributed their plate and jewels; and their example and the exhortations of the ministers who always accompanied the march prevailed so greatly, that every officer and man made some personal sacrifice, and even the meanest horse-boy and camp-follower in the host emulously threw in his mite to the general fund. Casimir, who had embarked in the enterprise from a deep religious impulse, lent his ready aid to mitigate the disappointment of his more mercenary comrades; and a distribution of 30,000 crowns, the utmost sum which could be raised, for awhile satisfied their rapacity.

Encouraged by this large addition to his force, and by the declaration of many important towns in his favour, Condé early in the following year once again advanced from Loraine, and, having crossed the Marne and Seine without opposition, proceeded to invest Chartres; a city, the occupation of which was considered desirable before a transfer of the seat of war to the immediate neighbourhood of Paris. But notwithstanding his present success, and his apparent increase of strength, he must have perceived that the foundation upon which he rested for the future was altogether insecure. He was deficient both in stores and in money to procure them; the battering train with which he ventured to commence the siege of Chartres was composed of no more than five field-pieces, and four light culverins; upon the Germans little reliance could be placed without regularity of pay; so hasty had been the original rising that no preparation for the subsistence of an army could be arranged, and it was plain that if supplies were wanting, desertion would rapidly thin the ranks of the Huguenot soldiery; even the gentry also were kept together with difficulty, and manifested a strong inclination to return to their families and estates, which were exposed to outrage during their absence. The court was ready to negotiate; and, however little confidence was to be placed in its sincerity; however slight the pains taken to conceal that the attempt upon Meaux was not forgotten and should some day be revenged; whatever private intimations were received that no terms would be honestly observed; nevertheless, in the choice of evils which presented itself, the chances of a hollow peace appeared preferable to the continuance of a war thus certainly destructive. No question was likely to arise regarding conditions which one party had previously resolved at all events to violate; the conferences, therefore, were brought to a rapid conclusion; and the Admiral with just forboding of ill, Condé, with the most sanguine hope of good, affixed their signatures on the 23d of March, to the treaty of Longjumeau.* Its chief stipulations provided for a general amnesty; a renewal of the edict of Amboise in its literal tenor; the restoration of all towns and fortified places occupied by the Huguenots; and the dismissal of all foreign troops engaged on both sides, after their arrears of pay had been discharged by the King.

The messenger whom Charles selected to announce the conclusion of this peace to the Parliament of Toulouse, and to demand its registry, was a gentleman in the Prince of Condé's suite, Rapin by name. Some active services which he had before performed in Languedoc rendered him unpopular among the Toulousians; and their magistrates, disregarding the sacredness of his diplomatic character, and the royal authority under which he acted, arrested him on some unjust pretext and delivered him to the executioner. Scarcely had the new treaty been promulgated before a similar thirst for blood and equal disregard for good faith manifested itself in almost every province of the kingdom. In the capital, the pulpits reechoed with wild and vehement declamations, not against the doctrines only but the persons also of the Reformed; and the recently established order of Jesuits then first especially inculcated those perverse applications of scripture, and those subtle ethical distinctions which have ever since formed the marked characteristics of its disciples. Besides affirming the decree of the council of Constance, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, their preachers cited holy writ abundantly in evidence that persecution was an acceptable offering to Heaven. They spoke of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram; of those whose slaughter was commanded by Moses and the Levites; of the punishment of the worshippers of the golden calf, and of Jehu who cut off the priests of Baal by stratagem; and each of these histories was interpreted as a precedent against seceders from the church of Rome. Thus roused to fury, the populace in many districts perpetrated acts of blood and violence; at Amiens more than a hundred Huguenots perished in a tumult; on the restoration of Auxerre to the royalists a massacre of the Reformed commenced, and a hundred and fifty corpses were thrown into the sewers and the river. Rouen, Bourges, Issoudun, Troyes, Blois, and Orleans, witnessed outrages which terminated in wholesale murder; and even in other places, in which not more than single lives were sacrificed, it seemed as if the increased atrocity which accompanied the deed was designed as an atonement for the paucity of victims. Thus at Ligny, a Huguenot who sought refuge from his pursuers in the house of the mayor, was killed the very arms of the magistrate from whom he claimed protection. At Clermont also a townsman who had neglected to decorate his windows with tapestry, and to display other marks of reverence on a festival during which the host was paraded through the streets, was dragged to the market place, and burned on a pile hastily formed from the timber of his own house pulled down for the destruction of its master. It was calculated (perhaps with exaggeration, but when *such* an exaggeration was hazarded the numbers must have been terrifically great,) that, within three months after the treaty of Longjumeau, more than ten thousand Huguenots fell by assassination; although during the preceding six months of war scarcely five hundred had perished in battle. It need not be asked why the court had been prompt to treat; for who would have recourse to the doubtful issue of open hostility when vengeance could be thus far more securely and abundantly gratified under the semblance of peace?

The dismissal of the good and wise de l'Hôpital from the chancellorship,* through the intrigues of the Cardinal of Loraine, deprived the Huguenots of their sole advocate in the royal council. From that moment, indeed, all disguise appears to have been thrown aside. The Admiral and Condé could no longer disregard the rumours which they hourly heard of intentions against their persons; a spy was detected by the Prince surveying the works of the castle at Noyers, in which he had fixed his residence; and at length an intercepted despatch removed every doubt of the intended treachery. The charge of arresting the Prince had been committed to the Maréchal de Tavannes, deputy governor of Burgundy, who is said to have been the original author of the design; and his measures had been so fully taken, that nothing more than an increase of force was needed to ensure his success. The letter which he wrote to obtain more troops was couched in figurative language, but language the interpretation of which could be little dubious, "The stag is in the toils, make haste and advance your people." This despatch fell into the hands of one of Condé's patrols, and the miscarriage is believed to have been intentional. Not, indeed, out of any good will on the part of Tavannes either to Condé personally or to the Huguenots at large; but from a suspicion that the enterprise was not quite certain, and a wish to stand well with that party which might eventually predominate. The chances were infinitely against the escape of the Prince, even after the plot had been revealed to him; but if he *did* escape, and should ultimately prove successful, Tavannes might claim the merit of having given him the earliest advice of his danger.

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* A small town in the modern Department of La Seine et Oise, twelve miles S. E. from Versailles.

* The name of *Politiques* was given to those who, with L'Hôpital, wished for temperate measures.

If the Huguenots valued their liberty, not a moment was now to be lost in retiring upon some fortified town, strong enough to permit defence. The Admiral, already warned by Condé, had joined him at Noyers, and La Rochelle was the city in which they determined to seek refuge. The attempt was hazardous in the extreme. Between Noyers in Burgundy and La Rochelle on the Bay of Biscay, almost the whole extent of France from west to east was to be traversed; and the intervening 250 leagues were thickly beset with enemies. Condé's Princess was far advanced in pregnancy; three of his children were still in arms; an equally helpless train accompanied the Admiral and the wife of D'Andelot his brother, who was engaged in another district; and no larger escort could be provided than 150 men at arms. But on this, as on former occasions, the very rashness of the enterprise proved its chief cause of success; for the royalist troops gathered round Noyers in readiness for its surprise, giving tardy credence to the improbable announcement that Condé had departed with so slight an attendance, thus afforded him time, by which he gained largely in advance of their pursuit. When they afterwards taunted him with pusillanimity for his abandonment of home, and maintained that his suspicions had been fanciful, he quietly replied, "that the birds by quitting their nests had saved themselves from a cage." His first great peril was encountered after fording the Loire near Sancerre. Scarcely had he reached the farther bank before the troops of Burgundy appeared in view; and feeling sure of their prey on the following morning, halted for the night at St. Godon. The delay of that single night, however, preserved the fugitives; for at daybreak the river was so swollen and flooded as to be no longer passable, even by boats; and the Prince and his company advanced peaceably on their route in the sight of their disappointed pursuers thus wholly deprived of any power of molestation.[*]

When he entered Poitou, the Governor, perhaps not unfriendly to his purpose, refused the pressing application of some zealous Catholics that he would obstruct his farther journey, pleading that he had not received orders to that effect. It was more difficult to elude the vigilance of one little likely to relax in hostility, Blaise de Montluc, who had put in motion the forces under his command in Guyenne; but after four and twenty days of unceasing anxiety and hourly danger, Condé at last arrived in La Rochelle, with a retinue largely increased during his progress. Shortly afterwards he was joined by the Queen of Navarre, with her children and an armed force of nearly 4,000 men. The words addressed by her son Henry in reply to the set speech with which he was received by one of the civic orators, deserve remembrance; for their promise was amply verified in the great part which he who delivered them enacted in after life. "I have not yet studied enough," was his answer, "to speak as well as you do, gentlemen; but I assure you that if I *speak* but ill, I will *do* better; for I know more of acting than of talking."[†] Of the Admiral's brothers, d'Andelot was actively engaged in raising levies in Britany; Odet, Cardinal of Châtillon, compelled to fly from his estate in Beauvais, and unable to penetrate to La Rochelle, found means of embarking for England, where he rendered good service to his party by representations to the Court of Queen Elizabeth. Of this prelate's character De Thou has spoken with no ordinary praise; he describes him in one place, as a man whose naturally good disposition had remained pure amid the corruptions of the Court; in another, as one who in greatness of spirit, candour, fidelity, and sound judgment, had few rivals. At a subsequent period he was employed in negotiating the projected marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou; and while preparing to return to France, he died at Hampton Court, in his fiftieth year, on the 14th of February, 1571. His remains were deposited in the Cathedral at Canterbury, in a tomb little worthy either of the rank and virtues of the deceased, or of the splendid monuments by which it is surrounded; and it having afterwards been ascertained that he had been poisoned by his valet, the assassin was seized and executed at La Rochelle.

La Rochelle had been selected as the place of gathering, on account both of its favourable site, and of its staunch adherence to the Reformed doctrine. So early as the year 1534, we read of a female martyr in Poitou who had derived her knowledge of the gospel from that city,[*] and about eighteen years afterwards some cruel executions occurred within its walls. No regular Church, however, is believed to have existed in it till 1558, when a permanent establishment was founded under the care of Richer, one of the ministers who had accompanied Villegagnon's expedition to Brazil.[†] It was in that year also that a visit of the King and Queen of Navarre was distinguished by a theatrical representation not unlike the comedy which we have already mentioned as exhibited at an earlier date before Francis I. The Court and a numerous audience were present, and when the curtain rose, a sick woman was discovered lying at the point of death, and earnestly entreating to be confessed. For that purpose, she was attended first by the Parish priest; and afterwards by friars "black, white, and grey," Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans, who prodigally exhibited their beads and relics, read indulgences in her ear, and at last put upon her "the weeds of Dominick," as a sure passport to Paradise. But their spiritual labours were wholly ineffectual; the dying woman still called for shrift, and in tones of desperation declared that, without more powerful aid, her condition was hopeless. One of her acquaintance then stealthily approached the bed, and in a low murmur, as if afraid of being overheard, whispered that she knew a person who could tranquillize her wounded conscience, but who seldom stirred abroad unless by night. The woman earnestly requested his presence; and accordingly, a man in a lay dress entered. Their conversation was not overheard; but the sick person expressed great pleasure by her gestures, and received from him at parting a small book, which he assured her was a specific for her disease. No sooner had he quitted the stage than the woman arose from her bed, announced her entire recovery, and attributed it altogether to the wonder-working volume which she held in her hands. "This little book," she added, "shall be lent to any one who requires it; but I must forewarn you that it may be hot in handling, and that it smells somewhat of the faggot. For the rest, if you ask either *my* name, or the name of the book, I must leave both of them as riddles for you to conjecture." The Court of Navarre was far better pleased with this allegory, than were the ecclesiastics of La Rochelle; and the comedians, notwithstanding the protection of royalty, found it prudent to quit the city with speed. The Calvinistic minister, by whom this anecdote is preserved, cannot at first subdue his sturdy prejudice against the abomination of stage plays; but in the end, his spirit appears to become softened by a recollection of the object at which the satire was directed; and he relents into an unwilling approval which might have been sanctioned even by our own Prynne. "God, who is an admirable workman, and who gave an ass language for the reproof of a Prophet, permitted the theatre to speak in this instance when the pulpits were silent; so that those who by profession were teachers of folly, were now in some sort permitted to enunciate truth."[‡]

The Rochellois had manifested but little zeal in behalf of Condé, during the first civil war; they contributed 1600 livres per month to his service, but they refused connection with the General Association of the Reformed Churches. On the commencement of the second troubles, however, they immediately declared in his favour; and at the conclusion of the late peace, they refused to admit a royal garrison, and steadily maintained their independence, notwithstanding menaces of punishment, and even the positive march of troops for their reduction. Their city, of very ancient origin, possessed several privileges and immunities; and a right of electing their own Magistrates, and an exemption from resident military control had kindled among them an unextinguishable spirit of freedom. The population of about 18,000 persons was supported partly by the extensive commerce of their advantageous port, partly by the rich produce of the adjoining country; and this capital, as it may henceforward be deemed, of the Huguenot party, appeared to increase in wealth and strength, amid the desolation which continued to waste most of the other parts of France.

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[*] We have not been able to trace Laval's authority for stating that Condé's attendants, whom this deliverance forcibly reminded of the Israelitish passage of the Red Sea, fell upon their knees, and after giving thanks, sang the CXIVth Psalm. But the story is probable; it is characteristic both of the times and of the sect; and under similar circumstances, a like burst of feeling would, perhaps, have been exhibited by the Cameronians. The parallel of the Red Sea was certainly employed by a Rochellois orator, in a speech of congratulation which he addressed to Condé on his arrival.

[†] Ancere, *Hist. de La Rochelle*, i 369. A few days afterwards, Henry nearly lost his life by falling off the mole into the sea. He was saved by a mariner, who leaped after him.—*Id. ibid.*

[*] *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 23. [†] Ancere, i 332.

[‡] Vincent, *Recherches sur les commencemens de la Reformation à la Rochelle*, cited by Ancere, i. 333. A similar account of this Comedy is given by Laval (i. 151.) from the same source.

Condé, having reviewed his forces, addressed them on the lamentable state of their country; spoke of the King as still in captivity, and as the unwilling agent of wicked counsels; denounced the Cardinal of Lorraine by name as the chief author of the existing troubles; expressed profound sorrow for the necessity of a new recourse to arms; and proposed an oath of fidelity to THE CAUSE, (as the Huguenot interests were now named,) which was adopted by acclamation. To the Manifesto which he issued in conformity with this speech, the Court at first replied by a Proclamation of unusual gentleness. No distinction, it was said, should be made by the King between any of his subjects; and Protestants and Catholics might rely, with equal confidence, upon his tender and paternal care. All that was required from the former was pacific conduct and obedience to the laws. Their appeals should receive prompt attention, and all Magistrates were strictly enjoined to redress any grievances submitted to their investigation. A declaration so utterly belied by the former conduct of those who promulgated it was little likely to obtain credit; and as the snare failed, and the Huguenots continued firm, an edict, more according with the real temper and designs of the Court, was issued about the close of September. After eulogizing the clemency and wisdom of the late reigns, and declaring that the present King had framed the edict of January in a similar policy, as a temporary provision till the attainment of his majority, it recounted the perfidy and violence of the Huguenots in the former two wars; and especially noticed their treacherous retention of Montauban, Castres, and La Rochelle, since the conclusion of the late peace. As the sole remedy now left, it forbade, by a perpetual and irrevocable ordinance, all persons, of every condition throughout the whole kingdom, from professing any other than the Catholic faith: the religion of the King, as it had been that of his ancestors. The penalties annexed to a breach of this enactment were confiscation and death; and no more than fifteen days were allowed for the departure of every minister of the pretended Reformation beyond the boundaries of France. The sole mitigation granted was, that no one should be visited for a former profession of Huguenotism, provided he conformed in future to the Church of Rome. A third edict deprived all Huguenots of their dignities, magistracies, and public offices; and the Parliament of Paris, as if to aggravate the fury of these new statutes, framed an oath, to be taken by every one on his acceptance of public employments, that he would live and die in the Catholic and Apostolic faith; and that, if he should ever apostatize from it, he would submit to degradation for his unworthiness. Such were the fierce notes which preluded the renewal of hostilities.

CHAPTER IX.

Battle of Bassac or Jarnac—Death of Condé—Letters of Pius V.—Henry of Bearne declared Protector of the Huguenots—Battle of Moncontour—Capture of Nismes—Treaty of St. Germain—VIIth National Synod—Favourable treatment of the Huguenots—The Cross of Gastines.

The forces on each side were nearly equal, and those of the Huguenots were far more numerous than during the former war. When Condé united his whole army at Aubeterre, he counted 25,000 foot and 3000 horse; the Royalists had about 1000 less of the former, 1000 more of the latter. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter, the Huguenots persisted in fruitless attempts to bring on an engagement, which the Duke of Anjou constantly declined. The Queen of Navarre was indefatigable in her exertions; and chiefly on her account, and through the representations of the Cardinal of Châtillon, the Court of England furnished arms and money, and hospitably entertained the numerous unhappy fugitives chased by persecution from the shores of Britany, Normandy, and Picardy. Elizabeth granted her protection also to a squadron which had been equipped at La Rochelle; and empowered it to cruise in the British Channel, with an assurance that the produce of all captures should be applied to the service of THE CAUSE.

It was not till the following March that any decisive military operation took place, and the two armies then met on the banks of the Charente. The Duke of Anjou had been largely reinforced, and, aware that Condé was awaiting a powerful detachment of German auxiliaries, he determined to anticipate its arrival by an immediate attack. For that purpose it was necessary that the Charente should be passed; but of its two bridges, one at Jarnac was in possession of the Huguenots; the other at Chateau-neuf had been partially destroyed. The remains of the latter, however, being inadequately guarded, were repaired during the night, and crossed by the Royalists on the morning of the 13th of March, before the Admiral who commanded the Huguenot vanguard could assemble his divisions, which were scattered widely over the neighbourhood. His intention, when he learned the advance of the Royalists, was to fall back upon the village of Bassac; but the tardy movements of some of his corps brought on a skirmish with his rear, which soon increased to a general battle. Bassac was stoutly defended; but the Royalists, who at first were driven back with much loss, at length carried and maintained it. When this reverse was announced to Condé, who being posted at some short distance had not hitherto been engaged, the brave Prince was ill-circumstanced to afford assistance. In consequence of some previous hurt, he had entered the field with his arm supported in a sling, and as he rode along his lines, a severe kick from a mettlesome horse belonging to the Comte de la Rochefoucault shattered one of his legs in his boot. Concealing all sense of pain, and without changing the easiness of his tone and manner, he took this opportunity of inculcating a military lesson. "Gentlemen," he said, "bear in mind that fiery horses do more harm than good in action; and that it is but a silly vanity to pique ourselves on their management, and so to distract that attention which ought to be directed altogether on the enemy—you may here see an unlucky proof of my doctrine, which however will not hinder me from fighting." Then waving his sword, he added with greater fervour, "Nobles of France, know that the Prince of Condé with a broken leg and his arm in a scarf has yet courage to give battle!" After these words he rode briskly to the Admiral's assistance; and charging with scarcely 300 men at arms, he found himself unexpectedly opposed to the main body of the Royalists. Surrounded, his horse killed under him, and himself disabled by his recent hurts, he beckoned two gentlemen of the enemy whom he recognized; and having surrendered his sword and received their faith for his security, he was raised from the ground, and seated under a tree. Almost at the same moment the Baron de Montesquieu, a Gascon gentleman and Captain of the Swiss Guards of the Duke of Anjou, rode up to the groupe, and asked who was the prisoner? Upon hearing that it was the Prince of Condé, he exclaimed with vehemence, "'Sdeath, kill him, kill him!" and approaching closely behind his back, discharged a pistol through his head, by which he was instantly despatched.

There is too much reason to believe that this most atrocious and cold-blooded murder would never have been perpetrated had it not been well known that it would be approved by the Duke of Anjou. Young as was that Prince (he had scarcely yet attained his eighteenth year,) the seeds of those evil passions which afterwards rendered him the most detestable of his odious race, had already struck deep root in his bosom, and one among the most prolific of them was revenge. He was jealous of Condé's popular qualities, and apprehensive of his rivalry. There can be little doubt, even after rejecting the improbable details preserved by Brantome, that he had found in him a competitor for the highest military command; and we may attach full credit to another portion of that garrulous anecdote-monger's narrative, in which he proceeds to state that the Duke of Anjou had consented to peace solely for the purpose of entrapping the Prince of Condé, whom he hated with a hatred to describe which the English language has not an expression sufficiently strong, although we should say even unto death.[*] "It was not likely to be otherwise," continues Brantome, remarking on the savage and treacherous act of Montesquieu, "for the Prince, as I well know, had been *recommended* to many of the favourites of Monsieur, on account of the hatred borne against him from the day which I have mentioned; and assuredly there is nothing which a great man abominates so much as another great man who is his equal; unless it be one who is not so, and who yet endeavours to raise himself to equality."

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[*] *Qu'il hayssoit à male-mort et plus que tous les Huguenots.* Brantome states, that the Prince of Conde demanded the Lieutenancy of the Kingdom when the Spanish troops under d'Alva were on their march; that one evening, during the Queen's supper at St. Germain, the Duke of Anjou drew the Prince aside, and conversed with him for a long time with gestures of great impatience; now grasping the hilt of his sword, now feeling for his poniard, now striking his cap up and down; while the Prince replied unbonnetted, and with an appearance of meekness. Brantome admits that the bystanders, of whom himself was one, could not overhear a syllable of the conversation; nevertheless, he unblushingly adds that the Duke fiercely reproved Condé's presumption for aspiring to an office which was his own due; and assured him, that if he meddled any farther,

The ungenerous treatment which the remains of the fallen Prince received corroborates the suspicion that his assassination may be ultimately charged on the Duke of Anjou. "Monsieur," says Brantome again, "was not at all displeased but overjoyed, and wished to see his enemy's body after the conclusion of the battle. More out of insult than for any other reason, it was thrown across an old she-ass that happened to be at hand; carried to Jarnac with the legs and arms dangling on either side of the beast, and placed in a lower room under the chamber then occupied by the Duke, and on the day before by the Prince himself." After having been thus brutally exhibited as a spectacle to the whole army, the body was in the end delivered to Condé's brother-in-law, the Duke of Longueville, and buried by the Prince of Bearne at Vendôme.

Louis of Bourbon when thus foully and untimely murdered was in his nine-and-thirtieth year, and no personage of his time had evinced more brilliant and attractive qualities. Eminently gifted with the power of captivating those with whom he associated, whether in the court or camp, he appears to have won all affections of which he sought the mastery; and the wish which issued from almost every lip was that Heaven would guard from ill

Ce petit homme tant joly,
Qui toujours cause et toujours rit.

His courtesy, liberality, affability, readiness of speech, and chivalrous courage, are subjects of unbounded admiration even among those most hostile to his opinions. "This Prince," says a contemporary—that Pasquier whose sagacity and knowledge of mankind we have often before had occasion to notice—"was generous and magnanimous; his actions sprang immediately from the heart."—"He left to posterity the reputation of being the most generous Prince of his time," is the character given by another, who had frequent opportunities of close observation, and who served the opposite party. His faults were those of an ardent temper, unrestrained by early discipline, and encouraged by the contagion of a most licentious court. His services to the cause which he adopted were beyond all price; and that the Huguenots were able to make the glorious stand against oppression which we are now narrating, must principally be ascribed to the illustrious rank and the conciliating temper, to the wisdom, the energy, the vigilance, the activity, and the constancy which belonged to their great chieftain. It has been said indeed that his sole motive for embracing the Reformed doctrine was the hope of personal aggrandizement; that the Huguenots were the ladder by which he thought to scale the Throne; and the calumny invented by the Jesuits relative to a coinage bearing the Legend "*Lodovicus XIII. Dei Gratiâ Francorum Rex primus Christianus*," has been cited in corroboration of this design. How far his motives may have been ambiguous; in what proportions ambition mingled with religious conviction when he announced that he was converted, was a problem unresolved perhaps by even the Prince himself, and one which must be decided by a judgment more unerring than that of man. But it should be remembered that a follower who was long and intimately acquainted with his habits, and whose own strictness of life and of devotion afford a strong assurance that he would not deliberately misrepresent the character of another on those points, after joining in the universal eulogy of Condé's obvious merits, concludes by stating, "He bore himself better in adversity than in prosperity; his greatest commendation of all was his steadfastness in religion."*

Another Huguenot of some notoriety, Robert Stuart, was massacred, like Condé, after receiving quarter in this battle. When carried into the presence of the Duke of Anjou, he was recognized by the Marquis de Villars, as the individual who had killed his brother the constable, Montmorency, at St. Denis; and pricked with a fierce desire of revenge, that nobleman begged the unhappy captive of the Prince. The bloody act which followed was committed not indeed under the immediate sight, but within the hearing of the Duke. Stuart, having been led a little on one side, was stripped of his armour, and deliberately cut to pieces.

The exultation of the youthful conqueror was boundless; and but for the discreet suggestion of one of his confidential officers, that he would thus accredit the rumour which imputed Condé's death to his express orders, he would have erected a chapel to mark the spot on which the Prince had fallen. When intelligence of the victory was conveyed to Metz, the temporary residence of the court, great joy was manifest also in that city. On the arrival of the courier at midnight, Charles arose from his couch to receive him, and proceeded immediately to the cathedral to celebrate a *Te Deum*. He then appointed a solemn service of thanksgiving throughout the kingdom; notified his success to all the crowned heads his allies; and laid the captured standards at the feet of the Pope. Pius V. was loud in his acknowledgments, and addressed letters of congratulation in return to the chief personages of the French court. "When I received your most welcome messenger, my beloved son," were his words to the King, "announcing the victory gained by God's assistance over His enemies and those of the church, your rebellious subjects; and the death of the source of all these troubles and seditions, the leader of the heretic army; raising my hands to Heaven, I gave thanks to the Almighty with all lowliness of heart, for that He had vouchsafed you success, and had graciously poured out upon us also the riches of His loving-kindness. But in proportion as God has dealt thus mercifully, so ought you with greater diligence and strenuousness to employ this opportunity, that you may follow up and destroy the remnant of the enemy; that you may *utterly extirpate all the roots, and even the offsets from the roots*, of that so great and so confirmed an evil. If indeed they be not *altogether eradicated*, they will spring up again in quarters the least expected, as has often occurred before." Then, especially recommending the military occupation of Navarre, he urged Charles by the strongest exhortations to take from the common enemy all power of rising again. "This," he said, "will be best compassed, if you determine that no respect for human things or persons shall tempt you to spare the foes of God, by whom neither God nor yourself has ever yet been spared. You have indeed no other means of appeasing God except by avenging most severely and with due punishment the injuries which He has endured from the most wicked of mankind;" and to that effect the example of Saul and the Amalekites was then propounded and applied. Similar incitements to persecution were repeated in a second letter, written about a fortnight afterwards, in which the King was assured that tranquillity could be obtained for France by no other means than by insisting on unity of religious faith. "To procure that unity, under God's assistance, it is requisite that your Majesty should proceed against God's enemies and your own, by just pains and penalties, exercising with severity the fullest rigour of the law. For if any motive should induce you (which we are far, however, from suspecting) to delay pursuit and vengeance, in those matters which give offence to God, you will deservedly provoke His long-suffering to anger. It is your duty to be deaf to every prayer, to reject every claim of consanguinity and kindred, to manifest yourself inexorable to every voice which may dare to petition for the most impious of men; and to that holy task, as it becomes our pastoral office and our paternal affection, well knowing that you are inclined to undertake it, we nevertheless think it fitting to stimulate you by this fatherly admonition."

Duplicates of these slaughter-breathing letters, with a few necessary variations of address, were at the same time trans-

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he would make him repent it, *et le rendroit aussi petit compagnon comme il vouloit faire du grand. Disc.* lxxx. 1. tom. vi. p. 337. The comparative ages of the two parties, exclusive of the illustrious rank, the known courage, and the general character of the Prince of Condé, sufficiently rebut this gossip.

[*] La Noue, p. 433. That distinguished nobleman, to whom our references have been so frequent, was a branch of one of the most ancient families in Britany. He was born in 1531, and adopted the Huguenot principles before he was thirty years of age. His courage, probity, and sagacity, gave him eminent rank among his party; and so great was his reputation for integrity, that during the reign of Henry III. he was often named by both sides as an arbitrator on disputed points. Having lost an arm before Fontenay, a skilful mechanist framed for him a substitute, from which he derived his *nom de guerre,—Bras-de-fer.* He was killed at the siege of Lamballe, in 1591.

mitted to Catherine; and a hint was added, that the Pope had heard of applications for the release of some of the heretic prisoners without punishment; a rumour which he confidently trusted the Queen would be able to contradict. To the Duke of Anjou, Pius wrote in terms of high compliment on his brilliant success in so early youth; urging him to follow up his victory with activity, and to exhort his royal brother to administer punishment unsparingly. But the Pontiff's chief expressions of confidence and attachment were reserved for the Cardinal of Lorraine; "If there be any one," he said, "of those numerous illustrious Catholics by God's grace existing in France, who is to be congratulated more heartily than another on this seasonable victory, surely you are that person to whom we would peculiarly manifest our paternal sympathy. Not only because you are endowed with singular piety towards God, and are so deeply imbued with affection for the Catholic faith, that no one is likely to feel greater present joy, but because we know also that through God's assistance, it is mainly to your discreet councils and wise suggestions that the Christian commonwealth of your kingdom is indebted for its prosperity." The remainder of the letter enjoins the Cardinal, in a similar spirit to that which Pius displayed elsewhere, to exert every energy which he possessed for the suppression of any inclination to mercy which might chance to arise in the king's bosom.

The loss of lives in the battle of Jarnac had been inconsiderable in point of number, amounting to about four hundred Huguenots and half as many Royalists. The latter were tardy in improving their victory; and the heroic energy of the Queen of Navarre, together with the skilful generalship of the Admiral, soon restored the courage and reorganized the discipline of the beaten army. The Queen hastened from La Rochelle to the head-quarters at Cognac, and there harangued the troops. While deeply sorrowing for the loss of Condé, she took occasion to propose his bright career as an example which every Huguenot ought to follow. "Still," she exclaimed, "is he living among us in spirit. He has left a son who inherits his name and virtues; and *I* also have a son who is the property of THE CAUSE." Before she left the camp, the Prince of Bearne, as her son Henry was then called, was formerly declared *Protector* of the Huguenots, and received oaths of fidelity from the principal officers in the army; the chief command remaining with the Admiral under the title of lieutenant-general.

The death of Francis d'Andelot by a fever, not long after the defeat at Jarnac, was another severe blow upon the Admiral and the Huguenots at large. He was among the earliest personages of distinction who had avowed conversion; and the consequent forfeiture of his Sovereign's favour, and the painful imprisonment which he had endured for conscience sake under Henry II. were sure pledges of both his constancy and sincerity. In soundness of judgment also, and in military science, he was exceeded by few of his party. Dispirited by these repeated strokes of evil fortune, it was with proportionate increase of joy that the Huguenots, in the course of the summer, effected a happy junction with their German allies. After three months' painful march across little less than a thousand miles of hostile territory, during which they were harassed by almost perpetual skirmishes, 7500 reisters and 6000 lansquenets arrived at St. Yrier, to which spot the Admiral had advanced in order to meet them. The Duke of Deux Ponts, by whom this arduous movement had been conducted, overpowered by fatigue and anxiety, died three days before its conclusion; the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Wolrath Count Mansfield, and the Huguenots now presented altogether a formidable army of 25,000 men.

September, however, passed away before the occurrence of any military exploit which need find a place in our narrative. The fury of the Court meantime exhibited itself in a fierce war of proclamations, which by order of the Cardinal of Lorraine were promulgated in the French, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish and English languages. Under the authority of the Parliament of Paris, the chief Huguenot leaders were denounced as traitors; a reward of 50,000 crowns and a free pardon were offered to any one engaged in the rebellion, who should capture the Admiral, dead or alive; the Vidame of Chartres and the Count of Montgomery were sentenced together with him to capital punishment; and their three effigies, after having been drawn in a tumbril to the Place de Grêve, were there suspended from a gibbet. These tokens of determined hatred and bitterness were especially grateful to the Head of the Apostolic Church; and Pius V. wrote afresh to Charles expressing his delight that he had stripped of all his honours, and covered with deserved ignominy, "that execrable and detestable man, if indeed he may be called a man, who pretends to be Admiral of the Kingdom; but who is in truth the agent of the Devil's treachery, the leader and standard-bearer of all heresies, and the stirrer-up of discord and civil war." The results of the parliamentary ordinances were speedily manifested. Won by promises of immunity for the past, of a large bribe in immediate possession, and of protection for the future, the valet of the Admiral undertook to remove him by poison. The plot was discovered, and distinctly traced to an officer high in the service of the Duke of Anjou; the prime mover of the great crime was beyond the reach of punishment, but his villainous agent met the death which his treachery deserved.

As Autumn advanced, strong reasons urged the Admiral to court an engagement. The French gentry of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, had once again grown impatient of their protracted absence from home, and took little pains to disguise their intentions of disbanding. The Germans murmured and almost mutinied for want of pay; and Coligny perceived that it was only a battle which could prevent the entire dissolution of his army. The Duke of Anjou was far from being pressed by similar necessity; his treasury was rich, his supplies were abundant, and his troops therefore were well contented. But, burning with the ardour of youth, he coveted fresh laurels and was weary of inaction; and even the older and more experienced generals who formed his council, anxiously desired to strike a blow, by which they trusted to free the kingdom from the great hazard to which it was now exposed, by the presence, on both sides, of so numerous bands of foreign mercenaries. In this temper, the two armies approached each other on the 2d of October, near the Castle of Moncontour on a height above the river Dive in Poitou; where a most severe skirmish, greatly disadvantageous to the Huguenots, was terminated only by the night. On the morrow, the Admiral, sensible of his inferiority, would have avoided a renewal of the combat; but the delay occasioned by the tardy obedience of his mutinous Germans when ordered to march, and by endeavours to retain the unwilling Huguenots under their banners, enabled the Duke of Anjou to force his enemy into battle against his better judgment. The languishing spirit of the troops was reanimated by the appearance of the young Princes on the field before the combat began; and Henry of Navarre, with that gallant bearing which so often afterwards availed him in the hour of peril and difficulty, rode along the lines, courteously saluting the German leaders, and addressing the French nobles familiarly by name. After a short opening cannonade, the light troops of the Huguenots were first driven back; and in the subsequent advance of the main Royalist body upon that of the Admiral, he was wounded in the cheek and compelled to withdraw. The battle then became severe. For awhile the Royalist line wavered, and fortune manifestly appeared inclining to the Reformed. The seasonable presence of the Duke of Anjou, who, careless of danger, had a horse killed under him, and plunging into the thickest fight, pressed the wearied Huguenots with a charge of fresh troops, after two hours' contest changed their short success into a complete route. The German lansquenets were first trodden down by their own flying reisters; and when afterwards, surrounded and overpowered by a greatly superior force, they had thrown down their arms and begged quarter, so great was the fury of the Swiss mercenaries opposed to them, that out of 4000 men not more than 200 were spared; 2000 Huguenot infantry fell at the same time, and about an equal number were taken prisoners; the cavalry suffered less severely, and their killed did not exceed 300. On the other hand, the chief loss of the Royalists was in their horse, and among the 500 men at arms who perished were counted many officers of note. Standards, baggage, and artillery fell into the possession of the conquerors, but their success although complete in the field did not extend beyond its limits. The flight of the scattered army was so well covered by a reserve under Prince Louis of Nassau, that pursuit was almost immediately abandoned as hopeless and unavailing.*

It was to the care of that brave and able general that the young Princes of Bearne and Condé were entrusted, with permission to view the battle from a neighbouring height. The former watched the alternations of the field with intense anxiety; and, at a moment, during the first shock of the two main bodies, in which the Royalists showed symptoms of unsteadiness, it was with difficulty he was restrained from charging in person. When checked in his purpose, he exclaimed with bitterness of disappointment, "Then we throw away our advantage, and the battle in consequence!" and the result of the day proved how correct had been the military instinct of this warrior of sixteen.

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* William, Prince of Orange, and his brothers, chased from the Netherlands by the Duke d'Alva, had joined the march of the Germans with a few troops of horse; but William had returned to Flanders before the battle of Moncontour.

The victory of Moncontour once again called forth the Papal congratulations, and they were delivered in terms similar to those which had followed the triumph of Jarnac. Unsparing dispensation of punishment, inexorable firmness in resisting entreaties for mercy, and unbending resolution to mould every man's faith after a single model, were earnestly recommended to the Most Christian King; and the establishment of the Inquisition in every city of his dominions was advanced as the specific and sovereign prophylactic against the contagion of heresy. In spite of these counsels, little advantage was derived by the conquerors from their great victory. Instead of vigorously pushing the scattered remnant of the Huguenots, the Duke of Anjou commenced the siege of St. Jean d'Angely, a neighbouring fortified town, which according to the maxims of war at that time, he was unwilling to leave in his rear. Its capture cost him two important months, and 6000 men. who perished under its walls by the sword or disease. The defence was most gallant; and the Lord de Pilles who conducted it, did not accept the honourable terms under which he capitulated, till his garrison was reduced to less than half its original number, his ammunition was exhausted, his walls were battered to the ground, and he was utterly hopeless of relief.

The Admiral fell back in the first instance upon Parthenay, a few leagues from the scene of his defeat. A short delay in that town and in Niort to which he afterwards retreated, enabled him to collect his entire cavalry and about 4,000 foot; and having first taken measures for the security of La Rochelle, he determined to abandon the present seat of war, and to pass the winter in Guienne and Languedoc. Those provinces and their immediate neighbourhood offered many advantages. They were unoccupied by any Royalist force which could excite apprehension; such of their towns as had shown themselves well affected to THE CAUSE would afford recruits and supplies; and such as were hostile might be given up as free quarters to the Germans, hungering for their wages, and little scrupulous whether they received them from plunder or from pay. Montauban on the frontiers of the two Provinces was chosen as the principal depôt; from that town numerous excursions were made into the surrounding districts, and Toulouse was visited with especial severity in reprisal for the death of Rapin.

The capture of Nismes was one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of this winter. In that rich and distinguished city, a great proportion of the inhabitants had very early embraced the Reformed Doctrine; but the austerity of the Governor St. André had driven the most zealous Huguenots from their abodes, and reduced those who still lingered behind to apparent conformity. The hope of triumphant return still, however. glowed unextinguished in the bosoms of the Exiles, and by the courage of a simple artisan it was ultimately gratified. A copious stream rising without the walls, at the foot of the hills which overshadow the beautiful remains of the temple of Diana, after traversing the city, issues again from it near the Porte des Carnes. At its exit, it was protected by a strong iron grate, not far above which was stationed a sentinel, relieved once every hour during the night. The guard, when he quitted his watch, gave a signal on the city bell to warn his successor, and thus a few minutes intervened between every relief, during which the post was unoccupied. Madaron, a carpenter of the neighbourhood, having observed this unmilitary remissness, concerted his plan accordingly. Having descended into the ditch at nightfall, during the absence of the sentinel, he girded himself with a rope thrown from the walls by a confederate, whose grasp as it was relaxed or tightened was to notify that the moment was favourable, or otherwise to the workman below. Thus prepared, Madaron approached the grating and filed the bars: the gustiness of the autumnal breezes, and the constant murmuring of the rivulet assisting to conceal whatever noise he was unable to avoid; and which, even if it broke at all upon the ear of the unsuspecting sentinel, was attributed by him to any but the real cause; some stone, he thought, was carried roughly down the channel and dashed against the banks, or some one of the many dogs who prowled along the ramparts was gnawing a half-eaten bone. Knee-deep in mud and exposed to the inclemency of frequent storms, Madaron continued his patient toil during fifteen nights, selecting those which were moonless and cloudy; and before each dawn, having smeared the bars with a composition of wax and clay, in order to conceal the marks of his file. he quitted the ditch undiscovered. Not till the work was completed did he disclose his ulterior scheme to the Exiles; and the remainder of the perilous enterprise was undertaken with zeal by a Huguenot detachment quartered in the neighbourhood. Three hundred men were placed in ambush under the cover of some olive trees by which the city is surrounded; and they were accompanied, as was usual on such occasions, by a minister, who passed the hours previous to the attack in prayer and spiritual admonition. But while they awaited the appointed moment, a tempest accompanied with lightning most unusually vivid well nigh disconcerted the ripened undertaking. Struck with terror by this prodigy, as it appeared to them, at so late a season of the year, and fearing that they must have been discovered from the walls, the soldiers declared that Heaven, by those tokens, had avowed itself hostile to their enterprise; and it required all the zeal and eloquence of the minister to direct their superstition into an opposite channel, and to convert this inopportune omen into a presage of victory. Their captain, seizing an instant in which they seemed thus impressed, hurried to the ditch, easily removed the grating, entered the city with a few comrades, and opened the gates to the remainder. The drowsy burghers were roused from sleep by loud shouts and trumpet-blasts in their streets; and the dead hour of the night increased the panic occasioned by these unwonted sounds. Little resistance was attempted; and before morning, Nismes, with the exception of its citadel, was in possession of the Huguenots. In the first exultation of victory many lives were sacrificed; and the aged Governor who had broke a leg in attempting to escape by leaping from the walls, fell a victim to the revenge which his former harshness had provoked. The citadel maintained itself during a three month's siege, but at length capitulated, and Nismes, the most important city of Languedoc, fell altogether into the power of the Huguenots.

On the return of spring, the Admiral was early in motion. The court, indeed, with its customary policy. had expressed willingness to treat for peace even immediately after the battle of Moncontour, and coveted nothing so much as that disarming of the Huguenots which would render them an easy prey. But Coligny was too sagacious not to perceive, that he could secure far better terms, if it were in his power to assume a menacing attitude, than if he negotiated under the pressure of defeat. A severe and dangerous illness checked his progress not long after he had resumed the field; and upon his recovery were suspended the fortunes of the Huguenot CAUSE. "Peradventure," writes Le Noüe, "if he had been carried away, there would have ensued change of counsayle; for having lost the hinge whereupon the whole gate was turned they could hardly have found such another: but in the end God sent him health to the great contentation of all men."

By the middle of June, the Huguenots had penetrated into Burgundy. During the eight months which had elapsed since their defeat at Moncontour, they had made a circuit of the greater part of France, almost everywhere with success; and passing over nearly 300 leagues of country, they had gained or recovered fifty principal towns. Paris was now their avowed destination; and that great capital already trembled at the approach of their twice beaten army. The Maréchal de Cossée, with a greatly superior force, lay between them and the object of their march; and in a long and hard-fought skirmish at René le Duc, each party so far learned the vigour of its enemy, as to feel unwilling to renew the combat. A suspension of arms for ten days ensued in consequence; and notwithstanding the zealous remonstrances of the Spanish Ambassador, and the well-known disapprobation of the Pope, a treaty of peace was finally concluded at St. Germain on the 15th of August.*

Pius V. successively addressed each of the leading personages of the French court, through whose influence he felt any hope that he might avert amicable negotiation. Twice he wrote to Charles himself; once to Catherine, urging her to prevent by her maternal care the numerous dangers to which the King was likely to be exposed from wicked counsellors; once to the Duke of Anjou, once to the Cardinal of Bourbon. His last missive was directed to the Cardinal of Lorraine, on the very day before the final signature of the Treaty. This most confidential of the Papal correspondents was exhorted and implored in the name of the Almighty God, as he bore in mind the duty which he owed to Heaven and to the Catholic Faith; as he was conscious of the distinguished fidelity which he had always manifested to both of them, in the most turbulent season by which France had ever been agitated; as he remembered the dignity and importance of the part which he sustained in the Realm; to leave no exertions untried by which he might disturb and overthrow the negotiation. But these artifices by which the pretended Vicar of the God of Peace sought to prolong the continuance of war proved altogether unavailing; and it remained for him to denounce the conclusion of the treaty with a bitterness not less remarkable than the pertinacity with which he had endeavoured to impede its advance. No sooner was the peace signed than his tears were abundantly poured forth for the hazardous compact by which the heretics had succeeded in imposing upon the court terms so nefarious and so destructive. He could not but apprehend that God had abandoned to a reprobate mind the King and his counsellors who had given their assent to it, so that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.

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* At the conclusion of the peace of St. Germain, we lose the important guidance of two very prominent and upright actors in the scenes which they describe, Castelnau and La Noüe.

The chief provisions of the peace of St. Germain were amnesty for the past; restoration of the Roman Catholic faith in all places in which it had been suspended; and permission for the Huguenots to live in every part of the kingdom, unmolested on account of their religion, and free from domiciliary visits, "provided they behaved themselves according to the ordinances of the present edict." The privilege of celebrating public service in their *Chateaux* during the period of their actual residence, was confirmed to lords holding their Fiefs *in capite;* others were permitted to solemnize worship for their families; "yet in case any of their friends should chance to come there to the number of ten, or some Christening should occur in haste, the company not exceeding the same number, they shall not be prosecuted nor troubled for the same." As an especial gratification to his "dear and most beloved aunt," the Queen of Navarre, the King empowered her to have divine service performed, in the presence of as many persons as chose to assist, in one house in each of her Fiefs, even during her absence from it. The suburbs of certain provincial towns, expressly named, were set apart for the exercise of general worship, provided such towns were neither the actual residence of the Court for the time being, nor within two leagues of that residence. In Paris and within ten leagues it was altogether prohibited. The Universities, Schools, and Hospitals were thrown open without regard to difference of religion, and the Huguenots were declared capable of holding all dignities and public offices. Above all, the four important towns, La Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Cognac, were delivered for two years into the custody of the Princes of Navarre and Condé; in order that all of their religion who felt unwilling to dwell elsewhere might if they so pleased fix their abode in those places. The occupation of La Rochelle secured to the Huguenots free intercourse with their English Allies; La Charté commanded the navigation of the Loire; Montauban opened to them a communication with Languedoc; and Cognac was in the heart of Angoumois, a Province in which their friends very greatly predominated.

These terms, notwithstanding many painful and invidious distinctions which they created or retained, were on the whole much more advantageous than the fortune of war had entitled the Huguenots to expect. By many, therefore, they were contemplated with suspicion. The wits of the Court amused themselves by an untranslatable pun bearing reference to the two chief negotiators, and named the peace "lame and ill conditioned." Graver politicians ominously foreboded a speedy renewal of calamity from the hollowness of the reconciliation. The Admiral alone expressed cordial satisfaction. Disgusted by the many atrocities which he had witnessed, by those fearful acts which no strictness of discipline can wholly restrain during the rage of civil contest, he was steadily resolved to close its horrors at any price. He felt strong hopes of directing the King's inclinations to a war with Spain in the Low Countries; and he more than once forcibly declared his willingness to encounter a violent and ignominious death, rather than again to draw the sword against his fellow-countrymen.

The King's marriage with Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II., was celebrated before the close of this year; and a similar contract was proposed between Margaret, the sister of Charles, and Henry Prince of Bearne; a union by which it was affirmed that the conflicting interests of the two religions would be finally reconciled. One pretender to the hand of that Princess was first to be silenced, and the King took a summary mode of extinguishing whatever ambitious hope had been kindled in the bosom of the young Duke of Guise by Margaret's somewhat prodigal encouragement. Indignant at the presumption of a subject in thus aspiring to match with royalty, Charles instructed his bastard brother, Henry d'Angoulême, Grand Prior of France, to assassinate the Duke while engaged on a hunting party; and notwithstanding the hesitation of the instrument which he selected, the crime would probably have been committed but for a seasonable warning which Guise received, and for his equally seasonable haste to disarm his Sovereign's jealousy by an immediate marriage with Catherine of Cleves, widow of the late Prince of Porcean.

Early in the following spring, the VIIth Synod of the Reformed Church of France assembled at La Rochelle. It was the first similar meeting which had received the sanction of royal authority, and it commenced its sittings under the direct protection of the King's Letters Patent. Beza was summoned from Geneva as Moderator; and he was supported among others by Nicolas Des Gallards, a minister in conjunction with whom he is supposed to have written that *Ecclesiastical History* to which our pages have been so largely indebted. By this assembly, the Confession of Faith drawn up at the first Synod in 1589 was recited and confirmed. The teaching of Socinus and his followers in Poland and Transylvania was condemned as a rivival of the false doctrines of "Samosatanus, Arius, Photinus, Nestorius, Eutyches and many others, yea, and of Mahomed himself also;" and the ministers unanimously voted "their detestation of all those abominable errors and heresies." A Committee appointed to examine "the Tables of Cozain" reported that they were to be "condemned, rejected, and detested;" and they were instructed to desire the English bishops "to repress his and the other errors which had begun to be in vogue among them." Beza was "ordered" to answer certain impugners of the Confession of Faith; and little freedom, it seems, was left to the exercise of his discretion as to the fittest mode of obeying this command. He was to employ materials collected by the minister of Bordeaux, and the whole was afterwards "to be communicated to the brethren of Geneva." Some obscurities in the Confession were explained; and a subtle commentary was given on the sense in which "participation of Christ's substance" was predicated, in that article which treated of the Lord's Supper. A vague form of ordination was drawn up by De Chandieu, and ministers were "forbidden to practise physic, or any other calling, trade, or vocation whatsoever."

Never had any Huguenot ecclesiastical meeting been attended by so many distinguished personages as graced this Synod. "There were present," says the report of its acts, "Joane, by the grace of God, Queen of Navarre; the high and mighty Prince Henry, Prince of Navarre; the high and mighty Prince Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé; the most illustrious Prince Louis, Count of Nassau; Sir Gasper Count de Coligny, the Admiral of France, and divers other lords and gentlemen, besides the deputies who were members of the Church of God." A proposition made by the Admiral is distinguished by its gentleness and charity;—that no person when first reported to the Consistory for impropriety of behaviour should be mentioned by name till his miscarriage had been proved. The Queen of Navarre was warned in somewhat imperious language, "not to sell her vacant offices, especially those of judicature; nor to bestow them upon the recommendation of another, without her personal knowledge of their qualifications and abilities who are to discharge them;" and to a question which she proposed, she received an answer manifesting that the Church was animated by a decided spirit of exclusiveness. "The Queen of Navarre having demanded our advice whether through want of others she might with a good conscience receive and establish Roman Catholic Officers in her dominions, as also in her Court and family. To which the Synod humbly replied, that her majesty should take special heed about her domestic officers, and as much as possible to employ persons fearing God, and of the Reformed religion; and that she should cause the Papists who are peaceable, and of unblameable lives, to be instructed, and that she should utterly discard those traitors, who forsook her in her necessities, and cruelly persecuted God's saints in these last troubles."

The events occupying the two years which succeeded the peace of St. Germain have been scrutinized with a keenness of research not exceeded by that applied to any other period of history. Pure zeal for religion, a sober love of truth, the blindness and bigotry of partizanship, and that natural curiosity which is always more or less excited by difference of opinion, have each by turns addressed themselves to the inquiry; and it would be difficult indeed to present the reader with any facts which have not before seen the light, or to offer him any arguments by which the deductions obtained from those facts have not already been supported. It will be enough if we can hope to frame our narrative with accuracy; and if, while we show that which appears to us to be the incontrovertible result of the evidence before us, we can succeed in guarding ourselves from the opposite errors either of extenuation or exaggeration. In entering upon any less well-known and less beaten story, it would be a just rule of composition not to anticipate the catastrophe by premature allusions; not to place our goal full in sight at the commencement, as the point of direct view which closes a long perspective. But, in the present instance, such concealment is wholly impracticable. Were it attempted, the reader's impatient acquaintance with facts would outrun the writer's sedate artifice; every eye which glances but for a moment at the names of Catherine de Medicis and of Charles IX. associates them at once with the fiend-like deeds of St. Bartholomew; and there would be little good taste in affecting to dissemble our necessary and unavoidable knowledge of that association.

If we look to the former transactions of the reign of Charles, we shall everywhere observe, during the short intervals of peace which served but as breathing times for the renewal of more fierce hostility, numerous breaches of fidelity on the part of the government which it was not thought worth while either to conceal or to excuse. It is needless to repeat the many instances with which our pages have abounded, of bitter insults, of sickening cruelties, of judicial murders, of secret assassinations, suffered by the followers of the proscribed doctrines; of the violences openly perpetrated; of the redress haughtily and contemptuously denied. War was to them comparatively a season of relief; for they were then prepared for danger, and in many instances were fully able to resist it. But during nominal peace, the destroyer approached them stealthily and unexpectedly; and the sword was sheathed only that the victims might be put under saws, and under harrows, and under axes of iron. On a sudden, however, we shall perceive this policy altogether changed; the government appeared actuated by a new spirit and a new soul; its tokens of hatred were transformed into unmeasured prodigality of affection; its most hidden counsels were seemingly communicated to those against whom it had breathed the uttermost vengeance; the chiefs so lately abhorred were courted, honoured, and preferred; and the great mass of their followers, whose extermination had been so often not only menaced but attempted, was protected by authority, and encouraged to resort to the shield of law.

This revolution of feeling in the Court was greatly in advance, however, of the spirit which prevailed among the people at large; and the Roman Catholic rabble of Paris, who early manifested that their opinions remained unaltered, were severely taught that they must accommodate them to those notions which it now suited their rulers to adopt. About three years before the time of which we are treating, Gastines, an opulent and distinguished merchant in the capital, unblamed in life and an object of general attachment, had been accused of celebrating divine service and the Lord's Supper by night, in his own house, in contravention of the royal edict. The denouncement involved his brother also and another intimate family connection, as being present at this forbidden worship; and the sentence passed upon them all was death and confiscation. Gastines, venerable from his years, his demeanour, and his benevolence, was regarded with universal pity and affection. His character had endeared him to every class of his fellow-citizens; it was more than suspected that bribery had been employed among his judges by a notorious tool of the Cardinal of Lorraine; and it was not without manifestations of popular discontent, that an offence in all preceding instances expiated by fine and banishment, was now to be punished on the scaffold. But the authorities refused mitigation of their decree, and the prisoners were executed. Yet farther, perhaps in consequence of the unwelcome expression of public disapprobation, the house of the chief culprit, in which the Huguenot meetings had been assembled, was razed to the ground; and as a perpetual mark of ignominy, a monument, named the Cross of Gastines, built on the spot from the produce of the sale of his property, bore inscribed upon it his sentence of condemnation. By the first clause of the Treaty of St. Germain, a general amnesty had been declared; and that provision included the annulment of all criminal decrees and judgments issued on religious accounts during the late troubles; the restoration of their confiscated property to the sufferers; and the suppression of all records and monuments which might prevent oblivion of the past. No act so important as the demolition of the Cross of Gastines had hitherto been demanded by the Huguenots in compliance with this stipulation; but, when demanded, it was not refused. As a compromise, however, and to avoid any breach of the peace which might arise from the presence of a tumultuous mob in a crowded city, it was agreed that the removal should take place by night, and that the monument should be re-erected in the neighbouring cemetery of St. Innocent's, after the obliteration of the offensive inscription and the substitution of another in honour of the holy cross. But it was little likely that a work of so great magnitude, requiring the labour of many hours, could pass unobserved. A few straggling spectators gathered on the spot in the first instance; and as their numbers increased, the indulgence shown to the Huguenots was vehemently and angrily discussed. Fierce words were the prelude to fiercer acts; and the mob, procuring arms, attacked and pillaged some houses belonging to the Reformed, and killed a servant who offered resistance. Montmorency, the Governor of Paris, hastened to repress the tumult; some of the more prominent ringleaders were cut down by his followers, and one of the very lowest class, whom it has been thought worth while to specify as a vender of oranges, was summarily hanged from the window of a neighbouring house. This vigorous demonstration of power struck terror into the other rioters, who speedily dispersed; and it was received with marked joy by the Huguenots, who concluded that their security was an object of solicitude to the police. How far their deduction was correct remains to be perceived hereafter.

CHAPTER X.

Projected marriage between Henry of Bearne and the Princess Margaret—Assassination of Lignerolles—The Admiral comes to Court—Pius V. endeavours to break off the match—Mission of the Cardinal Legate Alessandrino—Examination of the words used to him by Charles IX.—Death of Pius V.—VIIIth National Synod—Letter of the Queen of Navarre to her son—She proceeds to Paris—Her death and character—Henry assumes the title of King of Navarre—The Admiral disregards all warnings—His arrival in Paris—Fraud respecting the Dispensation—The Marriage—Festivities succeeding it—The Admiral is wounded—Maurevel the Assassin—The King visits the Admiral—State of the Huguenots on the night before the Feast of St. Bartholomew.

The Marriage of the Prince of Bearne with the Princess Margaret formed the subject of an express mission to La Rochelle, and the Maréchal de Biron was despatched to invite the Queen of Navarre and her son to the royal presence, and to urge the projected nuptials as the surest pledge of sincere reconciliation. The envoy was instructed to represent, as from himself, that the conclusion of this alliance would effectually destroy the slight remaining influences of the Guises, who were already on the eve of quitting Court. He added, that a refusal might leave evil impressions on the mind of the King, who was negotiating with Rome for the dispensation requisite both on account of consanguinity and of difference of religion. The Pope as yet hesitated; but if other matters were previously arranged between the contracting parties, which could only be done by word of mouth, little doubt remained but that his Holiness would gratify the King's desire. In this assertion Biron went far beyond the truth. Pius, to his last moments, obstinately persisted in refusal; and on one occasion, as we are told by his secretary and biographer, placed his left hand, the hand he always used, on his throat, and fervently declared that he would lose his head rather than grant the dispensation. The Queen of Navarre returned her thanks with all due gratitude for the proffered honour; but she considered the proposal too weighty not to require farther time for deliberation. Such a connection, she said, was doubtless to be coveted, both on account of the distinction and of the advantage which it conferred; nevertheless, some hesitation could not but arise from the nearness of blood and the opposition of faith between the principals. If, after consulting her divines, she found that she could proceed with a safe conscience, she would then most willingly assent to any conditions which the King and the Queen, his Mother, might propose.

The Court passed the summer at Blois, frequently repeating, without effect, the invitation to the Queen of Navarre, her son, and the young Prince of Condé. In the autumn it proceeded to Bourgueil, in Touraine; where stood one of the many delicious palaces which Catherine's Italian taste for magnificent architecture had constructed at a boundless expense. That visit was clouded by a dark event never yet fully explained; but which contemporary suspicion connected with the latter and far more bloody occurrences. The Count de Lignerolles, a confidential favourite of the Duke of Anjou, and one of the chief officers in his household, was assassinated at mid-day, in the Town Hall, by a band of the leading courtiers; among whom were especially noted the Vicomte de la Guerche, a personal enemy, and Henri D'Angoulême, the King's bastard brother. The rank of the assassins, the publicity of their deed, and the ultimate impunity with which it was attended, left not a doubt that it had been perpetrated by high command; and various motives were assigned for the crime. By some it was attributed to the King's jealousy in a love affair, but the habits of Charles render that conjecture improbable. Others whispered that an important secret, known to few but the royal brothers, had been confided by the Duke of Anjou to his friend; and that Lignerolles, indiscreetly betraying his acquaintance with it to the King's ears, had atoned, by the forfeiture of life, for his idle vanity.[*]

Undisturbed by this murder, however, the royal circle continued its diversions; and the Admiral, less cautious than the Queen of Navarre, repaired to Court, and was received with distinguished honours. He was permitted to entertain a private bodyguard of fifty men, even within the verge of the palace; the King restored him to his seat in Council; presented him with a largess of 100,000 crowns, as an indemnity for his losses in the past troubles; addressed him as cousin; and added a few words, the ambiguous sense of which must have afforded no slight inward triumph to this most consummate dissembler. "Now that we have once got you by our side, you shall not hereafter quit it hastily nor at your pleasure." But the lure had been spread for a larger quarry than it had as yet attracted; the Admiral, singly, was an insufficient prize; and, after a short visit, during which the war in Flanders was studiously made the principal subject of discussion, he was permitted to return to his estate of Châtillon.

It is probable that the marked attentions thus offered to the Admiral, called forth an indirect remonstrance, which Pius V. addressed to Catherine before the close of this year. While exciting her to activity in behalf of the English Romanists, he pointed out the former declaration which Elizabeth, "that worst of queens," had promulgated in favour of Coligny and the Huguenots. He warned her that the French pretended Reformed, notwithstanding the existing appearance of peace, still held perpetual communication with England; that they were collecting treasure by pillage and piracies from the Catholics;[†] and that, perhaps, a conspiracy was at that moment ripening in the very beart of her kingdom. Charles also received a despatch, in which, among other matters, he was strongly urged to break off the treaty of marriage in progress between his sister and the Prince of Bearne. "Grieved am I," wrote the Pontiff, "that their nuptials are so pressingly advanced, under an empty hope that the Prince may become reconciled to the Catholic Church through the persuasion of his bride; when it is rather to be feared, on the other hand, that she may be perverted through her unbelieving husband. Her salvation, indeed, is exposed to hazard; for even if she should still wish to live as a Catholic, what peace, what repose can she expect with a heretic spouse? By conforming to his errors she may, perhaps, obtain a brief and delusive tranquility during the present miserable life; but it will be purchased at the price of eternal damnation hereafter, and of interminable torments in hell."

In order powerfully to awaken these convictions in the bosom of the French King, the Cardinal Alessandrino, Legate in Spain and Portugal, was instructed to proceed to Blois; and during a conference held after his arrival, a memorable declaration fell from the lips of Charles, which affords conclusive evidence as to the preconcertment of the ensuing massacre. "You may assure his Holiness," said the King, "as the event will prove, that my only object in concluding this marriage is to avenge myself on God's enemies, and to chastise those great rebels." No strength can be added to the deductions recently made from this most important fact, by one whose deep and overflowing knowledge of history, and whose acuteness in the examination of conflicting testimony, qualify him beyond all others for the task which he has performed. It may perhaps, however, have been too easily admitted that De Thou "disbelieved" the story. No expression so strong as that of *unbelief*, is, we think, to be found in the pages of that great Historian. He tells us, indeed, that Italian writers are fond of vexatious refinements; and then, on the authority of some of those writers, (one of whom, Catena, he specifies by name,) he relates the anecdote which we are about to give below, without at all delivering his own opinion as to its credibility. But when De Thou wrote, the irrefragable evidence of D'Ossat, which we shall by and by subjoin, had not been published.

Catena was secretary to Cardinal Alessandrino, and afterwards to Sixtus V. He published, in 1587, both at Rome and at Mantua, a Life of Pius V., professedly composed from oral communications with that Pope, and from the numerous state papers to which the author had ready access in consequence of his office. In that work he informs us, that when the Cardinal Alessandrino, during his mission to Blois, had advanced objections to the contemplated marriage, the King replied by an assurance, that upon that marriage the public peace was altogether suspended; and that when pressed to explain himself farther, he continued in the words which we have given above. The same anecdote had been told as a matter of triumphant boasting yet earlier, by Camillo Capilupi, nephew of a cardinal of that name, who wrote at Rome an apology for the St. Bartholomew, within a month after its occurrence. The work was submitted to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and received his approbation, but was suppressed for a time as not agreeing with the representations of the massacre which the Court of France *ultimately* determined to circulate.

Never has any morsel of secret history received confirmation so remarkable and so incontestable as has fallen to the lot of this most damnatory fact. Seven and twenty years had elapsed since the massacre, when the Cardinal D'Ossat, the most sagacious diplomatist of his time, was engaged in negotiating with the court of Rome respecting the dissolution of marriage with Henry IV., for which Margaret of Valois had applied. In a conversation on that affair with Pope Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini) the latter stated that he himself, having been auditor to Cardinal Alessandrino and in personal attendance upon him at Blois, was well acquainted with the occurrences during that mission. It was universally known, he said, that Margaret was most reluctant to the match, and that she was sacrificed in order to forward her brother's political designs; and he added, that after frequent discussions, the King, on one occasion, taking Alessandrino by the hand, had addressed him thus: "My Lord Cardinal, all you have said is true, and I admit it to be so; and I am grateful both to the Pope and to you. If I had any other means of avenging myself on my enemies, I would not conclude this marriage; but in fact I have not any other means." Aldobrandini, deeply struck by these words, committed them to writing at the moment; and he told D'Ossat that he could still find the memorandum among Alessandrino's papers. He added also, that when the Cardinal, on his return to Italy, first received intelligence of the St. Bartholomew, he exclaimed, "God be praised! The King of France has kept his promise to me." D'Ossat, upon reporting this conversation with Clement VIII. to some of his friends in the sacred college, learned that the same fact had already been stated to them by the Holy Father himself in an early stage of the pending discussion; and thus fortified by the authority of the Pontiff, the Ambassador employed the communication, in the written argument upon the divorce of the Queen which he delivered before the conclave.

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[*] De Thou, l. 14.; where he states many conflicting opinions concerning the fatal secret. Some fully believed it to relate to the subsequent massacre; other Huguenots about court, "as I have heard from their own mouths," adds De Thou, "did not think that Charles at that time contemplated the massacre." A little onward (li. 9.) he remarks, that although Charles himself at time might not be fully informed of the bloody design, it was believed to have been long meditated by Catherine, the Duke of Anjou, and their confidants. He farther notices a fact which greatly tends to inculpate Charles. A wooden tower was constructed opposite the Louvre, avowedly that its mimic siege might form part of the diversions at the marriage of Henry and Margaret. It was suddenly pulled down; and the story ran that the King of Navarre and the chief Huguenots, arrayed as assailants of the mock fortress, were to have been killed by an *accidental* discharge of ball-cartridges from its battlements; that Lignerolles betrayed his privity to that design; and that the King, in order to silence suspicion, murdered the indiscreet courtier and destroyed the tower. The same story is related at much length in the *Mémoires d'Estat*, i. 44.

[†] The fleet of the Prince of Orange, which harassed the Spanish and Portuguese commerce, was allowed to ride undisturbed in the vincinity of La Rochelle, which became a mart for its prizes.

That the words which Clement VIII. repeated were almost, if not altogether, the very words employed by Charles, the carefulness with which the Pope had recorded them in writing, warrants us fully to believe. Their variation from those attributed to the King by Capilupi and by Cateno, is in letter only, not in spirit; there is sufficient diversity to remove all suspicion of a common understanding for the propagation of imposture; sufficient agreement to corroborate the general truth of each separate writer. The expressions are too precise to have been used without a definite meaning; and if "the only inference" to be drawn from them is that Clement believed Charles to have "compelled the marriage under the expectation that it would give him the superiority, and allow him to punish those whom he considered as obstinate rebels;" if "this," as has been stated, "is all," Clement's measure of "punishment" and estimate of "superiority" must have been gigantic indeed! "Vengeance" is a somewhat strong term for political ascendancy; it was *vengeance* which Charles promised, and it was by the massacre of St. Bartholomew that Clement acknowledged the promise to be fulfilled.

The sickness of his Uncle the Pope recalled the Cardinal Alessandrino to Rome, where he arrived a few weeks before the decease of Pius. The election of a successor was too rapid to admit of the presence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who hastened to attend the conclave; but he nevertheless proceeded onward to the Vatican, in order that he might communicate the secret intentions of the French cabinet to the new Pontiff, Gregory XIII. The known object of the Legate's recent mission to Blois had deterred the Queen of Navarre, (whose consent to the marriage of her son had now been obtained,) from appearing at court till after the Cardinal's departure. The King received her with tokens of esteem and attachment; affected to speak insultingly of the "Monk" who had endeavoured to prevent the marriage, and whom he had treated as his impudence deserved; and assured her "that he was about to give his sister, not to the Prince of Navarre singly, but to all the Huguenots collectively; in order that they might receive her as a bride, and lay aside every doubt as to the immutable firmness of his edicts." Here again, the hypocrite was precise in his choice of words; and carefully weighed the mixture of truth with which he "dashed and brewed" his duplicity. The Queen's retinue was splendid; she was accompanied by the Prince of Condé, by Louis of Nassau, by the Count de la Rochefaucault, and a large train of Huguenot nobility; and when she proceeded to the capital to arrange the final preparations for the approaching nuptials, she took up her residence in the palace of Guillart, ex-bishop of Chartres, who, having openly embraced the Reformed religion, had been degraded at Rome.

Even if the connection about to be formed by their *Protector* was disapproved by the Huguenot church, its ministers discreetly abstained from any public expression of their dissent. In their VIIIth synod, held at Nismes on the 6th of May, we find an incidental order that "letters should be written unto her Majesty, the Queen of Navarre, and to his Highness the Prince her son;" and it is probable, although it is not so stated, that those letters were either monitory or congratulatory. The other proceedings of the Synod were yet more than usually meagre. According to custom, a few troublesome matrimonial regulations were submitted to discussion; and a singular indulgence, as it seems to have been considered, was granted to doctors and professors of divinity. The question asked was, whether such persons "were not bound by the XVIIIth canon of our discipline to put away their wives if guilty of adultery, or else to be deprived of their professorships in our schools and churches?" Unto which there was this answer returned, "That that canon did purely relate unto pastors, not unto professors; nor is there a parity of reason for the one as for the other. Ministers being public officers in the whole church, are to be exemplary in their persons and families for holiness, and therefore must not receive again an adulterous wife into their bosoms, which would be a scandal to the church. Moreover, Professors of divinity are not to reprove and correct as pastors are; so that they may, if they please, pass by the wickedness of their wives, and notwithstanding their adultery, enjoy their professor's place among us, and not be deposed from it." A denunciation of theatrical amusements was annexed also to the articles of discipline. "It shall not be lawful for the faithful to be present at stage-plays, comedies, tragedies, or farces, whether they be acted publicly or privately; because they have ever been condemned by God's ancient churches for corrupting of good manners; especially when as the Holy Scripture shall be profaned by them. But if a college judge it meet for their youth to represent any history not comprised in the Sacred Scriptures (which was never given us for our sport and pastime, but to be preached for our conversion and comfort) and provided this be done very seldom, and by the advice of the colloquy, which shall first peruse the composition, it shall be tolerated."

The dark interior of the French Court at this moment, its gross moral and political corruption, its fraudulence, its intrigues, and the just apprehensions which the Queen of Navarre entertained of the result of her pending negotiation, are vividly pictured in a letter addressed to Henry before she quitted Blois, March 8th. The young Prince had not accompanied his royal mother on her journey; and he was not likely to augur favourably of his future matrimonial happiness from the representations which she transmitted to him. After describing in language of more than ordinary strength the great "travail and extremity" which she endured from her present undertaking, she told him that it was conducted in a manner altogether contrary to her expectations and to the promises with which she had been amused; that she was never allowed to converse privately with either the King or the Princess Margaret, but that the Queen Mother, who was all in all, used her very scurvily. That the Duke of Anjou affected great intimacy with her, half bantering, as was his way, and half dissembling. The Princess was to be seen only in the Queen's apartments, the most unfit place in the world, or else in her own chamber, at inconvenient hours, and in the presence of a Governante; that in conversation she exhibited great reserve, mingled with general expressions of obedience and reverence both to her future mother and husband, in case they should ever assume those relations.

"Two or three times," continued this upright and noble-minded lady, "I have complained of this treatment to the Queen Mother, but she did nothing but rally me; and behind my back she makes me say quite the reverse of the real words with which I address her. I have been blamed by my friends for some speeches which in fact I never uttered; but how to give the lie to the Queen I really know not; for when I tell her that people report that I have said so and so, although these reports proceed from herself, she denies them as she would do a murder, and laughs in my face. My usage, indeed, demands more than the patience of Griselda. — — —. When I have done with the Queen, I have to talk with a crowd of Huguenots, who surround me more as spies than as assistants; and some of them are leading men with whom I must either converse or quarrel. As for others who are not less troublesome, but are a sort of religious hermaphrodites, I keep from them as much as possible. I cannot say I am without counsellors, for every body gives me advice; although no two of them agree together."

She then expressed a wish for the arrival of her Chancellor and some discreet ministers for whom she had sent; and almost prophetically anticipated sickness from the mental agitation by which her health was even at that time affected. She described the Princess as handsome, sensible, and genteel, but bred up in the most wicked and corrupt society in the world, by the contagion of which every one was tainted. Bad as she had thought the Court, she had found it much worse in reality; and grieved and shocked was she to add, that not the men, but the women, were the first tempters. "My son," she concluded, "you have rightly judged from my former letters, that their great endeavour is to separate you from me and from God; and this new account will corroborate your opinion, and show you the anxiety which I am enduring for your sake. Pray earnestly to God, whose assistance you need at all times, but especially at the present. And I too will add my fervent prayer that he will grant you all your just desires." In a short postscript, she mentioned that at length she had found an opportunity of conversing with the Princess, who had expressed herself somewhat absolutely on religion; affirming that she was much attached to the Romish faith, as those who had proposed the match very well knew. The Queen of Navarre replied, that she had been told otherwise, insomuch that she had been led to believe there was some inclination towards Protestantism. Then drawing a just conclusion from all this juggling, she added, "I have never seen her so peremptory before, and I do believe that she speaks just what she is tutored to say, and that all we have been informed concerning her favourable view of our faith, has been invented only to entrap us!"

Within three weeks after her arrival in Paris, this great, wise, and virtuous woman was no more. Her death was attributed by some to a fever, by others to poison. Those who held the latter opinion named Catherine as the authoress of the crime; her perfumer, René[*] of Milan, as the agent; and a pair of medicated gloves as the instrument. The body, on being opened, exhibited an abscess in the lungs, which the Physicians recorded as the proximate cause of death; but it is added by De Thou, that, notwithstanding the King's express orders, they forbore from examining the head, the only part which, if foul play had really occurred, would have given conclusive evidence of the crime. The Queen of Navarre died at a critical moment, and the suspicion that her days were unduly shortened, is unhappily not rebutted by the character of any one of those to whom her decease proved advantageous. Catherine herself appears to have been perplexed by her sagacity, "How shall I read this Queen?" she one day asked Tavannes. "Madam," replied that keen observer of human nature, "both of you are women; put her in a passion and keep your own temper." By her constant and familiar access to the Court circle, she might have made discoveries unfavourable to the embryo plot; and if *open* violence were hereafter attempted against her, it would not easily find an apology deserving of credit. It cannot be doubted that it was designed to throw the odium of the Admiral's murder upon the acknowledged enmity borne against him by the Guises; but as no similar excuse could gloss over the assassination of the Queen of Navarre, it was necessary that her removal should be secret.

Jeanne, daughter of Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, and of Margaret of Valois, sister of Francis I. possessed moral and intellectual excellences, which in any age would have entitled her to distinction; but which stand out in singular and most prominent contrast with the habits of those evil times upon which it was her lot to be cast. She was not only a patroness of letters, but was herself also skilled in literature. Latin and Spanish were among the tongues which she spoke fluently, and her pen, whenever she had occasion to employ it, was that of a ready writer. Her Court was ever open to men of learning, whose talents she more especially directed into holy channels. Having early embraced the Reformed religion, she spared no pains to establish it in her dominions. By her zeal and energy, the Patois of Biscay, a language before unwritten, and scarcely understood beyond the immediate limits of the province in which it was spoken, became a vehicle in which sacred truths were conveyed to her subjects; and the versions of the New Testament, and of the Genevan catechism and prayers, printed under her orders at La Rochelle, are ever-during monuments of her wisdom and her piety. Her more than female courage has been often evinced in the course of the preceding narrative; and one other example of it, although not immediately arising out of our story, is too remarkable to be passed in silence. Her first two children by Antony of Bourbon died in infancy; and as the time of her delivery of Henry of Bearne and Navarre approached, the King her father promised that he would gratify a wish she had often expressed, and submit his Will to her perusal, provided she would sing during the pangs of travail. "I would not have you bear a crabbed-tempered whimperer," was the reason which the old man assigned for this unusual request. Her labour was severe; nevertheless, when she heard her father's step entering the chamber, she mastered every feeling of pain, and raising her voice commenced and finished a Bearnese Hymn to the Virgin, well adapted to her condition;

Noste Donne deou cap deou pon
Adjouda me en aqueste houre! &c.[†]

The boy, as if partaking of his mother's noble spirit, is said not to have cried at the moment of his birth; and the grandfather, claiming him as his own, wrapped him in his cloak, and rubbed his lips with wine and a clove of garlic; an infallible receipt, as the gossips taught, for producing manliness and vigour of constitution.

The Queen of Navarre died in her forty-fourth year: and the provisions in the Will made on her death-bed, amply evinced the constancy of her attachment to that church, of which during life she had ever shown herself the nursing mother. She exhorted her son to abide unshaken in the faith which he had been taught; to shun the vices and disorders of the Court, and to preserve with exactitude the religious laws and constitutions which she had framed for his subjects. She entreated him to cherish his sister with gentleness and affection; to watch over her education in the Reformed principles; and, at a fitting age, to espouse her to some Protestant Prince of a rank equal to her own; and lastly, although perhaps with slender confidence that her request would be granted, she besought the King, the Queen Mother, and the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon to receive the Prince and Princess, her children, under their protection, and to secure to them the free exercise of their religion.

On the death of his mother, Henry assumed the title of King of Navarre; and the arrangements for his marriage proceeded rapidly. The Duke of Guise had quitted Court some time before, in seeming disgust at the confidence which the King reposed in the Admiral. The Cardinal of Lorraine still continued at Rome, under the pretext of soliciting the Papal Dispensation; and it appeared as if the palace had been cleared of the chief members of the hostile faction, expressly for the reception of the Huguenots, now basking in royal favour. During the absence of the Admiral, Charles maintained a correspondence with him by letter; and he wrote in terms of great affection and earnestness, representing that the marriage was fixed for the middle of August, and that however brilliant would be the company assembled at its solemnization, Coligny's attendance was indispensable to render the festivity complete. Although, the Huguenots, for the most part, eagerly surrendered themselves to a willing belief in these fair appearances, and dismissed with too little discretion all misgiving of the sincerity of the Court, there were still some among them in whom the marks of attachment, thus ostentatiously lavished on their chiefs, awakened suspicion; and notwithstanding the caution exercised by their enemies, signs were not wanting which corroborated this jealousy. An order was issued in Paris commanding every stranger, on pain of death, to quit the city and its suburbs, in four and twenty hours after a fixed day, unless he were engaged in necessary business, or attached to the suite of some personage in attendance upon the Court. Extraordinary pains were taken to give publicity to this remarkable mandate; it was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet for three days successively; and it was read weekly in the churches before the celebration of Mass. The King's Bodyguard also was strengthened by a reinforcement of four thousand picked men. When the attention of Coligny was forcibly drawn by some of his confidential friends to these unusual measures, and it was argued that the exclusion from the capital of all who were not under the immediate *surveillance* of the Government, and the occupation of it by so large a military force, proved the existence of some ulterior and sinister design, he treated their conjectures lightly, and reproached them with entertaining thoughts injurious to the paternal care of the authorities, who were, in truth, carefully providing for public tranquillity during a season of popular license.

Five years before, when after the Peace of 1567, the King had, in like manner, urged Coligny to present himself at Court, he wisely avoided the snare; by answering that France should not supply an Egmont or a Horn—the unhappy victims of Spanish faithlessness and despotism, whose bloody fate was still fresh in remembrance. The remark of Pasquier, who furnishes this anecdote, in spite of some tinge of fatalism, is distinguished by a degree of sagacity which might almost persuade us that it was written *after*, rather than *before* the catastrophe to which it must now be referred; yet nothing is more certain than that it belongs to a familiar epistolary correspondence at the moment of the Admiral's refusal. "When our hour is not yet come, God permits us to be discreet and on our guard against the pitfalls which beset us; but when it *is* come, we ourselves, of our own accord, so carelessly encounter perils, that we outrun the hopes of the very traitors who are compassing our destruction."

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[*] The greater portion of sudden deaths among the leading personages of the time was attributed to Maitre René, who was considered the official Court-Poisoner, and of whom it has been somewhat naively observed, that it is scarcely possible to believe *all* the murders in which he was said to be concerned; but that if he had committed only a quarter of them he was a most consummate villain.—Note on the *Discours merveilleux de Catherine de Medicis; Journal d'Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 337.

[†] Our Lady at the bridge's end
Help in this hour of trouble send.

That much apprehension existed at this season in places remote from the capital, and that it had extended itself even to the inferior classes, is plain from an incident which Pierre l'Estoile relates on the authority of an eye-witness. When the Admiral was preparing to quit Châtillon, a peasant woman belonging to his estate seized his stirrup as he was in the act of mounting his horse; and clasping his knees, besought him with prayers and tears not to put his design in execution. "Ah, my good master!" were her impassioned words, "never again shall we see you if you go to Paris;—you, and all those who accompany you, will assuredly die. If you have no regard for yourself, at least have pity upon Madame and your children, and the many people of consideration who will perish on your account!" Coligny, gently disengaging himself, remonstrated against the indiscretion of his monitress; but unchecked by his rebuke, she threw herself at the feet of the Lady of Châtillon, and importunately renewed her suit, "If he goes to Paris, he will never return, and he will occasion the death of more than ten thousand others!"

Nor were these friendly warnings discontinued on Coligny's arrival in Paris. Among other papers, an elaborate letter was placed in his hands reminding him of the decree, now admitted as a general maxim by the Romanists, that faith was not to be kept with heretics; that the remembrance of former hostility might be smothered, but could not be extinguished; that the Queen Mother, a foreigner, an Italian, a Florentine, and of Papal extraction, was gifted with both natural and hereditary powers of dissimulation, and never relaxed from her fixed purpose of vengeance upon those whom she once hated; that the King, from his tenderest youth, had been nurtured in her school; that blasphemy, execration, and perjury, had formed systematic parts of his education; that he had been habituated to perfidy, even from his mother's breast; that a naturally ferocious disposition had been encouraged by addictions to cruel pastimes, in which his chief delight was to imbrue his hands in the blood of unoffending animals; and that pains had been taken to saturate him with the Mochiavellian doctrine, that no religion but that professed by the Government should be tolerated in any well-arranged polity. These and many similar arguments were read by Coligny not without some tokens of indignation. He professed implicit confidence in the promises of his Sovereign; and declared that so many years of his long life had been harassed by alarms, that now he would rather be dragged by a hook through the streets of Paris than have recourse again to civil war for his protection. That the King was the best King with whom France had been blessed for centuries; the Duke of Anjou indeed might not be so well inclined to the Huguenots; but that even *his* hostility would cease when the interests of the opposing parties had once become cemented by the completion of the approaching marriage. His personal safety he felt to be guaranteed by the Royal word; since the King had demanded that himself and the Duke of Guise (who had now returned to Court, and who was the only enemy from whom he could apprehend outrage,) should mutually pledge themselves that for the future they would consider all past wrongs as obliterated. Then expressing his confident hope, that Charles having established peace at home, would direct his arms against Spain in the Netherlands (the lure which had been most successful to ensnare him,) he entreated his friends to discard these unjust suspicions; and to join with himself in earnest prayer to God that he would bring to conclusion an arrangement thus happily commenced for the prosperity both of the kingdom and of the church.

Similar attempts to inspire the King of Navarre with suspicion were equally unsuccessful, and at the commencement of August he also arrived in Paris, where he was either awaited or joined by the noblest members of his religion. We read of only two personages whose better stars or keener judgment withdrew them, in good season, from danger. Francis Montmorency had just returned from an embassy to England, and under the plea of illness after his voyage, he retired to Chantillon, leaving his three brothers at Court. Of the motive which induced the absence of the Sieur de Langoiran we have greater certainty; he told the Admiral at parting, that he did not like so much caressing, and that he had rather save his life with fools, than lose it with the wise.

All things were now ready for the marriage, with the exception of the most important preliminary, the Papal Dispensation; and Charles was well aware, by despatches from his Ambassador at Rome, that this Instrument would never be granted unless on terms which the King of Navarre would peremptorily refuse. At first he swore roundly that he would dispense by his own power with all laws affirmed either by the Pope or by Religion, and that in case of difficulty, he would himself perform the Marriage. In the end, however, in order to silence any scruples which the Cardinal of Bourbon might feel in solemnizing the nuptials without the Bull, the King exhibited a forged Letter from his Envoy, notifying that the Pope had accorded the desired permission which would be speedily forwarded in due form. That Catherine was privy to this singular imposture can be little doubted; but Charles claimed merit with the Admiral, to whom he communicated the fraud, for having deceived his mother and sister as well as the Cardinal; and he adduced it as evidence of the great interest which he felt in the welfare of the Huguenots.

On the 18th of August, the Royal Cortège escorted the bride with great pomp to the Choir of St. Denis, where the bridegroom, attended by a magnificent retinue, led her to the high altar, and withdrew during the performance of mass. The marriage service was then read, according to a form mutually approved, on a lofty scaffolding raised before the portal of the Cathedral in the full view of the populace; and Davila informs us that the bride exhibited a petulent disgust sufficiently portending future nuptial happiness. When asked if she accepted Henry as her husband, she obstinately refused to answer. Not a word could be extorted from her lips; and Charles at length placing his hand at the back of her head bowed it forward in token of assent. De Thou, at that time a youth studying the law, gained admission into the Choir, immediately after the ceremony, and fixed his gaze with eagerness upon the Admiral, who was conversing with the Maréchal de Damville. The former, after regarding some banners suspended in the Church, sad memorials to his eyes of the defeats at Bassac and Moncontour, expressed a hope that they would soon be replaced by more grateful trophies. The dream of war with Spain in the Netherlands, so long and ardently cherished, and now so confidently believed to be near its completion, was doubtless present to the veteran's imagination as he spoke; and when we call to mind the events which a few more hours were to bring forth, the anecdote is among the most striking and dramatic which distinguish that memorable time. The words of the Admiral were eagerly caught by other ears besides those of De Thou; and they were afterwards tortured by political rancour into an allusion to an intended renewal of civil conflict. Such a thought, it may be safely averred, was the last which would be entertained by Coligny in his present temper and circumstances; and assuredly if it had been entertained, it was the last to which he would have given a loose and incautious utterance.

August 20th.—The festivities in honour of the marriage were continued during the week which followed its solemnization, and in one of the spectacles, a masque exhibited in the Bourbon palace near the Louvre, it seems as if the Court intended to allegorise in grim sportiveness its unrelenting enmity against the Huguenots, at the very moment in which it was preparing to enact in reality unprecedented deeds of horror. On the right of the stage erected on this occasion, was represented Paradise guarded by the three royal brothers armed in complete mail; and by a confusion of Christian with Mythological images not unusual at the time, the Elysian fields were painted as its back-ground. A verdant garden, enamelled with various flowers, formed the abode of the blessed: and it revolved on a huge wheel, representing the Empyréan, in which the twelve signs, the seven planets, and unnumbered smaller stars, were illuminated by lamps and flambeaux disposed with much art behind. Twelve nymphs in rich attire reposed in these happy bowers. A river, on which Charon navigated his bark, formed the boundary of Elysium, and separated it from Tartarus, which occupied the left division of the stage. There also was a wheel, hoarsely clanging with innumerable bells, as it moved round; and the fiery realms were abundantly stocked with Devils and devilings, playing antic gambols, and uttering discordant noises. Scattered about were many troops of Knights errant, headed by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and other great lords, who made an assault upon Elysium in order to obtain the company of its nymphs; and who having broken their lances against its guardians, were driven back by sword-strokes into the abyss of Tartarus. The victorious brothers were then poetically addressed by Mercury and Cupid, who descended from the clouds for that purpose; and a dance with the nymphs succeeded in reward of their valour. More than an hour passed in various choric exhibitions of grace and agility, to the great contentment of the beholders; after which the gates of Tartarus were unbarred, and the prisoners being released, once again shivered their lances and fought in melée. As a finale, a train of fireworks exploded round a fountain in the centre of the stage, very much to the surprise, and perhaps somewhat to the confusion of the assembled company. "Such," adds one of the narrators, who probably was an eye-witness, "was the pastime of that day, from which you may well conjecture what were the thoughts of the King and of his secret Council amid these counterfeitings."

Meantime a strong additional body of troops advanced towards Paris; and in order to prevent any suspicion which might arise from their entrance into the capital, the King artfully stated to Coligny that he was by no means satisfied that the Duke of Guise was sincere in his promise of reconciliation. "Father"—such was the endearing title with which the arch-dissembler addressed the confiding veteran—"Father, upon *your* word I rely with implicit confidence, but not so upon that of the Guises. I know their pride, their desire of revenge and their ambition, and moreover how much they have courted and obtained popularity in this great city. Grieved indeed should I be if any trouble were to result to you from the powerful retinue of armed men which they have brought with them under pretext of swelling the pomp of these nuptials; for an injury to you would be felt by me as if offered to myself. With your privity and consent, therefore, I shall gladly quarter a regiment of my own guards within the walls, who may secure the public peace, and be at hand on the slightest appearance of tumult." He concluded by naming certain officers as commanders, whom he knew to be acceptable to Coligny. This smooth representation by the royal hypocrite produced its desired effect; 1200 harquebuziers were distributed in various districts of the city; the Admiral highly approved the precautionary measure; assisted in leading his friends into a deception similar to that by which himself had been entrapped; and spoke of the introduction of their future assassins as a fresh instance of the wise vigilance and affectionate solicitude of the King.

On the morning of the Friday after the marriage, Coligny having transacted business with the Duke of Anjou in the Louvre, afterwards accompanied the King to the Tennis Court of the palace. There, Charles engaged in a match with the Duke of Guise against Louis de Teligny, the Admiral's son-in-law, and another gentleman; and Coligny, after looking on for a short time, withdrew to dinner, accompanied by about a dozen friends. As he passed on foot through the Rue des Fossés St. Germain, on his way to his own abode, afterwards known as the Hotel St. Pierre, in the Rue de Bétizy, he was occupied in reading a paper which had been put into his hands, perhaps with the design of slackening his pace. At a spot scarcely a hundred yards from the Louvre, and opposite a house belonging to the Canon de Villemur, formerly tutor to the Duke of Guise, the report of fire-arms was heard, and the Admiral was struck by two bullets; one burying itself very deeply in his left arm, the other shattering the fore-finger of his right hand. Without any change of countenance, he pointed to the house from which the shots had been discharged; requested some of his attendants to inform the King of the occurrence, and with the assistance of his servants, walked on to his hotel, which was but a few paces distant. To some one who expressed a hope that the bullets might not have been poisoned, he tranquilly replied, "God's will be done!"

The doors of the suspected house were immediately forced, and in the chamber of the ground floor was found an arquebuse recently discharged. The window from which the assassin had taken aim was grated, and a sheet had been suspended before it, more effectually to conceal his person. The only individuals discovered within were a woman servant and a foot-boy. From the woman's evidence, it appeared that, a few days previously, De Chailly, a former retainer of the Duke of Guise, and at that time Maître D'Hotel to the King, had introduced a military man to the Canon de Villemur as his especial friend; and that Villemur, in consequence, had hospitably entertained his guest, sharing with him his chamber and his bed. The real name of the new lodger, it was supposed, had been purposely concealed; but the boy who had not been long engaged in his service, said that he sometimes called himself Bolland, sometimes Bondot; professed to be one of the archers of the King's guard; and had despatched a message very early that morning to De Chailly, desiring that the horses which had been promised him might be in readiness. It was soon ascertained that he had sprung upon a horse waiting for him at a back passage leading into the Cloister of St. Germain de L'Auxerrois; had ridden at full speed to the gate of St. Antoine, and there mounting a second horse, had disappeared before any alarm could be given.

The assassin, however, notwithstanding his escape, was speedily identified as a well known infamous character, François de Louviers Maurevel. Little doubt seems to have been entertained, even at the moment, that he had been employed by the Queen mother and the Duke of Anjou; and if the confession, subsequently made by the latter, is to be received as genuine (an admission which has for the most part been tacitly granted,) he was selected by them "as the fittest instrument for their purpose, because he was already much exercised and experienced in murder." Even during his education as a page in the household of the Duke of Guise, Maurevel had evinced an early propensity to blood-shedding. The tutor of the noble youths in whose society he was instructed, had chastised him for some very heavy offence, and Maurevel having in revenge waylaid and killed him, fled to the Spanish army at that time in motion against France. On the conclusion of peace he found means to become reconciled to his early patron, in whose family he remained till the price set upon the Admiral's head by the Parliament of Paris, during the second civil war, induced him to volunteer his services as an agent of its vengeance. Having first stipulated for, and received his wages of crime, he passed over to the Huguenots; and insinuated himself into the confidence of their chiefs, partly by feigning deep resentment against the Guises for some pretended injury, partly by affecting great zeal and precision in his religious observances. Opportunity however, seems to have failed him for the execution of the greater enterprise which he had undertaken; and despairing of success, and perhaps having excited suspicion, he was content to aim at an inferior mark. One of the officers, with whom he had contracted most intimacy, arising out of a former acquaintance, was Arthur de Vandray, Lord of Mouy; a tried soldier of distinguished bravery, who then held very high command in the Admiral's army. To Maurevel, during his abode in the Huguenot quarters, De Mouy had shown especial marks of kindness and generosity; but the traitor, unmoved by any compunctious visiting, found means of perpetrating his base design, mortally wounded De Mouy, and owed his escape to the fleetness of a horse, recently presented to him by his murdered benefactor. Profiting by his infamy, he appears afterwards to have been retained almost as the acknowledged Court assassin; and Brantome speaks of him as familiarly known by the title of "the King's Bravo." One of the chief inducements held out by the Duke of Anjou, when exciting this wretch to the perpetration of his new crime, was the certainty that the Admiral would avenge the assassination of the Lord of Mouy, if Maurevel should ever fall into his power; and that his own safety demanded the removal of his most notorious enemy.

From the Duke of Anjou's confession, of which we shall presently speak more at length, we learn the motives which he thought fit to avow for this foul assassination, and they exhibit a most fearful recklessness of crime. The Queen Mother and himself, he says, perceived a manifest change in the King's manner after every private audience which he granted to Coligny. On one occasion the Duke found his Royal Brother in so violent a paroxysm of fury, handling his dagger and using menacing gestures as he paced the apartment with troubled steps, that he was glad to escape from his presence; and it was then, after advising with Catherine, that they jointly resolved upon the murder, as the sole means of preventing the utter overthrow of their power. They first applied to a Gascon Captain without naming the person whom he was to remove; but the avidity with which the Bravo caught at the engagement, and his total want of forethought, satisfied them at once that he was not adapted to their purpose. "As a *matter of sport*," says Henry, "we made him show us the method in which he would undertake the attack, and having well weighed his movements, his words, and his looks, *all of which made us laugh heartily, and were exceeding good pastime*, we determined that, although brave and fearless, he was too hot-headed to undertake any enterprise which required much prudence and discretion in its execution." Maurevel was of soberer temperament; better disciplined in the rules of his Art; more expert in its practice; and to him accordingly the nefarious commission was entrusted.[*]

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[*] In the *Mém. d'Estat*, ii. 217. Maurevil's ill-favoured physiognomy is said on one occasion to have betrayed him. He accompanied the Maréchal de Retz on an embassy to England in the year following the St. Bartholomew; and on arriving at the Court at Greenwich, the Page of an English Nobleman exclaimed at once, "that is the assassin of the Admiral!" At the words, a shout was raised, and Maureval was pursued with ex-

The King was still engaged at Tennis when he received the announcement of the attempt upon the Admiral; on hearing it, he dashed his racquet violently to the ground, and retired to the palace, exclaiming, "Shall I never have any rest! Are there always to be new troubles!" The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé instantly repaired to their wounded friend, whom they found under the surgeon's hands. Turning to Le Mou, a Minister belonging to the service of the late Queen Jeanne d'Albret, he expressed himself satisfied with the manifestation of love which it had pleased God to grant, by suffering him to be thus wounded for His name's sake; and he then fervently prayed that he might never forget the numerous mercies which had been vouchsafed him. An immediate amputation of the shattered finger was considered necessary, and the patient's agony was greatly increased by the bluntness of the operator's instruments. Ambrose Paré, the King's body surgeon, the ablest practitioner of his time, and an avowed and sincere Huguenot, was obliged to open and close his scissors thrice, before the joint was completely severed; yet during the acute pain occasioned by this protracted torture, not a complaint escaped the sufferer's lips. While his left arm was being probed, Merlin, his own chaplain, read to him some consolatory passages from Scripture; and Coligny, ejaculating in return, "My God, abandon me not in this so great trouble, nor let thy mercy forsake me!" whispered to one of the assistants who supported the bleeding limb, an order that one hundred pieces of gold should be given to Merlin for distribution among the poor of his congregation.[*]

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, having discharged this first duty, returned to the palace; and demanding audience of Charles, besought his permission for themselves and their followers to retire from the capital, in which farther abode was manifestly hazardous. The King, in return, protested with many and vehement oaths, as was his wont, that he was not less aggrieved than themselves by the late murderous outrage; that he would omit no means in his power to discover and to punish the assassin, his employers, and all who were acquainted with the plot, so as to give ample satisfaction to Coligny and his friends, and to deter their enemies from any similar violence for the future. In conclusion, he expressed his earnest wish that they would remain in Paris to witness the execution of this promise. Catherine, who was present, added farther protestations of sorrow; affirmed that she did not believe the King himself could now sleep securely, even in the Louvre; that he might be poniarded on that very day in her own arms; and that there was the most urgent necessity for strict search after the murderer. For that purpose it was ordered that the City gates should be closed, and vigilantly guarded. It was indeed no small part of the Royal policy to forbid egress at this moment. With the Princes, Charles had succeeded; they were deceived by his feigned interest in their misfortune; and they abandoned all thoughts of departure; but there were others who might possess greater foresight, against whose retreat it was not less necessary to provide.

Scarcely was this conversation finished before Charles received a message from the admiral, entreating that he would honour him with a visit; for that there were matters touching the welfare and dignity of the Crown which he wished to communicate to his private ear, and which he well knew no other person would venture to deliver. When the friends who bore the request to the King had quitted the wounded veteran's couch, the Maréchal de Cossé was the only person, except the medical attendants, who remained; and Coligny, regarding him significantly, inquired if he remembered a caution which he had given him but a few hours before. "If you are wise you will be wary." The words, says De Thou, were not understood by all; and they were perhaps interrupted by the entrance of the royal party.

By far the most graphic account of the interview which followed is contained in a document which we have before mentioned; "A narrative of the causes and motives of the St. Bartholomew," said to have been dictated by Henry III. during the horrors of a sleepless night at Cracow, to a "gentleman of honour and of quality in near attendance on his Majesty's person." It is by no means necessary that we should here moot the question concerning the authenticity of that discourse. Even if we were certain that it proceeded from the lips of Henry, no one but a blind or a designing partizan would cite it as a true representation either of the motives or of the facts of the St. Bartholomew itself. It must be received altogether as the apology of the great criminal by whom it was delivered; as a defence in which, if the particulars are not positively falsified, they are no doubt exhibited in the most favourable light and tinged with the least sombre colouring. The passage, however, which we shall quote, relates to circumstances which Henry could have little interest in falsifying; although more minute and dramatic than other accounts, it is for the most part in unison with them; and we think it bears strong internal evidence of having been derived, if not from its professed author, at least from one who had either witnessed the interview, or had obtained intimate knowledge of it from an actual bystander.

"When the King, after dinner, expressed his intention of visiting the Admiral, the Queen my mother and myself determined to accompany him. We found Coligny in bed, sorely wounded; and after we had given him hopes of recovery, urged him to keep up his spirits, and added every assurance of strict justice being executed upon the assassin and his employers (to all which he answered briefly), he expressed a wish for some private conversation with the King. The King accordingly made a sign for the Queen my mother and myself to give place; and we stepped back into the middle of the chamber. There we staid during this secret parley, not without great misgiving of its purport; and yet more so when we observed that we were in the midst of more than 200 gentlemen of the Admiral's faction, who were either in the very apartment, in one adjoining, or on the ground floor. Their mien was gloomy, their faces and gestures were full of discontent, they whispered frequently to each other, passing and repassing continually before and behind us, with little tokens of becoming respect; and, as it appeared to us, not without expressing some suspicion that we were concerned in the Admiral's injury. Be this as it may, such was our belief; although perhaps we examined their demeanour somewhat too narrowly. We were in truth thunder-struck and terrified at finding ourselves thus enclosed; and as the Queen my mother has since oftentimes told me, she had never before been in any place which occasioned her more fear, and which she quitted more to her heart's content. These apprehensions made us interrupt the Admiral's speech to the King; and the Queen my mother finding a plausible excuse, expressed a fear that too long talking might be hurtful to the weak state of the patient, and that the King had better postpone the remainder of the conversation till Coligny had recovered greater bodily strength. The King seemed much vexed at this interference, as if he very much wished to hear whatever more the Admiral had to say; but, unable to combat our representation, he withdrew with us from the chamber. The Queen my mother then pressed him with great earnestness to repeat the heads of his late conversation; but for a long time he peremptorily refused, till at last, overcome by importunity, and more to get rid of the matter than on any other account, he burst out in a quick and angry tone: "'Sdeath, Madam, what the Admiral said is true enough; that no one can be King of France unless he has the power of doing good or ill to his subjects; and that this power, and indeed the management of the whole state, has slipped out of my hands into yours; whose control and superintendence I shall one day find to be most calamitous to myself and to my kingdom. All this he bade me observe and guard against; and as one of my best and most faithful subjects and servants, he was anxious thus to advise me before his death. By the God that made me, Madam, since you are resolved upon hearing it, this is what the Admiral said to me."

A few other particulars are noticed in the *Mémoires d'Estat*, and the writer of that portion to which we refer (whom from his own account we suppose to be the Chaplain Merlin), evidently intends to represent himself as present at this interview. The King, he remarks, in the first instance ordered all Coligny's domestics to quit the chamber; retaining only Teligny and his lady, and "that person" (meaning himself), "who escaped the massacre, who assisted the Admiral at the time, and who took especial notice of all that was said and done, being always close to his person." But the long

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ecrations by the rabble, so that he never dared show himself abroad while Queen Elizabeth remained at Greenwich. In 1574, we hear of him as employed in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate La Nouë and some other Huguenots of distinction. Four years afterwards, he lost an arm in an affray with one of his own relations in the streets of Paris; and in 1583 he met his deserved fate, in the same City, at the hands of a son of the murdered De Mouy, whose own life, however, was sacrificed in avenging his father.—*Journal d'Henri III.* i. 395.

[*] De Thou, lii. 5, where he states that he had often heard this account, in the very words in which he delivers it, from Paré himself.

speeches which he begins by reporting are too elaborate to have been either delivered under the circumstances or remembered afterwards; and it is to minor particulars that we attach greater credit. Charles and the Queen Mother, he says, at one time came so near the Admiral, and talked together in so low a tone, that although the writer was close to the bedside, he overheard no more than Catherine's last words, "Though I am but a woman, I think it should be looked to in good season." The Maréchal de Retz, who stood apart during the above scene, proposed to Teligny and Cornaton, and urged his proposal with much earnestness, that the Admiral should be removed to the Louvre as a protection against the menaced violence of the Parisian rabble. So eagerly did he press this advice, as to suggest that the chamber of the Princess Catherine of Navarre should be prepared for his reception; and that the Princess herself should be lodged in the apartment of the bride her sister. The physicians, however, objected to the risk of moving the patient so soon after his hurt, and the design was consequently abandoned. Before Charles left the room, he expressed a wish to see the bullet, which was of brass; and he particularly inquired whether the Admiral had suffered much pain during the extraction, and from the amputation of his finger. The handkerchief of Cornaton, who showed the ball, and who had supported Coligny during the operation, was still covered with blood, and the King observing it, asked if it were the Admiral's blood, and if much had been lost by him? adding that he had never seen a man of more noble or constant spirit. When the Queen looked at the bullet, she testified cordial pleasure that it had been extracted; for that when the Duke of Guise was shot at Orleans, the surgeons had assured her that even if the ball were poisoned, all danger was at an end when it was once removed from the wound. This oblique inquiry was adroit, and the murderess must have been disappointed when Cornaton replied, that they had not been so easily satisfied, but that they had already given the Admiral a medicated drink as an antidote, and to guard against the possibility of hazard.

In the course of the same day, the King despatched circular letters to his several Provincial Governors, acquainting them with the untoward event of the morning, expressing his determination to punish the outrage as it deserved, if the assassin, who was yet unknown, could be discovered; and instructing each magistrate to convey assurances both to Catholics and Huguenots, in his own peculiar district, that it was the firm intention of government strictly to observe the last edict of pacification, and most severely to chastise any one who should contravene its provisions. The Huguenot leaders meantime held a conference, and there were not a few among them who urged immediate retirement from Paris. Some stated that when on the late marriage-day the King of Navarre and his train withdrew from St. Denis at the commencement of the church service, certain priests were heard to say, as was then believed in jest, that ere long all of them would be forced to attend mass. Others affirmed that several of the chief citizens had whispered abroad that during these nuptials the streets were more likely to run with blood than with wine; and by a third party, a direct warning was reported to have been given by Montluc, bishop of Valence, before he quitted Paris on an embassy in which he was at that time engaged concerning the pretensions of the Duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland. The good bishop, whose tolerant principles forbid any suspicion that he was informed of the bloody design; but who might in some degree have penetrated it from the tenor of his diplomatic instructions, urged the Comte de la Rochefoucault by no means to confide in the flattering professions of the court; but as soon as possible to make a retreat, and to persuade all those whom he valued to accompany him. The rising inclination of the Huguenots to embrace this prudent counsel, although strongly supported by the Vidâme de Chartres, was overruled by Teligny, whose generous spirit felt that it would be disloyal to doubt the faith which had been pledged by their sovereign.

The night of the 22d passed tranquilly. On the following morning the examination of the servants arrested in Villemur's house was renewed; and some appearances of popular irritation having been observed, it was thought discreet that the King should be asked to post a few sentinels at the Admiral's Hotel. Cornaton, who was deputed to make this request, applied for *six* archers of the Royal Guard; he was answered by the Duke of Anjou that *fifty* should be sent, and that they should be placed under the command of de Cosseins, a name odious to the Huguenots, from his avowed personal hatred of the Admiral. When Cornaton would have declined the larger number, he was silenced by a peremptory command from the King, who added that there was no fitter man than De Cosseins for his purpose. Fearfully must the few but pregnant words which Thoré, Montmorency's brother, whispered to Cornaton as he retired, have struck upon his ear! "You could not have been under the protection of a bitterer enemy!" But he was forced to reply with assumed composure, "Do you not see that the King's order is positive? We must rely on his Majesty's good will; but you heard the answer which I made in the first instance."

Reports meantime had been circulated that the suspicions of the Admiral's friends were mainly directed against the Guises, whom they threatened with violence. The Dukes of Guise and of Aumale accordingly presented themselves before the King, signifying that they perceived their longer abode at court was displeasing, and that with the royal permission they would withdraw. Charles, affecting indignation, replied in a bitter tone that they might go wherever they pleased, and that if the charges against them were verified, they should not be long in hearing from him. About noon therefore, accompanied by a large retinue, they rode publicly to the gate of St. Antoine, as if for the purpose of taking their departure from Paris; but not one foot did they set without the city in reality.

The instructions given to De Cosseins enjoined him to prohibit any Catholic from entering the Admiral's house; if no secret orders were added, he exceeded his commission by turning away two Huguenot agents, and a valet who brought Teligny's cuirass for the service of his master. Under the pretext of affording yet greater security to Coligny, all Catholics were ordered by proclamation to quit their lodgings in the neighbourhood of the palace; and their place was supplied by Huguenot gentlemen, whose numbers had been previously ascertained and registered, and who were invited to repair from whatever other quarters of the city they tenanted, and to gather round the Admiral's hotel as a nucleus. The King of Navarre was advised at the same time to strengthen himself by assembling within his apartments, for the ensuing night, all the persons most attached to his service; a counsel which he accepted as an especial token of interest in his behalf. But in the more keenly sighted, who had before cherished suspicion, this movement inspired additional apprehensions of peril; and the Vidâme de Chartres once more vehemently pressed his friends to quit Paris in a body, and to convey the Admiral with them to some place of greater security. The proposal was again rejected by Teligny, who found support from the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé; and there is reason to believe that the discussion was immediately reported by a spy to the secret council at that moment sitting at the Louvre.

The evening of the 23d of August was closing when the surgeons pronounced the Admiral to be free from all immediate danger, and expressed confident hopes of his recovery. Numerous friends, overjoyed by this unexpected report, volunteered to pass the night in his house, but their services were declined by Teligny as needless. He himself retired to his own lodgings. Five Swiss halberdiers, in the King of Navarre's service, patrolled the Admiral's courtyard; his Chaplain Merlin, the Surgeon Paré, Cornaton, Labonne, Yolet, and five or six inferior attendants, slept or watched in his chamber; and the detachment of royal archers, under De Cosseins, blockaded all the approaches to his residence, when the bell of midnight proclaimed the commencement of the festival of St. Bartholomew.

NOTICES
OF
RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Sermons on Infidelity. By Andrew Thomson, D. D., late Minister of St. Georges, Edinburgh. First American edition, with a Preliminary Essay. Windsor, Vt., Richards & Tracey: New York, Jonathan Leavitt, 1833, pp. 218. 18mo.

This very valuable volume consists of a series of sermons from Heb. 3 ch. 12 v. The author asserts, that "there is a natural connection between the disbelief of Christianity in particular, and the disbelief of religion in general;" the one leads directly to the other—the rejection of Christ will be followed by departure from the living God. 1. In proof, he first appeals to the history of Deism as found in the writings of its advocates. The name *Deist* was assumed about the middle of the 16th century, to avoid the odium attached to the term *Atheists*, a name they had hitherto borne. A change of name was not a change of principle—though they professed to admit the existence of God, and in some instances, the immortality of the soul, yet "they were nevertheless in the habit of laughing at *all* religion as the dream of folly, or of reprobating it as the offspring of fraud and priestcraft."

In the beginning of the 18th century, Mr. Gildon, a converted deist, composed a book for the benefit of his former associates, in which he deemed it necessary to dwell at large on the great principles of natural Theology, as their aversion to these lay at the root of their rejection of Christianity. Numerous examples of the rejection of all religion are found among infidel writers,—in their avowed attempts to build up a theory of pure Deism, "they have not scrupled to cast away as neither useful nor true, the doctrines of God's holiness and justice, of a superintending providence, and of a future retribution." The most distinguished Deists have treated Christianity and natural religion with an almost equal degree of indifference and dislike. Every important truth in each has either been called in question, or made the subject of ridicule: they may not have avowed themselves the patrons of Atheism, yet to this they must come if they follow out the course on which they have entered.

A pure theory of deism was never formed, except the materials were drawn from revelation; in such cases they had only to omit what is peculiar to the gospel as a message of pardon. In the attempts of those scorning the aid of revelation, we observe some of the fundamental principles of religion rejected, or abandoned to doubt equally hostile to their practical influence. Lord Herbert's system is not an exception. His system is comparatively pure, yet he was acquainted with and refers to the scriptures, and he has had scarcely a single follower in the ranks of Deism.

The spirit of levity and indifference with which they blot out the most important truths show that in reality they reject all religion.

Secondly, In proof of the tendency of Deism to utter unbelief, the author appeals to the prevailing infidelity of the day. It has its various garbs and diversifications, but one leading feature it never loses, "a feature of determined hostility, or of settled contempt for what is sacred, not merely for the gospel of Christ, but for all that relates to the belief and the service of the living God." Some have affected to hold the tenets of natural religion, while rejecting revelation: but their creed has no serious footing in their minds—no practical influence on their lives. Circumstances may constrain them to act so as to indicate the presence of Christian principle, but when without restraint, they give positive proof of the inefficacy of the principles of religion they have professed to retain after the rejection of Christianity. Among the uneducated; a total disregard of sacred things, among the learned; traces of an indiscriminate, universal, reckless scepticism; all acknowledgement of God as a ruler and judge being evidently and undeniably a mere accommodation to surrounding prejudices, (as they would term it,) or used for political purposes. For the truth of these assertions, appeal is made to the judgment of every man of candour and observation. Since, then, those who have rejected Christianity, have almost invariably fallen into a disregard of all religion, it is fair to infer that one species of infidelity naturally leads to the other. If not, the phenomenon must be otherwise explained; till then, it will be a foundation of legitimate argument.

3. A third argument urged by the author in proof of this tendency, is the fact that the objections brought by Deists against Christianity are equally strong against natural religion. The objections that Christianity has its mysteries, its want of universality, the controverted nature and consequent uncertainty of its articles, its implying what is miraculous, all weigh equally against natural religion.

A miracle is a fact, one of the operations of Providence, and can be proved by testimony as well as any other fact. Those who saw the miracles of Christ inferred from thence the truth of his mission. In the same way men see the ordinary phenomena or facts of nature, and infer the tenets of Theism. In many instances, natural religion is founded on facts furnished by testimony, for an extensive and minute acquaintance with the works and ways of God is necessary in order to proceed much farther than his existence and power. These facts are much oftener learned from the researches of others, than from our observations.

It is not true, that all the facts or christian miracles are learned by testimony. There is the internal evidence of the gospel which is miraculous—there is the experimental evidence which we *feel* and see exhibited by those around us—the predictions now in a course of fulfilment, especially in regard to the Jews. In reference to both natural and revealed religion, the facts furnished by observation and testimony are but the materials for inductions: the process in the case of Christianity is much the more simple, for once establish the truth of the christian creed, and each particular doctrine follows of consequence—whereas, in natural religion, each point requires a train of reasoning peculiar to itself for its discovery or confirmation.

The objection that miracles are contrary to experience bears equally strong against natural religion; we every day believe a thousand things for which we have no corresponding examples in our experience; to act otherwise, would put an end not only to all religion, but to all science whatever.

The last refuge of unbelievers is to deny the *possibility* of miracles altogether, but what then becomes of the attribute of omnipotence which natural religion ascribes to God?

4. The nature of the most prevalent causes of infidelity, shows the truth of the proposition. These are Inconsiderateness, Pride of Understanding, and Moral Depravity.

1. If men will not attend to the religion of Christ, they will not to the religion of nature; if they will not contemplate God, in the character of a compassionate Saviour, they will not as merely the author of nature—if they will not read of God in the clearness of his word, they will not in the obscurity of his creation. Let inquiry be made as to which is best fitted to affect the minds of men, christianity, or natural religion—compare the examples of both, and see if any have been led to piety by the latter, whose carelessness has been proof against the claims of the former; and in view of the facts, judge whether he who rejects Christianity, can be expected to stop short of general irreligion.

2. Intellectual pride operates chiefly among men of science and literature. They cannot brook the authority of christianity, everything must be within reach of their understandings; now, natural religion has its mysteries—things equally beyond the reach of the human intellect, *it* sets bounds to speculation, and would regulate the life: now, the same causes that lead to the rejection of the one, will lead to the rejection of the other.

3. Moral depravity operates both on the learned and ignorant. The former, impatient under the restraint of christianity, seek for absurdity or insufficiency in its evidence; the latter, equally impatient, resolve, without reasoning, to throw off a yoke they are unwilling to bear. This cause acts with equal power on either system, for the morality of each is essentially the same. If opposition to morality lead to rejection in one case, it will in the other. If, indeed, it be admitted that Deism is not unfriendly to vice, the argument will not hold. But this its advocates will not admit. Thus, it appears that the rejection of all religion must be the necessary consequence of the abrogation of christianity.

"But," says the author, "Atheism could not long maintain its ascendancy. This volcano of misery and of crime, after pouring forth its terrors on the scene of human life, would become exhausted by its own destructive efforts, and sink into the stillness and the dreariness of a wide-spread desolation. Man is so framed, and society is so constituted, that religion we must have in some form or another. And all the knowledge of human nature with which we are furnished by experience would lead us to expect, that whatever aspect the case might assume at the beginning, it would gradually degenerate and settle into the errors and abominations of heathenism. Christianity rescued us from heathenism, and if we extinguish the light of christianity, I see not how we can avoid the inference, that to the darkness of heathenism we must return. This is the final and unavoidable result.

"It is in vain to tell us here of our means of improvement being so superior to those which were anciently enjoyed, and of their being a sufficient security against such a degeneracy as that which we have supposed. They may, indeed, prevent any decline in the arts and sciences of human wisdom, and may still be instrumental, not only in perpetuating, but in carrying forward the mere secular civilization of the world. Or they may be employed, as indeed they are with gratifying success, in upholding the existence, and vindicating the purity, and extending the dominion of that system which is contained in a written record, and has the image and superscription of divinity stamped upon it. But when they are applied to the preservation of religion, in the circumstances in which we suppose religion to be placed after Christianity is abolished, they have quite a different task to achieve from that which is assigned to them in the two cases just mentioned. And it is a task to which the history of our race demonstrates them to be totally inadequate.

"There might remain among a few of the more enlightened, some occasional glimpses of religious truth, as we find to have been the case in the pagan world. But the degradation of the great mass of the people to that ignorance, and idolatry, and superstition, out of which the gospel had emancipated them, would be certain and complete. This retrograde movement might be retarded by the advantages which we have derived from that system, whose influence we should continue to feel long after we had ceased to acknowledge the divinity of its source. But these advantages would, by degrees, lose their efficacy, even as matters of speculation, and give place to the workings of fancy, and credulity, and corruption. A radiance might still glow upon the high places of the earth, after the sun of revelation had gone down; and the brighter and the longer it had shone, the more gradual would be the decay of that light and warmth which it had left behind it. But everywhere there would be the sad tokens of a departed glory and of a coming night. Twilight might be protracted through the course of many generations, and still our unhappy race might be able to read, though dimly, many of the wonders of the eternal godhead, and to wind a dubious way through the perils of the wilderness. But it would be twilight still; shade would thicken after shade; every succeeding age would come wrapped in a deeper and a deeper gloom;—till at last, that flood of glory which the Gospel is now pouring upon the world, would be lost and buried in impenetrable darkness."

These consequences are alarming, and give an importance to the faith not usually attached to it.

Now contemplate the effects of infidelity on the conduct and character. *Infidelity is in every respect, hostile to the interests of morality.* For proof that there is a connexion between principle and practice (which is denied by some) we may appeal to the history of the world and to individual experience.

The tendency of Christianity is to make those who submit to it, morally good, it provides a complete rule of duty, furnishes the best motives to the cultivation of holiness, addresses itself to all the powers and susceptibilities of our nature. "It operates through the decisions of the understanding, and through the affections of the heart. It speaks to our hatred and our love; to our hope and our fear; to our gratitude and our interest. And in the arguments by which it works upon these, there is a grandeur, and an authority, and a pathos, which no mind can altogether or continually resist. It represents us as placed under the government of that great Being who created and sustains the universe; whose glory is concerned in punishing the rebellious, and rewarding the obedient; and whose piercing eye looks through every corner of the soul, and follows us into our deepest retirements, "beholding the evil and the good." It brings before us, in the work of redemption, such a manifestation of his justice and of his mercy, as is admirably calculated, on the one hand, to restrain from the excesses of licentiousness and crime, those upon whom the tenderness of a Saviour might have been lavished in vain; and on the other hand, to charm and allure into the very devotedness of virtue, such as would have set their face as adamant against all the terrors of a broken law, and all the majesty of an avenging God. It unfolds to our view a scene of future retribution, the most awful and impressive which imagination can paint,—whose throne is to be occupied by the King of kings; whose transactions are to embrace the character and the fate of every individual of our race; and whose awards are those of immutable rectitude, and stretch into the boundless duration of eternity. And while it thus fences round the interests of moral purity by the magnificent representations of a God who rules over all, and who will bring everything into judgment, it sets itself to secure them still more minutely, and still more effectually, by never losing sight of its votaries for a moment in the path of life—by directing them in every step they take—fortifying them against every temptation to which they are exposed—administering to them every aid which they require—putting an appropriate check on every evil propensity—presenting a suitable stimulus to every good affection—and making all the doctrines which it reveals, and all the precepts which it enjoins, and all the sanctions by which it enforces them, bear with a sanctifying energy upon every department of the character. So that, making allowance for these imperfections which adhere to everything that is connected with humanity in its present state, they who have imbibed its spirit, and conformed themselves to its dictates, must be distinguished by the highest attainments in moral excellence. And that this is the tendency of Christianity, is not only abundantly evident to every one who is acquainted with its nature, but has been explicitly and frequently acknowledged by almost all those who have nevertheless discarded the system itself, as not substantiated by sufficient proof. This is their testimony; and though we do not need it, and would not rest our argument upon it, yet it is valuable as proceeding from adversaries, and may be allowed to put the statement beyond controversy, that true religion is of high importance to the morality of the world."

Infidelity "gives us the fear of feeble man, who lives but for a day, for the fear of the mighty and everlasting God. It gives us the good opinion of creatures like ourselves, for the approbation of Him whose favour is pregnant with innumerable blessings. It gives us a regard to the little transitory interests of time, for the prospect of that happiness and glory which is commensurate with eternity. These, and such as these, are the principles by which it would make us holy. But can any one say, or can any one suppose, that they are adequate to the production of such an effect? That they are capable of leading men to any high degrees of virtue? That they are powerful enough to deter or dissuade them even from the lowest vices, or from the most atrocious crimes? No, my friends; if you root out from their minds the conviction that there is a just God who reigns over them, and bring them to believe that when they die they have nothing more to fear or to suffer, it is impossible to say how far they will proceed in criminal indulgence. These mighty fetters being removed, all the other restraints imposed upon their passions would be like the cords with which Samson was bound, and which, when he put forth his strength, 'became as flax that had been burnt with fire.'"

As a general remark it is true, that infidels as individuals are wicked, that nations deeply tinctured with infidelity, are pre-eminent in profligacy and crime.

History, and especially the confessions of criminals, show that men become adepts in wickedness, by throwing off the restraints of religion. Irreligion and immorality have a natural connection.

But, it is said, immorality is found among Christians: not so; immoral persons professing Christianity, are infidels in disguise, and "it just furnishes an additional evidence of the immoral tendency of infidelity, when we see infidelity breaking through all the decencies which that garb should have imposed and deliberately trying to cover its impurities and its guilt with the robe of Sanctity."

Christians are not impeccable, but their sins are the subject of regret—their system tends to keep them moral.

It is said that religion has done but little in restraining crime; that more has been done by human laws. But this does not show the inefficacy of religion, but only its want of prevalence. Those who urge this objection are exerting themselves to check its progress, to impair its authority, and to destroy its very existence. "If a remedy has been prescribed, and by terror or by sophistry I prevail upon the patient not to refuse it, it is with a bad grace that I quote the agonizing death which ensues, as a proof that the physician is without skill, and that his medicine is without effect."

In regard to human laws, the objectors forget that the best laws have been founded on Christian principles, and have appealed to the authority and sanction of the Christian religion. Again, human virtue does not wholly consist in the absence of crime, in a state of conduct produced by mere terror of penal inflictions; "a great proportion of it is made up of feelings and actions, which human laws are neither competent nor intended to govern, and which it is the prerogative of religion alone to generate, to foster, and to diffuse." Religion arrests iniquity at the fountain.

We are told that all infidels are not immoral; it is granted that there are a few exceptions, and the causes can be pointed out, so as to leave the general truth in all its force. The infidel philosopher may be free from heinous crime, yet look at its influence on the great mass of mankind: and where is that philosopher's love of morality, when he is publishing principles hostile to its existence!

Infidelity is further destructive of the comfort and the happiness of those who embrace it. Experience and observation prove the connection between virtue and happiness—vice and misery. Infidelity not only occasions positive suffering, but takes away consolations. Its "baneful touch withers the charm of every earthly blessing, reduces it to the degraded level of a mere animal gratification, and leaves us to feed upon it like the beasts that perish, without a thought that rises above the dust, and without a hope that points beyond the grave.

"It is, however, amidst trials and sorrows, that infidelity appears in its justest and most frightful aspect. When subjected to the multifarious ills which flesh is heir to, what is there to uphold our spirit, but the discoveries and the prospects that are unfolded to us by revelation? What, for this purpose, can be compared with the belief that everything here below is under the management of infinite wisdom and goodness, and that there is an immortality of bliss awaiting us in another world? If this conviction be taken away, what is it that we can have recourse to, on which the mind may patiently and safely repose in the season of adversity? Where is the balm which I may apply with effect to my wounded heart, after I have rejected the aid of the Almighty physician? Impose upon me whatever hardships you please; give me nothing but the bread of sorrow to eat; take from me the friends in whom I had placed my confidence; lay me in the cold hut of poverty, and on the thorny bed of disease; set death before me in all its terrors; do all this—only let me trust in my Saviour, and 'pillow my head on the bosom of Omnipotence;' and I will 'fear no evil,'—I will rise superior to affliction—I will 'rejoice in my tribulation.' But let infidelity interpose between God and my soul, and draw its impenetrable veil over a future state of existence, and limit all my trust to the creatures of a day, and all my expectations to a few years as uncertain as they are short; and how shall I bear up, with fortitude or with cheerfulness, under the burden of distress? Or, where shall I find one drop of consolation, to put into the bitter draught which has been given me to drink? I look over the whole range of this wilderness in which I dwell, but I see not one covert from the storm, nor one leaf for the healing of my soul, nor one cup of cold water to refresh me in the weariness and the faintings of my pilgrimage. O! what can I be but comfortless and wretched, when I am without Christ, without God, and without hope?

"My friends, you cannot be in affliction—you cannot suppose yourselves to be in affliction, without feeling that infidelity is destructive of your only solid comfort. It may be true, that as infidels have their pleasures while life is prosperous with them, so there may be many circumstances which tend to mitigate their sorrows under the pressure of adversity. But their principles shut them out from the best and highest consolations which the human mind can have recourse to amidst its multiplied distresses, and are peculiarly calculated indeed to aggravate the most painful and most inevitable of those evils to which humanity is liable.

"I might say to one of you, You see death approaching; but you are prepared for the event, from which nature so instinctively recoils, by living like a Christian, in the faith and the hope of the Gospel—in the faith which reposes on a mighty Saviour, and in the hope which 'enters into that within the veil;' and under the powerful influence of these principles you are not only tranquil, but triumphant. But the infidel would rob you at once of your tranquillity and your triumph, and cast a shade of annihilation over the glory that is now before you, and plunge you into the gulf of darkness and despair.

"I might say to another, You have an only child, endeared to you by every Christian virtue and by every filial affection. A hopeless disease has begun its ravages on his frame. The tie which has hitherto united your heart to his, and from which your sweetest earthly comforts have flowed, is about to be dissolved. You feel as if your own existence were drawing to its close. And yet your spirit does not sink under the sore calamity. It is 'cast down, but not destroyed.' You see the child of your bosom ripe for the immortality on which his own hopes had been early placed, and you anticipate, through the mercy of your God, and the merits of your Saviour, a blessed and indissoluble reunion with him in the regions of everlasting light, and life, and glory. But the infidel would tear up all your anticipations by the root; he would persuade you that the virtues and the hopes of your child are equally vain; he would make you bury every consolatory expectation in the grave where you are to lay him, and either cause a parent's tears to flow for ever, or steel a parent's heart against all the best and tenderest sympathies of nature.

"I might say to a third, You are about to die, and to leave your wife and your family amidst the difficulties, the snares, and the sorrows of that world, from which you are ready to depart for ever. Bitter is the pang of separation. But you are comforted when you think of Him who rules over the affairs of men; who takes care of all who are committed to him in the confidence of faith; who spreads his protecting wings over the *faithful* that are cast, destitute and forlorn, upon his bounty; and who says to the dying saint, 'Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let thy widow trust in me.' But the infidel would embitter your last hour; he would wring your bosom with the most poignant distress, at the very moment that you stand most in need of consolation; and he would do this by telling you, that when you trust your nearest and dearest friends to Providence, you indulge in a foolish delusion—that they must lie at the mercy of a fatherless, forsaken, and ungoverned world—that vain is every prayer that you put up for them, and vain every hope that you cherish for them, in your departing moments.

"I might say to all of you, As you pass through the vale of tears, you meet with much to pain and distress you. Disappointments, losses, sickness, calumny, persecution, ingratitude, treachery, a thousand ills beset your path, giving you wearisome days and sleepless nights, and sometimes filling your souls with indescribable anguish. Amidst them all, though you may not be so presumptuous as to say that 'patience has had its perfect work,' yet you have been comforted and upheld by what Christianity tells you of the origin, the design, and the end of your afflictions. It tells you that they originate in the appointment of a Being infinitely wise, holy, powerful, and good; that their design is to promote your best interests, and that their end is an 'exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' But the infidel would have you to ascribe them to unmeaning chance or to relentless fate; he would take away from them the character of a wise and salutary discipline; he would teach you to regard them as proofs that we live in a chaos of good and evil, over which no benignant intelligence presides; and when you look forward to another state, where all that is now mysterious in your afflictions shall be satisfactorily explained, and all that is now sad in your condition shall be exchanged for endless bliss, he would convince you that such a consummation is but the vision of poetry or of superstition, and that if death must be represented under the pleasing image of sleep, it is a sleep from which you are never, never to awake.

"Now, in circumstances such as I have supposed, what is the aspect which infidelity wears? Is it that of a friend, or of a foe? Is there one pang which it alleviates, or one comfort which it brings? Or rather, does it not aggravate every affliction a thousand-fold, and render it insupportable and overwhelming? Is not this its obvious tendency? Is not this its common effect?

"It is easy, indeed, to deride or disregard all this, when no calamity is felt or seen. In health and prosperity the consoling power of religion is not so much needed; its value is not so readily prized; its necessity is not so fully acknowledged. And those who are free from bodily distress and untouched by outward misfortune—who are wallowing in wealth and pleasure, and never allow their eyes to settle on a scene of misery, or their ears to listen to a tale of woe from which they can turn away, may flatter themselves that there is not much occasion for comfort, and that, therefore, infidelity, in this respect, cannot do much harm. But take a more extended view of human life; think of the frailty of man, the dangers to which he is exposed, the misfortunes to which he is liable; remember the days of his darkness, which experience testifies to be many and evil; leave the house of feasting, and visit the house of mourning; enter the dwellings of the poor, who are struggling with the united hardships of indigence and sickness; go to the chamber of disease, and see its victim, after having suffered for years, still looking forward to years of suffering more; behold the dying parent surrounded with his destitute weeping family, and regarding them with looks that would melt a heart of stone; and say, without affectation or reserve, whether would you send to them the Christian or the infidel; whether would you address to them the language of faith or of unbelief; whether would you tell them that they are under the administration of a wise and gracious God, and that their distresses shall be made to 'work together for their good,' and that there is a land of rest, an unsuffering kingdom, an everlasting habitation, into which the faithful shall be ere long introduced—or, that there is no God who concerns himself about their fate; no benevolent intention in the afflictions to which they are subjected; no joy in which their sorrows are to terminate; no immortality to enlighten the dark 'valley of the shadow of death?' There is but one answer that the heart of the most careless and the most hardened of you will allow you to give. And having given it, and borne your testimony to the truth, go back again, if you will, to the gaieties and the pleasures of the world, but never repeat the assertion—never harbour the thought. that infidelity is any thing else than a stern, relentless enemy to the comfort of man, who is 'born to trouble as the sparks fly upward.'

"And are we to forget, amidst our contemplations, the horrors and the distresses of a guilty conscience? No, my friends, in spite of all the attempts that are made, and all the ingenuity that is exercised, to efface the impressions of a God, who has given a law for the regulation of our conduct, and who will 'judge the world in righteousness,' moments will occur when the sinner shall be filled with 'the terrors of the Lord,' and unable to shake off the consciousness of transgression, and the fear of punishment. In these awful moments, religion has the power of speaking peace to him—'a peace, too, which passeth all understanding.' It tells him that the God whom he has offended is a merciful God. It tells him of one who is 'mighty and able to save him to the very uttermost.' It discloses to him a redemption suited to all his need. It invites him to partake of it 'without money and without price.' And it inspires him with the hope that is 'full of immortality.' But mark the cruelty and the baseness of infidelity to an awakened sinner. After it has encouraged him in his crimes—after it has prompted and seduced him to those indulgences which now fill him with compunction and sorrow, it would abandon him to the misery in which it has involved him. It has not succeeded in effectually convincing him that there is no God, and no retribution, and in preventing him from feeling the agonies of remorse, and the apprehensions of divine wrath; but it has banished from his creed all that could have soothed those agonies, and removed these apprehensions; it has blotted the very name of a Saviour from the tablet of his heart; it has formed a great gulf between him and the throne of mercy, over which his prayers and his hopes can never pass; it makes a mock of his wretchedness, and leaves him to perish in despair."

Such are some of the consequences of infidelity to which too little attention is paid.

"We read the books which contain it, and regard them as curious abstract speculations, which display acute and subtle talents, and provoke us to give some ingenious reasoning in return. We meet with those by whom it is maintained, and in the brilliancy of their wit, or the agreeableness of their manners, or the extent of their information, we forget that they are unbelievers, or that their unbelief has any malignant influence. We see, and we admire, and we applaud the services which they render to the cause of science, or to the cause of humanity, and dream not, that from the same fountain which has enlarged the boundaries of learning and of knowledge, there can flow a stream so foul and so devouring as that of infidelity.

"Now, to break this delusion, natural enough, but incalculably pernicious, I say, look to the consequence of infidelity. See how it covers the scene of human life with all the abominations of licentiousness and crime: and how, while it destroys the present comforts, it darkens and desolates all the future prospects of our species. Witness its frightful doings, not merely in the higher classes of society, where its hideousness and its mischief are moderated by the influence of superior education, or glossed over by the elegances of polished life; but in every inferior condition, down to the lowest and the neediest of the people, among whom it assumes its most forbidding aspect, and produces its most cruel and most ruinous effects. If you go into a poor man's cottage, for instance, you may perhaps see vice and misery reigning in it and it may not occur to you that his evils are the direct and legitimate offspring of infidelity. He may not know very distinctly what infidelity is, or be able to speak about it with understanding. But after all, you may find that he is its victim; that he has been brought into his wicked course by the influence of example; and that the criminal example, to which he owes his guilt and his ruin, has resulted solely from a rejection of the Christian faith. Nay, you may be able to trace it to the interference of another, as poor as himself, who had discovered by the help of his superiors, that the gospel is a fable, and who, unwilling to limit the knowledge or the benefit of such a discovery, had plied him, among others, with the consideration of its importance, and its happy bearings on his conduct and condition, till he had prevailed upon him to become as unbelieving as himself; and for a doctrine that gives full play to his strongest passions, and unbounded latitude to his political dissatisfactions, to renounce that which had hitherto guided him in the path of righteousness, and comforted him in the midst of his adversities, and brought contentment, and peace, and joy, to dwell under his humble roof.

"Infidelity is not confined to books of philosophy or to men of learning. It does not slumber on the shelves of an inaccessible library, or lie concealed in disquisitions which are intelligible to none but scientific adepts. It once bore this stately and secluded character; but it bears it no longer. It has become more condescending, more open, more active. There is a kind of it which itinerates through our cities, and our villages, our market-places, and our workshops. It is not accompanied by the subtleties of metaphysical language, and does not carry along with it the reasons or arguments that you find in the works of Bolingbroke and Hume: but it moves in all the various forms of artful objections, and profane maxims, and significant sneers, and vulgar wit. It is divested of those refinements with which taste, and ingenuity, and eloquence, had clothed it in the pages of the man of literature or science: but it is not less substantial, it is not less malignant, it is not less destructive of all that is fair, and good, and happy, in the world. And wherever it finds its way, and holds its dominion, there does it invariably degrade the character, and wanton with the miseries of those whom it has seduced and enslaved.

"As, then, you tender your own welfare, and would promote the welfare of your fellow-men, 'take heed, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief.' Let infidelity be the object of your decided and interminable abhorrence, and let Christianity, to which it stands in frowning and everlasting opposition, be the object of your highest reverance and your most cordial attachment."

The author proceeds to show that there is no foundation in truth for the gradations of infidelity—that they are all modifications of the same great evil, and expressions of the same radical principle. This is illustrated, 1st, in those who admit one part of revelation and reject another; 2d, in those who lead impious and immoral lives, yet profess to hold the doctrines of Christianity; 3d, in those who live a reputed good life, but without regard to the principles of the gospel; 4th, in those who are worldly-minded; 5th, in those who neglect religious ordinances; 6th, in those who are indifferent to the success of Christianity in the world.

The author next treats of the sinful nature and awful consequences of unbelief, and concludes by an application; 1st, to parents; 2d, to young men; 3d, to those in the higher stations in society; 4th, to those in inferior stations; 5th, to ministers.

Such is a brief outline of the train of thought that runs through this volume. The style is characterized by clearness, purity, strength, and elevation.

The Active Christian.—A series of Lectures, by John Howard Hinton, A. M. First American edition, with an Introduction by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, D. D. Philadelphia, French & Perkins, 1833, pp. 235, 18mo.

Mr. Hinton is already known as a pleasant, sensible, and pious writer. The present work will sustain his reputation and increase his usefulness. It consists of twelve lectures under the following heads: I. "Surveying the field of labour." This duty is urged on those who would become active Christians, by the considerations that it will give a definite and practical character to our general sense of obligation—will yield important information and rectify many mistakes—and will supply valuable impulses to labour. The field should be surveyed in its *extent;* on the principle that our duty is equal to our opportunity—its *condition*, and its *peculiarities*. II. "Estimating his resources." These are stated to be *character—knowledge* of divine truth, and of the way of salvation—*capacity* for communication—*property—influence* and *time*. III. "Cultivating fitness for labour." None are to suppose that they have such deficiencies as totally disqualify them for action, nor to allow themselves to judge of their deficiencies hastily, or with a willingness to exaggerate them: ascertained deficiencies should be regarded with sorrow—not with complacency as excusing from duty; there should be an earnest desire that all impediments to action should be removed. Much may be done in *cultivating fitness* to labour for God. In this, as in everything, man improves by considerate and repeated effort. IV. "Preparing for action." Here the objects chiefly to be attended to are the *formation of the purpose—the selection of the means*, which should be those most wisely adapted—*the spirit* with which we engage, including the motives from which, and the manner in which we act—*supplication* for the divine blessing. V. "Habitual action." Christians should habitually act for the good of souls, by an *amiable deportment*, and well regulated *temper*;—a *devotional habit*, by constant exhibition of *right principles* of action—by *consistency* of conduct in their varied relations, especially by a conversation at all times well directed. VI. "Specific action." Besides habitual exertion for the conversion of men, there are opportunities for direct and specific action for the same end. In such efforts the object should be, to convey a just *knowledge of duty*—to add a *deep conviction of sin*, not only of particular sins, but of the plague of the heart; and when an acknowledgement of sin is induced, it is indispensable to inspire *humiliation*, and to give a *right appreciation of the Saviour*. It is also of great importance to induce a *habit of meditation*. In such efforts; resolution, promptness, watchfulness, patience and perseverance are necessary. VII. "Treatment of various cases." There will be found cases of *deep ignorance*—of *unmeaning acquiescence*—of tenacious mistake—of sophistical entanglement—of fallacious confidence—of intentional deceit—of ill-directed effort—of cherished neglect, and of direct resentment. In regard to each of these, directions are given as to the course to be pursued. VIII. "Direct exercises after labour." When the above efforts have been made, our work is not done. Sacred exercises should follow, as well as precede our efforts. We must lay our endeavours at our master's feet, and implore his gracious acceptance, and looking to him, expect success. Our desires for it should be comprehensive and importunate, having the glory of God for their ultimate object. IX. "Indirect exercises after labour." Our efforts have an influence upon our personal piety which demands attention; they may be accompanied with self-neglect, which is in itself sinful, and leads to declension. They may give rise to *self-complacency* or spiritual pride. We should guard against these effects by remembering that in all that we have done that is aright, we were moved by the spirit of God, and that we have still come far short of our obligations. Again, our efforts may be attended with conflicts, and a painful sense of indifference and hardness, but it is not certain that we are really more indifferent—it may be owing to greater light and a clearer discernment of sin. X. "Success expected." In our labours for the conversion of sinners, success should be earnestly desired—may be cheerfully expected, and should be justly estimated. XI. "Success wanting." Want of success will cause unfeigned grief to the Christian, inasmuch as he has failed in his efforts to promote the highest interests of men—his labours are without one of the most satisfactory tokens of God's acceptance—the spiritual wretchedness of men continues, and perpetual dishonour is done God. If these considerations do not occasion pain, something is wrong. To those who are sincerely concerned for want of success, it may be said, you cannot yet form a true judgment on the case, as sufficient time has not elapsed, and you are far from knowing everything that has occurred. Examine seriously if your motives have been correct, if you have used the divinely adapted and appointed means, and in a proper manner; if so, you have reason to hope that your labours contain something on which your heavenly Father might smile; and if yet you do not see the blessing, conclude that he has been pleased in his wise sovereignty to withhold it. Your labours are not lost, nor will you loose your reward. XII. "Success granted." The feelings proper to be cherished are, joy for the change in the *mind* of the sinner, once dark and subject to appetite, and now enlightened and governed by conscience—in his *condition*, once under the wrath, now enjoying the smile of God, and an account of your immediate connection with it. Gratitude should be awakened by the condescending kindness of God thus shown us. Success should cause *enlargement* both of desire and exertion, as it demonstrates the practicability of the object—facilitates the attainment—realises the anticipated pleasures of success—supplies evidence of God's faithfulness to his promises, and gives a pleasant recompense to toil.

The topics above enumerated are discussed with judgment, clearness, and copiousness, at the expense, indeed, of frequent repetition. Many of his remarks, as will be seen from the brief abstract we have given, might with equal propriety have been arranged under the same, or other heads; but as it is not a philosophical treatise but a popular course of lectures, this is less censurable. The person who desires to know his duty, (and what Christian does not!) cannot fail of being profited by the perusal of this volume.

Cow,
To in*ener.—By Caroline Fry, author of 'The Assistant of*
press it in*n,' &c. Second American edition. Philadelphia,*
developeme*imer & Co.,* 1833, 2 vols. 12mo.

These volumes belong to the same class of compositions with the Spectator, Rambler, and the 'Contributions' of Jane Taylor, to which last they bear a very near resemblance. They consist of short, lively, original, essays on well chosen themes relating to life and manners, and are strictly evangelical in their tendency. We adopt the following remarks from the London Christian Observer. "The *Listener* listens to excellent purpose, and her remarks on what she hears will deserve to be carefully weighed. She is domesticated in families; she is a Rambler, a Spectator, and a Tattler, and we may add, a Christian Observer: and few of us are so wise or so good that we may not be improved by her observations on life and manners, and on those minor morals of social intercourse, as well as those higher points of duty, and that devout regulation of the heart, to which she aspires to conduct those who listen to her honest and salutary advice. Her incidents and remarks, we ought to add, are given in a lively and interesting style; and her monitions are likely to be the more kindly received, as she is always cheerful and good-humoured. We wish her, by the blessing of God, every success in her pious and benevolent undertaking; and, above all, that best reward of turning many to righteousness; not only converting their general habits, and purifying and sweetening human intercourse, but leading them in those blessed paths which conduct to everlasting life." These volumes will prove alike interesting to the young and aged, and ought to be possessed by every family.

Scripture principles of Education. By Caroline Fry, author of the Listener, &c. Revised from the London edition. Philadelphia: George, Latimer & Co., 1833, pp. 160, 18mo.—*Christ our Example. By Caroline Fry, author of the Listener, &c. Philadelphia, George, Latimer & Co.*, 1833, pp. 267, 18mo.

The object of the first-named work is the development and enforcement of the true, because Scriptural principles of education, in opposition to those of the systems too current even among Christians. Few parents and guardians of youth can, we think, read this book without being convinced that they have often departed from the true principles of education, or without gaining clearer views as to the course to be pursued in future.

"Christ our Example" is written in the same spirit, but with less power. The object is to treat of the Saviour as our example, "In the object of life," "In the rule of life," "In his intercourse with the world," "In the condition of life," "In his sorrows," "In his joys," and "In his death." The thoughts under these heads are sound and evangelical, always clearly, and not unfrequently eloquently expressed.

Conversations on Religion, with Lord Byron and others, in Cephalonia, a short time previous to his Lordship's death. By the late James Kennedy, M. D. Philadelphia, Carey & Lea, 1833, pp. 258, 12mo.

To a certain, and we suspect a pretty large class of readers, every thing connected with the name of Byron will awaken interest. We shall not stop to remark on the propriety of this fact, but content ourselves with expressing the hope that those who have waded through the pollutions of his poetry, and have devoured every thing in the shape of Memoirs, Recollections, Reminiscences, &c., which have borne his name, will be induced to read this volume, that for once they may be in the way of receiving benefit.

In Cephalonia, Dr. Kennedy who was a Scotchman, fell in with four of his countrymen, who made no secret of their sceptical principles. It was proposed and agreed to, that they should meet at times and listen to the arguments which Dr. Kennedy might adduce in support of the Christian faith. Lord Byron hearing of the arrangement, requested, and was allowed, to form one of the party. The volume before us consists chiefly of records of the conversations held at these meetings, and at a few private interviews of Dr. K. and Lord B. The Doctor appears to have been a sincere believer, but not a man of very vigorous intellect; at least, his arguments are by no means the strongest that might have been urged. Perhaps he was awed by the presence of Byron; at any rate, his admiration for the poet, led him to a very inaccurate estimate of his moral character. He speaks of the "slight spinkling of infidelity" that appears in his poems! The book throws no new light on the character of Byron, or on the evidences of Christianity: parts of it, however, are quite interesting and worthy of perusal.

The Valley of Bones, or Ezekiel's Vision, considered in a course of Lectures. By G. T. Bedell, D. D., Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philad. French & Perkins. 1833, pp. 140, 32mo.

This is one of the many useful volumes which Dr. Bedell has, in rapid succession, given to the public. That in addition to the faithful discharge of the duties of the pastoral office to a large congregation, (while suffering almost constantly from feeble health) he should be able to accomplish so much of good through the medium of the press, is a matter of surprise to all, and of joy to those who are interested in the cause of Christ.

"Can these bones live?" is the text or motto of these lectures. After noticing and repeating the magnificent language of the context, the author remarks that "in the vision of the valley full of bones, there is offered to our consideration, three great leading topics of discussion: I. The primary reference of the vision; viz., The condition of the Jewish people, at the time contemplated by the prophet. II. The secondary reference of the vision; viz., The entire condition of the world, anterior to the period of Millenial rest. III. The accommodated reference of the vision; viz., The actual personal condition of every unconverted sinner, anterior to the great change in his moral nature, styled a resurrection to newness of life."

Having discussed these at large, he returns to the interrogatory of the text, "Can these bones live? will all these things be accomplished?" The question is answered by a reference to the word of God. These things are to be brought about by the subordinate and intermediate instrumentality of Christians. What then are they to do? 1. Information is to be gained as to the condition of the world. 2. Effort is to be made. 3. Prayer for the out-pouring of the Spirit is to be superadded. These duties are explained and enforced with clearness, simplicity and power. The lectures form a fair specimen of the author's pulpit ministrations.

Memoir of Julius Charles Rieu. From the French of Frederic Monod, jun., one of the Pastors of the Reformed French Church of Paris. With Introductory Remarks by the Rev. A. Alexander, D. D. Philadelphia: French & Perkins, 1833, pp. 65, 18mo.

The following from tho introductory remarks of the Rev. Dr. Alexander will show in what estimation this little volume ought to be held. "There is something exceedingly interesting in the whole narrative; but more especially in the last scene of this pious and heavenly-minded young man. It is rarely the case, that a minister of the gospel is permitted to express so fully his evangelical views and exercises, in his last moments, as was this devoted servant of Jesus Christ; and it is still more rare, to witness such a triumph of faith, and such a perfection of gospel peace, as are here exhibited. His farewell letter to his beloved elders and parishioners, is one of the most solemn and delightful discourses I have ever seen. It was, indeed, a sermon not only from the very heart of an affectionate pastor, but from the mouth of the sepulchre. His farewell to his mother and other relatives, who were at a distance, is exquisitely tender. All the ideas of terror and distress, which usually crowd around the deathbed, were banished from the scene here described. We are permitted to contemplate a minister of Christ, though in the flower of his life, and in the midst of useful and delightful labours, not only willing to die, but ardently desiring to depart. Not that he was weary of his master's service, for he was contented to remain and endure the combat; but his love to his Lord was so great that he felt an ineffable desire to be present with him; and esteemed it an extraordinary and unexpected favour, to be released from toil, and called to his reward after so short a conflict. Seldom, indeed, has a deathbed scene been witnessed, in which the sting of death appeared to be more completely extracted, and in which the sweet peace of God, which passeth all understanding, seemed more perfectly to expel from the mind every doubt, fear, and unpleasant emotion. Well may every reader exclaim, 'O let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.'"

Domestic Portraiture, or the Successful application of Religious Principle in the Education of a Family, exemplified in the Memoirs of three of the deceased children of the Rev. Legh Richmond. New York: J. Leavitt. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1833. pp. 291.

The nature of this book may be learned from its title, its value only from a perusal. It makes us more intimately acquainted with Legh Richmond, especially in his domestic relations; and the result is increased admiration for his character, and regret for his loss. Seldom has there lived a more lovely and exalted character. The memoirs contained in this volume are exceedingly interesting, and form a happy commentary on the system of religious education which he pursued. The book should be found in every domestic circle.

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THE

LIFE OF WILLIAM COWPER, Esq.

COMPILED

FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION:

CONTAINING

REMARKS ON HIS WRITINGS, AND ON THE PECULIARITIES OF HIS INTERESTING CHARACTER,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY THOMAS TAYLOR.

PREFACE.

Many lives of Cowper have already been published. Why, then, it may be asked, add to their number? Simply because, in the opinion of competent judges, no memoir of him has yet appeared that gives a full, fair, and unbiassed view of his character.

It is remarked by Dr. Johnson, the poet's kinsman, in his preface to the two volumes of Cowper's Private Correspondence, "that Mr. Hayley omitted the insertion of several interesting letters in his excellent Life of the pōet, out of kindness to his readers." In doing this, however amiable and considerate as his caution must appear, the gloominess which he has taken from the mind of Cowper, has the effect of involving his character in obscurity. People read 'The Letters' with 'The Task' in their recollection, (and vice versa,) and are perplexed. They look for the Cowper of each in the other, and find him not. Hence the character of Cowper is undetermined; mystery hangs over it; and the opinions formed of him are as various as the minds of the inquirers.

In alluding to these suppressed letters, the late highly-esteemed Rev. Legh Richmond once emphatically remarked—"Cowper's character will never be clearly and satisfactorily understood without them, and they should be permitted to exist for the demonstration of the case. I know the importance of it from numerous conversations I have had both in Scotland and in England, on this most interesting subject. Persons of truly religious principles, as well as those of little or no religion at all, have greatly erred in their estimate of this great and good man."

Dr. Johnson's two volumes of Private Correspondence satisfactorily supplied this deficiency to all those who have the means of consulting them, and the four volumes by Mr. Hayley. The author of this memoir has attempted not only to bring the substance of these six volumes into one, but to communicate information respecting the poet which cannot be found in either of those works. He is fully aware of the peculiarities of Cowper's case, and has endeavoured to exhibit them as prominently as was compatible with his design, without giving the memoir too much of that melancholy tinge by which the life of its subject was so painfully distinguished.

In every instance where he could well accomplish it, he has made Cowper his own biographer, convinced that it is utterly impossible to narrate any circumstance in a manner more striking, or in a style more chaste and elegant, than Cowper has employed in his inimitable letters.

To impart ease and perspicuity to the memoir, and to compress it into as small a compass as was consistent with a full developement and faithful record of the most interesting particulars of Cowper's life, the author has, in a few cases, inserted in one paragraph, remarks extracted from different letters, addressed more frequently, though not invariably, to the same individual. He has, however, taken care to avoid doing this where it could lead to any obscurity.

He has made a free use of all the published records of Cowper within his reach, besides availing himself of the valuable advice of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, Cowper's kinsman, to whom he hereby respectfully tenders his grateful acknowledgments for his condescension and kindness, in undertaking to examine the manuscript, and for the useful and judicious hints respecting it he was pleased to suggest.

Without concealing a single fact of real importance, the author has carefully avoided giving that degree of prominence to any painful circumstance in the poet's life, which would be likely to excite regret in the minds of any of his surviving relatives, and which, for reasons the most amiable and perfectly excusable, they might have wished had been suppressed; and he hopes it will be found that he has admitted nothing that can justly offend the most fastidious.

It is particularly the wish of the author to state, that he makes no pretensions to originality in this memoir. He wishes it to be regarded only as a compilation; and all the merit he claims for it, if, indeed, it has any, is for the arrangement of those materials which were already furnished for his use.

He has attempted to make the work interesting to all classes, especially to the lovers of literature and genuine piety, and to place within the reach of general readers, many of whom have neither the means nor the leisure to consult larger works, all that is really interesting respecting that singularly afflicted individual, whose productions, both poetic and prose, can never be read but with delight.

October 27, 1832.

CHAPTER I.

His parentage—Loss of his mother—Poetic description of her character—First school—Cruelty he experienced there—First serious impressions—Is placed under the care of an eminent oculist—Entrance upon Westminster School—Character while there—Removal thence—Entrance upon an attorney's office—Want of employment there—Unfitness for his profession—Early melancholy impressions.

William Cowper was born at Great Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, November 15, 1731. His father, Dr. John Cowper, chaplain to King George the Second, was the second son of Spencer Cowper, who was Chief Justice of Cheshire, and afterwards a Judge in the Court of Common Pleas, and whose brother William, first Earl Cowper, was, at the same time, Lord High Chancellor of England. His mother was Anne, daughter of Roger Donne, Esq. of Ludham Hall, Norfolk, who had a common ancestry with the celebrated Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.

In reference to this lady, it has been justly observed, by one of the poet's best biographers, "That the highest blood in the realm flowed in the veins of the modest and unassuming Cowper; his mother having descended through the families of Hippesley of Throughley, in Sussex, and Pellet, of Bolney, in the same county, from the several noble houses of West, Knollys, Carey, Bullen, Howard, and Mowbray, and so, by four different lines, from Henry the Third, King of England." Though, as the same writer properly remarks, "distinctions of this nature can shed no additional lustre on the memory of Cowper, yet genius, however exalted, disdains not, while it boasts not, the splendour of ancestry; and royalty itself may be pleased, and perhaps benefited, by discovering its kindred to such piety, such purity, and such talents as his."

Very little is known of the habits and disposition of Cowper's mother. From the following epitaph, however, inscribed on a monument, erected by her husband in the chancel of St. Peter's church, Great Berkhamstead, and composed by her niece, who afterwards became Lady Walsingham, she appears to have been a lady of the most amiable temper and agreeable manners:—

Here lies, in early years bereft of life,
The best of mothers, and the kindest wife,
Who neither knew nor practised any art,
Secure in all she wished—her husband's heart.
Her love to him still prevalent in death,
Pray'd Heaven to bless him with her latest breath.
Still was she studious never to offend,
And glad of an occasion to commend;
With ease would pardon injuries received,
Nor e'er was cheerful when another grieved.
Despising state, with her own lot content,
Enjoyed the comforts of a life well spent;
Resigned when Heaven demanded back her breath,
Her mind heroic 'midst the pangs of death.
Whoe'er thou art that dost this tomb draw near,
O, stay awhile, and shed a friendly tear;
These lines, though weak, are as herself sincere.

After giving birth to several children, this lady died in child-bed, in her thirty-seventh year; leaving only two sons, John the younger, and William the elder, who is the subject of this memoir. Cowper was only six years old when he lost his mother; and how deeply he was affected by her early death, may be inferred from the following exquisitely tender lines, composed more than fifty years afterwards, on the receipt of her portrait from a relation in Norfolk:—

"My mother! when I learned that thou wast dead,
Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed?
Hovered thy spirit o'er thy sorrowing son,
Wretch even then, life's journey just begun?
Perhaps thou gav'st me, though unseen, a kiss:
Perhaps a tear, if souls can weep in bliss!
I heard the bell tolled on thy burial day,
I saw the hearse that bore thee far away,
And, turning from my nursery-window, drew
A long, long sigh, and wept a last adieu!
But was it such? It was—Where thou art gone
Adieus and farewells are a sound unknown.
May I but meet thee on that peaceful shore,
The parting sound shall pass my lips no more!
Thy maidens grieved themselves at my concern,
Oft gave me promise of a quick return.
What ardently I wished, I long believed,
And, disappointed still, was still deceived.
By disappointment every day beguiled,
Dupe of to-morrow, even from a child.
Thus many a sad to-morrow came and went,
Till, all my stock of infant sorrow spent,
I learned at last submission to my lot,
But though I less deplored thee, ne'er forgot.
Could Time, his flight reversed, restore the hours
When playing with thy vesture's tissued flowers,
The violet, the pink, and jessamine,
I pricked them into paper with a pin,
(And thou wast happier than myself the while,
Would softly speak, and stroke my head, and smile,)
Could these few pleasant hours again appear,
Might one wish bring them, would I wish them here?
I would not trust my heart, the dear delight
Seems so to be desired, perhaps I might;
But no—what here we call our life is such,
So little to be loved, and thou so much,
That I should ill requite thee to constrain
Thy unbound spirit into bonds again.
Thou, as a gallant bark from Albion's coast
(The storm all weathered and the ocean crossed)
Shoots into port at some well-havened isle,
Where spices breathe, and brighter seasons smile,
There sits quiescent on the floods, that show
Her beauteous form reflected clear below,
While airs impregnated with incense play
Around her, fanning light her streamers gay:
So thou, with sails how swift! hast reached the shore
Where tempests never beat, nor billows roar.
And thy loved consort on the dangerous tide
Of life, long since, has anchored at thy side.
But me, scarce hoping to attain that rest,
Always from port withheld, always distressed—
Me, howling winds drive devious, tempest tost;
Sails ript, seams opening wide, and compass lost,
And day by day some current's thwarting force
Sets me more distant from a prosperous course.
But, oh! the thought that thou art safe, and he!
That thought is joy, arrive what may to me:
My boast is not that I deduce my birth
From loins enthroned and rulers of the earth,
But higher far my proud pretensions rise—
The son of parents passed into the skies!"

Deprived thus early of his excellent and most affectionate parent, he was sent, at this tender age, to a large school at Market-street, Hertfordshire, under the care of Dr. Pitman. Here he had hardships of different kinds to conflict with, which he felt more sensibly, in consequence of the tender manner in which he had been treated at home. His chief sorrow, however, arose from the cruel treatment he met with from a boy in the same school, about fifteen years of age, who on all occasions persecuted him with the most unrelenting barbarity; and who never seemed pleased except when he was tormenting him. This savage treatment impressed such a dread upon Cowper's tender mind of this boy, that he was afraid to lift up his eyes upon him higher than his knees; and he knew him better by his shoe-buckles than by any other part of his dress.

It was at this school, and on one of these painful occasions, that the mind of Cowper, which was afterwards to become imbued with religious feelings of the highest order, received its first impressions—a circumstance which cannot fail to be interesting to every Christian reader, and the more so as detailed in his own words.

"One day, as I was sitting alone on a bench in the school, melancholy, and almost ready to weep at the recollection of what I had already suffered, and expecting at the same time my tormentor every moment, these words of the Psalmist came into my mind—'I will not be afraid of what man can do unto me.' I applied this to my own case, with a degree of trust and confidence in God, that would have been no disgrace to a much more experienced Christian. Instantly I perceived in myself a briskness and a cheerfulness of spirit which I had never before experienced, and took several paces up and down the room with joyful alacrity. Happy had it been for me, if this early effort towards a dependance on the blessed God, had been frequently repeated. But, alas! it was the first and the last, between infancy and manhood."

From this school he was removed in his eighth year; and having at that time specks on both his eyes, which threatened to cover them, his father, alarmed for the consequences, placed him under the care of an eminent female oculist in London; in whose house he abode nearly two years. In this lady's family, religion was neither known nor practised; the slightest appearance of it, in any shape, was carefully concealed, even its outward forms were entirely unobserved. In a situation like this, it was not to be expected that young Cowper would long retain those serious impressions he had experienced; nor is it surprising, that before his removal thence he should have lost them entirely.

In his ninth year, he was sent to Westminster School, then under the care of Dr. Nicholls; who, though an ingenious and learned man, was nevertheless a negligent tutor; and one that encouraged his pupils in habits of indolence, not a little injurious to their future welfare. Here he remained seven years, and had frequent reason to complain of the same unkind treatment from some of his school-fellows, which he had before experienced. His timid, meek, and inoffensive spirit totally unfitted him for the hardships of a public school; and in all probability, the treatment he there received, produced in him an insuperable aversion to this method of instruction. We know but little of the actual progress he made while under the care of Dr. Nicholls; his subsequent eminence, however, as a scholar, proves that he must have been an attentive pupil, and must have made, at this period, a highly creditable proficiency in his studies.

While at this school, he was roused a second time to serious consideration. Crossing a churchyard late one evening, he saw a glimmering light in rather a remote part of it, which so excited his curiosity, as to induce him to approach it. Just as he arrived at the spot, a grave-digger, who was at work by the light of his lanthorn, threw up a skull-bone, which struck him on the leg. This little incident alarmed his conscience, and drew from him many painful reflections. The impression, however, was only temporary, and in a short time the event was entirely forgotten.

On another occasion, not long afterwards, he again at this early age, became the subject of religious impressions. It was the laudable practice ef Dr. Nicholls to take great pains to prepare his pupils for confirmation. The Doctor acquitted himself of this duty like one who had a deep sense of its importance, and young Cowper was struck by his manner, and much affected by his exhortations. He now, for the first time in his life, attempted prayer in secret, but being little accustomed to that exercise of the heart, and having very childish notions of religion, he found it a difficult and painful task, and was even then alarmed at his own insensibility. These impressions, however, like those made upon his mind before, soon wore off, and he relapsed into a total forgetfulness of God, with the usual disadvantage of being more hardened, for having been softened to no purpose. This was evidently the case with him, for on being afterwards seized with the small-pox, though he was in the most imminent danger, yet neither in the course of the disease, nor during his recovery from it, had he any sentiments of contrition, or any thoughts of God or eternity. He, however, derived one advantage from it—it removed, to a great degree, if it did not entirely cure, the disease in his eyes, proving, as he afterwards observed in a letter to Mr. Hayley, 'a better oculist than the lady who had him under her care.'

Such was the character of young Cowper, in his eighteenth year, when he left Westminster school. He had made a respectable proficiency in all his studies; but notwithstanding his previous serious impressions, he seems not to have had any more knowledge of the nature of religion, nor even to have discovered any more concern about it, than many other individuals have been known to feel, at an early age, who have never afterwards given it any attention. After spending six months at home, he was articled to a solicitor, with whom he was engaged to remain three years. In this gentleman's family, he neither saw nor heard any thing that could remind him of a single Christian duty; and here he might have lived utterly ignorant of the God that made him, had he not been providentially situated near his uncle's, in Southampton-row. At this favourite retreat, he was permitted to spend all his leisure time, and so seldom was he employed, that this was by far the greater part of it. With his uncle's family he passed nearly all his Sundays, and with some part of it he regularly attended public worship, but for which, probably, he would otherwise, owing to the force of evil example, have entirely neglected.

The choice of a profession for a youth is ever of paramount importance; if injudiciously made, it not unfrequently lays the foundation for much future disappointment and sorrow. It would certainly have been difficult, and perhaps impossible, to have selected one more unsuitable to the mind of Cowper than that of the law. As Mr. Hayley justly observes, "the law is a kind of soldiership, and, like the profession of arms, it may be said to require for the constitution of its heroes,

"A frame of adamant, a soul of fire."

"The soul of Cowper had, indeed, its fire, but fire so refined and ethereal, that it could not be expected to shine in the gross atmosphere of wordly contention." Reserved to an unusual and extraordinary degree, he was ill-qualified to contend with the activity unavoidably connected with this profession. Though he possessed the strongest powers of mind, and a richly-cultivated understanding, yet were they combined with such extreme sensibility, as totally disqualified him for the bustle of a court. An excessive tenderness, associated with a degree of shyness, not easily to be accounted for, utterly unfitted him for a profession that would often have placed him before the public, and brought him into contact with individuals not remarkable for such qualities. His extreme modesty, however, while it precluded the possibility of his being successful in this profession, endeared him inexpressibly to all who had the felicity to enjoy his society. Never was there a mind more admirably formed for communicating to others, in private life, the richest sources of enjoyment; and yet, such were the peculiarities of his nature, that often, while he delighted and interested all around him, he was himself extremely unhappy. The following lines, composed by him about this time, are not less valuable, for the developement they give of the state of his mind at that period, than they are remarkable for their exquisite tenderness and poetic beauty:—

"Doomed as I am in solitude to waste
The present moments, and regret the past;
Deprived of every joy I valued most,
My friend torn from me, and my mistress lost;
Call not this gloom I wear, this anxious mien,
The dull effect of humour or of spleen.
Still, still I mourn, with each returning day,
Him* snatched by fate in early youth away;
And her through tedious years of doubt and pain,
Fix'd in her choice, and faithful—but in vain!
O, prone to pity, generous, and sincere,
Whose eye ne'er yet refused the wretch a tear;
Whose heart the real claim of friendship knows,
Nor thinks a lover's are but fancied woes;
See me,—ere yet my destined course half done,
Cast forth a wanderer on the world unknown!
See me neglected on the world's rude coast,
Each dear companion of my voyage lost!
Nor ask why clouds of sorrow shade my brow,
And ready tears wait only leave to flow!
Why all that soothes a heart from anguish free,
All that delights the happy, palls with me!"

CHAPTER II.

Entrance into the Temple—Employment there—Depression of his mind—Religious impressions—Visit to Southampton—Sudden removal of sorrow—Death of his father—Appointment to the office of reading clerk in the House of Lords—Dread of appearing in public—Consequent abandonment of the situation—Is proposed as clerk of the Journals—Feelings on the occasion—Visit to Margate—Return to London—Preparation for entering upon his office—Distressing sensations on the occasion—Is compelled to relinquish it for ever—Serious attack of depression—Visit of his brother.

At the age of 21, in 1752, Cowper left the solicitor's house, and took possession of a complete set of chambers in the Inner Temple. Here he remained nearly twelve years. And as this may justly be considered the most valuable part of life, it must ever be regretted that he suffered it to pass away so unprofitably. During this important and lengthened period he scarcely did anything more than compose a few essays and poems, either to gratify, or to assist some literary friend. Prompted by benevolent motives, he furnished several pieces for a work, entitled "The Connoisseur," edited by Robert Lloyd, Esq., to whom he was sincerely and warmly attached.

The following extract from a most playful poetic epistle, addressed to that gentleman, will be read with interest, as it shows that he began at that time to feel symptoms of the depressive malady, which afterwards became to him a source of so much misery.

"'Tis not that I design to rob
Thee of thy birthright, gentle Bob,
For thou art born sole heir, and single,
Of dear Mat Prior's easy jingle;
Nor that I mean, while thus I knit
My thread-bare sentiments together,
To show my genius, or my wit,
When God and you know I have neither;

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* Sir William Russell, Bart., a favourite friend of the young poet.

Or such as might be better shown,
By letting poetry alone.
'Tis not with either of these views
That I presume to address the muse;
But to divert a fierce banditti
(Sworn foes to every thing that's witty;)
That with a black infernal train,
Make cruel inroads on my brain,
And daily threatens to drive thence
My little garrison of sense;
The fierce banditti which I mean,
Are gloomy thoughts, led on by spleen."

While he remained in the Temple he cultivated the friendship of the most distinguished writers of the day; and took a lively interest in their publications, as they appeared. Instead, however, of applying his richly furnished mind to the composition of some original work, for which, the pieces he incidentally wrote, proved him fully competent, his timid spirit contented itself with occasional displays of its rich and varied capabilities. Translation from ancient and modern poets was one of his most favourite amusements. So far, however, was he from deriving any benefit from these compositions, most of which were masterly productions, that he invariably distributed them gratuitously among his friends, as they might happen to request them. In this way he assisted his amiable friend and scholar, Mr. Duncombe; for we find in Duncombe's Horace, published by him in 1759, that two of the satires were translated by Cowper.

When Cowper entered the Temple he paid little or no attention to religion; all those serious impressions which he had once experienced were gone; and he was left, at that dangerous and critical season of life, surrounded by innumerable most powerful temptations, without any other principles for his guide, than the corrupt affections of our common nature. It pleased God, however, at the very outset, to prevent him from pursuing that rash and ruinous career of wickedness, into which many plunge with heedless and awful insensibility. The feelings of his peculiarly sensitive mind on this occasion he thus describes.

"Not long after my settlement in the Temple, I was struck with such a dejection of spirits, as none but those who have felt the same can have the least conception of. Day and night I was upon the rack, lying down in horror, and rising up in despair. I presently lost all relish for those studies to which I had before been closely attached; the classics had no longer any charms for me; I had need of something more salutary than amusement, but I had no one to direct me where to find it."

"At length I met with Herbert's poems; and, gothic and uncouth as they are, I yet found in them a strain of piety which I could not but admire. This was the only author I had any delight in reading. I pored over him all day long; and though I found not in his work what I might have found—a cure for my malady, yet my mind never seemed so much alleviated as while I was reading it. At length I was advised, by a very near and dear relative, to lay it aside, for he thought such an author more likely to nourish my disorder than to remove it."

"In this state of mind I continued near a twelvemonth; when, having experienced the inefficacy of all human means, I at length betook myself to God in prayer. Such is the rank our Redeemer holds in our esteem, that we never resort to him but in the last instance, when all creatures have failed to succour us! My hard heart was at length softened, and my stubborn knees brought to bow. I composed a set of prayers, and made frequent use of them. Weak as my faith was, the Almighty, who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, was graciously pleased to listen to my cry, instead of frowning me away in anger."

"A change of scene was recommended to me; and I embraced an opportunity of going with some friends to Southampton, where I spent several months. Soon after our arrival, we walked to a place called Freemantle, about a mile from the town; the morning was clear and calm; the sun shone brightly upon the sea, and the country on the border of it was the most beautiful I had ever seen. We sat down upon an eminence, at the end of that arm of the sea which runs between Southampton and the New Forrest. Here it was, that on a sudden, as if another sun had been created that instant in the heavens on purpose to dispel sorrow and vexation of spirit, I felt the weight of all my misery taken off; my heart became light and joyful in a moment; I could have wept with transport had I been alone. I must needs believe that nothing less than the Almighty fiat could have filled me with such inexpressible delight; not by a gradual dawning of peace, but, as it were, with a flash of his life-giving countenance. I felt a glow of gratitude to the Father of mercies for this unexpected blessing, and ascribed it, at first, to his gracious acceptance of my prayers; but Satan and my own wicked heart quickly persuaded me that I was indebted for my deliverance to nothing but a change of scene, and the amusing varieties of the place. By this means, he turned the blessing into a poison; teaching me to conclude, that nothing but a continued circle of diversion, and indulgence of appetite, could secure me from a relapse. Acting upon this false and pernicious principle, as soon as I returned to London, I burnt my prayers, and away went all my thoughts of devotion, and of dependence upon God my Saviour. Surely, it was of his mercy that I was not consumed. Glory be to his grace."

"I obtained, at length, so complete a victory over my conscience, that all remonstrances from that quarter were in vain, and in a manner silenced, though sometimes, indeed, a question would arise in my mind, whether it were safe to proceed any farther in a course so plainly and utterly condemned in the Scriptures. I saw clearly, that if the gospel were true, such a conduct must inevitably end in my destruction; but I saw not by what means I could change my Ethiopian complexion, or overcome such an inveterate habit of rebelling against God."

"The next thing that occurred to me, at such a time, was a doubt whether the gospel were true or false. To this succeeded many an anxious wish for the decision of this important question; for I foolishly thought that obedience would follow, were I but convinced that it was worth while to attend to it. Having no reason to expect a miracle, and not hoping to be satisfied with any thing less, I acquiesced, at length, in favour of that impious conclusion, that the only course I could take to secure my present peace, was to wink hard against the prospects of future misery, and to resolve to banish all thoughts of a subject upon which I thought to so little purpose. Nevertheless, when I was in the company of deists, and heard the gospel blasphemed, I never failed to assert the truth of it with much vehemence of disputation, for which I was the better qualified, having been always an industrious and diligent inquirer into the evidences by which it is externally supported. I think I once went so far into a controversy of this kind as to assert, that I would gladly submit to have my right hand cut off, so that I might but be enabled to live according to the gospel. Thus have I been employed in vindicating the truth of Scripture, while in the very act of rebelling against its dictates. Lamentable inconsistency of a convinced judgment with an unsanctified heart!—an inconsistency, indeed, evident to others as well as to myself; inasmuch as a deistical companion of mine, with whom I was disputing upon the subject, cut short the matter by alleging, that if what I said were true, I was certainly condemned, by my own showing."

In 1756, Cowper sustained a heavy domestic loss, in the death of his excellent father, towards whom he had always felt the strongest parental regard. Such, however, was the depressed state of his mind at this season, that he was much less affected by the solemn event, than he would probably have been had it occurred at any earlier or later period of his life. Perceiving that he should inherit but little fortune from his father, he now found it necessary to adopt some plan to augment his income. It became every day more apparent to his friends, as well as to himself, that his extreme diffidence precluded the possibility of his being successful in his profession. After much anxiety of mind on this subject, he at length mentioned it to a friend, who had two situations at his disposal, the Reading Clerk, and Clerk of the Journals in the House of Lords—situations, either of which Cowper then thought would suit him, and one of which he expressed a desire to obtain, should a vacancy occur. Quite unexpectedly to him, as well as to his friend, both these places, in a short time afterwards, became vacant; and as the Reading Clerk's was much the more valuable of the two, his friend generously offered it to him, which offer he gladly and gratefully accepted, and he was accordingly appointed to it in his thirty-first year.

All his friends were delighted with this providential opening: he himself, at first, looked forward to it with pleasure, intending, as soon as he was settled, to unite himself with an amiable and accomplished young lady, one of his cousins, for whom he had long cherished a tender attachment. These fond hopes, however, were never realized. The situation required him to appear at the bar of the House of Peers; and the apprehension of this public exhibition quite overwhelmed his meek and gentle spirit. So acute were his distressing apprehensions, that, notwithstanding the previous efforts he made to qualify himself for the office, long before the day arrived that he was to enter upon it, such was the embarrassed and melancholy state of his mind, that he was compelled to relinquish it entirely. His harassed and dejected feelings on this occasion he thus affectingly describes :—

"All the considerations by which I endeavoured to compose my mind to its former tranquillity, did but torment me the more, proving miserable comforters, and counsellors of no value. I returned to my chambers, thoughtful and unhappy; my countenance fell ; and my friend was astonished, instead of that additional cheerfulness which he might have so reasonably expected, to find an air of deep melancholy in all I said or did. Having been harassed in this manner, by day and night, for the space of a week, perplexed between the apparent folly of casting away the only visible chance I had of being well provided for, and the impossibility of retaining it, I determined at length to write a letter to my friend, though he lodged, in a manner, at the next door, and we generally spent the day together. I did so, and begged him to accept my resignation of the Reading Clerk's place, and to appoint me to the other situation. I was well aware of the disproportion between the value of the appointments, but my peace was gone : pecuniary advantages were not equivalent to what I had lost ; and I flattered myself that the Clerkship of the Journals would fall, fairly and easily, within the scope of my abilities. Like a man in a fever, I thought a change of posture would relieve my pain, and, as the event will show, was equally disappointed. My friend, at length, after considerable reluctance, accepted of my resignation, and appointed me to the least profitable office. The matter being thus settled, something like a calm took place in my mind : I was, indeed, not a little concerned about my character, being aware that it must needs suffer by the strange appearance of my proceeding. This, however, being but a small part of the anxiety I had laboured under, was hardly felt when the rest was taken off. I thought my path towards an easy maintenance was now plain and open, and, for a day or two, was tolerably cheerful : but behold, the storm was gathering all the while, and the fury of it was not the less violent from this gleam of sunshine."

"A strong opposition to my friend's right of nomination began to show itself. A powerful party was formed among the lords to thwart it, and it appeared plain, that if we succeeded at last, it could only be by fighting our ground by inches. Every advantage, I was told, would be sought for, and eagerly seized, to disconcert us. I was led to expect an examination at the bar of the house, touching my sufficiency for the post I had taken. Being necessarily ignorant of the nature of that business, it became expedient that I should visit the office daily, in order to qualify myself for the strictest scrutiny. All the horror of my fears and perplexities now returned ; a thunderbolt would have been as welcome to me as this intelligence. I knew that, upon such terms, the Clerkship of the Journals was no place for me. To require my attendance at the bar of the House, that I might there publicly entitle myself to the office, was, in effect, to exclude me from it. In the mean time, the interest of my friend, the causes of his choice, and my own reputation and circumstances, all urged me forward, and pressed me to undertake that which I saw to be impracticable. They whose spirits are formed like mine, to whom a public exhibition of themselves, on any occasion, is mortal poison, may have some idea of the horror of my situation—others can have none. My continual misery at length brought on a nervous fever : quiet forsook me by day, and peace by night ; even a finger raised against me seemed more than I could bear."

"In this posture of mind, I attended regularly at the office, where, instead of a soul upon the rack, the most active spirits were essential to my purpose. I expected no assistance from any one there, all the inferior clerks being under the influence of my opponents ; accordingly, I received none. The Journal books were, indeed, thrown open to me, a thing which could not be refused, and from which, perhaps, a man in health, with a head turned to business, might have gained all the information wanted. But it was not so with me. I read without perception, and was so distressed, that had every clerk in the office been my friend, it would have availed me little, for I was not in a condition to receive instruction, much less to elicit it from manuscripts, without direction."

The following extract from a letter to his amiable cousin, Lady Hesketh, written 9th August, 1763, through which runs that happy mixture, of what may not perhaps improperly be termed, playful seriousness, which distinguishes almost the whole of his epistolary productions, and imparts to them a charm superior to that of almost any other writer, will illustrate the state of his mind at that period. "Having promised to write to you, I make haste to be as good as my word. I have a pleasure in writing to you at any time, but especially at the present, when my days are spent in reading the Journals, and my nights in dreaming of them, an employment not very agreeable to a head that has long been habituated to the luxury of choosing its subject, and has been as little employed upon business, as if it had grown upon the shoulders of a much wealthier gentleman. But the numscull pays for it now, and will not presently forget the discipline it has undergone lately. If I succeed in this doubtful piece of promotion, I shall have at least the satisfaction to reflect upon, that the volumes I write will be treasured up with the utmost care for ages, and will last as long as the English constitution, a duration which ought to satisfy the vanity of any author. Oh my good cousin ! If I was to open my heart to you, I could show you strange sights ; nothing, I flatter myself, that would shock you, but a good deal that would make you wonder. I am of a very singular temper, and very unlike all the men that I have ever conversed with. Certainly I am not an absolute fool ; but I have more weakness than the greatest of all fools I can recollect at present. In short, if I was as fit for the next world as I am unfit for this —and God forbid that I should speak it in vanity—I would not change conditions with any saint in Christendom. Ever since I was born, I have been good at disappointing the most natural expectations. Many years ago, cousin, there was a possibility that I might prove a very different thing from what I am at present. My character is now fixed, and riveted fast upon me ; and, between friends, is not a very splendid one, or likely to be guilty of much fascination."

Many months was Cowper thus employed, constant in the use of means to qualify himself for the office, yet despairing as to the issue. At length he says,

"The vacation being pretty far advanced, I repaired to Margate. There, by the help of cheerful company, a new scene, and the intermission of my painful employment, I presently began to recover my spirits ; though even here, for some time after my arrival, (notwithstanding, perhaps, the preceding day had been spent agreeably, and without any disturbing recollection of my circumstances,) my first reflections, when I awoke in the morning, were horrible and full of wretchedness. I looked forward to the approaching winter, and regretted the flight of every moment which brought it nearer, like a man borne away, by a rapid torrent, into a stormy sea, whence he sees no possibility of returning, and where he knows he cannot subsist. By degrees, I acquired such a facility in turning away my thoughts from the ensuing crisis, that, for weeks together, I hardly adverted to it at all : but the stress of the tempest was yet to come, and was not to be avoided by any resolution of mine to look another way."

"How wonderful are the works of the Lord, and his ways past finding out ! Thus was he preparing me for an event which I least of all expected, even the reception of his blessed gospel, working by means which, in all human contemplation, must needs seem directly opposite to that purpose, but which, in his wise and gracious disposal, have, I trust, effectually accomplished it."

In October, 1763, Cowper was again required to attend the office, and prepare for the final push. This recalled all his fears, and produced a renewal of all his former misery. On revisiting the scene of his previous ineffectual labours, he felt himself pressed by difficulties on either side, with nothing before him but prospects of gloom and despair. He saw that he must either keep possession of the situation to the last extremity, and thus expose himself to the risk of public rejection for his insufficiency, or relinquish it at once, and thus run the hazard of ruining his benefactor's right of appointment, and losing the only chance he seemed to have of procuring for himself a comfortable competence for life, and of being united to the individual to whom he was most tenderly and affectionately attached.

His terrors on this occasion had become so overwhelming, as to induce that lamented aberration of mind under which he is generally known to have suffered. The dreadful apprehensions which for so long a time had haunted him day and night, leaving him not a moment's interval of peace, had, at length, wound him up to the highest pitch of mental agony. The anguish of his lacerated spirit was inconceivable. The idea of appearing in public was, to his gentle but amiable mind, even more bitter than death. To his disordered perception there appeared no possibility for him to escape from the horrors of his situation, but by an escape from life itself. Death, which he had always shuddered at before, he began ardently to wish for now. He could see nothing before him but difficulties perfectly insurmountable. The supposed ruined state of his pecuniary circumstances—the imagined contempt of his relations and acquaintance—and the apprehended prejudice he should do his patron, urged the fatal expedient upon his shattered intellect, which he now meditated with inexpressible energy.

At this important crisis, when it pleased God, who giveth not to man an account of his proceedings, to permit a cloud, darker than midnight, to gather round the mind of the poet, so that he saw no possible way of escape but the one above alluded to, and when he peculiarly needed the counsel of some judicious and kind friend, it so happended that he fell successively into the company of two most unhappy sophists, who both advanced claims to the right of self-destruction, and whose fallacious arguments won him over to their pernicious views. This was, unhappily, rendered more easy than it otherwise would have been, by his recollection of an impious book which he had read when very young, the arguments of which, though they then appeared to him, in their true light, as utterly inconclusive and perfectly contemptible, now came afresh to his disordered mind, and seemed irrefutable; the situation in which he was now placed, inducing him to catch eagerly at anything that would justify the means of relief to which he wished to resort. How careful ought all to be, who are entrusted with the education of youth, that no pernicious books may fall into their hands! No evil consequences may, perhaps, arise from it at the time, but who can calculate what may be the future result?

The disordered state of Cowper's mind, at this period, will be seen by the following anecdote. Taking up a newspaper for the day, his eye caught a satirical letter which it happened to contain, and though it had no relation whatever to his case, he doubted not but the writer was fully acquainted with his purpose, and in fact, intended to hasten its execution. Wrought up to a degree of anguish almost unbearable, he now experienced a convulsive agitation that in a manner deprived him of all his powers. Hurried on by the deplorable inducements above related, and perceiving no possibility of escaping from his misery by any other means, all around him wearing only an aspect of gloom and despair, it will be no wonder to the reader, that before the tremendous day approached, the day on which his tender spirit was to have encountered an examination before the House of Lords, he had made several attempts at the escape above alluded to. Most happily, indeed, and most mercifully, for himself and for others, they were only attempts; for it was the will of a gracious Providence, not only to preserve his life for the exercise of a sound and vigorous mind, but to make that mind an instrument of incalculable benefit to his country, and, we may almost say, to the world, by advancing and promoting the best interests of mankind, morality, and religion.

The depths of affliction and sorrow which the amiable sufferer now endured were such, that he might truly say with the Psalmist, "All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me, I am troubled. I am bowed down greatly, my heart is pained within me, my sorrow is continually before me; fearfulness and trembling are come upon me. I sink in deep mire where is no standing, I am come into deep waters where the floods overflow me." When at length the long-dreaded day arrived, the approach of which he had feared more than he feared death itself, such were the melancholy results of his distress, that all his friends immediately acquiesced in the propriety of his relinquishing the situation for ever. Thus ended, his connexion with the House of Lords; unhappily, however, his sufferings did not end here. Despair still inflicted on him its deadliest sting, and he saw not how it could be extracted; Grief poured its full tide of anguish into his heart, and he could perceive nothing before him but one interminable prospect of misery.

"O Providence! mysterious are thy ways!
Inflexible thine everlasting plans!
The finite power of man can ne'er resist
The unseen hand which guides, protects, preserves,
Nor penetrates the inscrutable design
Of Him, whose council is his sovereign will.
Prosperity's bright sun withdraws his beams,
Thick clouds and tempests gather round the sky,
The winds of fierce temptations, and the waves
Of trials fell, assault the feeble bark,
And drive it headlong 'midst the cragged rocks.
We look with wonder on, but seek in vain
The deep designs of Heaven herein to scan;
The sacred page itself reveals not this.
Yet who that knows there is a Power above
Would not 'assert eternal Providence,
And justify the works of God to man?'"

At this period of the poet's history, it appears desirable to remark, in confutation of those who attribute, or at least endeavour to attribute his malady to his religion, that, viewed either as an originating cause, or in any other light, it can never be proved to have had any connection with it. It will not be denied, that those sacred truths, which, in all cases where they are properly received, prove an unfailing source of the most salutary contemplation to the underanged mind, were in his case, through the distorting medium of his malady, converted into a vehicle of intellectual poison. It is, however, as Dr. Johnson well observes, "a most erroneous and unhappy idea to suppose, that those views of Christianity which Cowper adopted, and of which, when enjoying the intervals of reason, after he was brought to the knowledge of them, he was so bright an ornament, had in any degree contributed to excite the malady with which he was afflicted. It is capable of the clearest demonstration that nothing was further from the truth. On the contrary, all those alleviations of sorrow, those delightful anticipations of heavenly rest, those healing consolations to a wounded spirit, of which he was permitted to taste, at the period when interrupted reason resumed its sway, were unequivocally to be ascribed to the operation of those very principles and views of religion, which, in the instance before us have been charged with producing so opposite an effect. The primary aberration of his mental faculties were wholly to be attributed to other causes," as indeed will satisfactorily appear, by the following affecting description he has given of himself at this period.

"To this moment I had felt no concern of a spiritual kind: ignorant of original sin; insensible of the guilt of actual transgression, I understood neither the law nor the gospel—the condemning nature of the one, nor the restoring mercies of the other. I was as much unacquainted with Christ in all his saving offices, as if his name had never reached me. Now, therefore, a new scene opened upon me."

"My sins were set in array against me, and I began to see and feel that I had lived without God in the world. One moment I thought myself shut out from mercy by one chapter, and the next by another. The sword of the Spirit seemed to guard the tree of life against my touch, and to flame against me in every avenue by which I attempted to approach it. I particularly remember, that the parable of the barren fig-tree was to me an inconceivable source of anguish. I applied it to my case, with a strong persuasion that it was a curse pronounced on me by the Saviour."

"In every volume I opened I found something that struck me to the heart. I remember taking up one; and the first sentence I saw condemned me. Every thing seemed to preach to me, not the gospel of mercy, but the curse of the law. In a word, I saw myself a sinner altogether; but I saw not yet a glimpse of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus the Lord."

Cowper now wrote to his brother to inform him of the afflicting circumstances in which he was placed. His brother immediately paid him a visit, and employed every means in his power to alleviate his distress. All his efforts, however, proved unavailing; he found him almost overwhelmed with despair, pertinaciously maintaining, in spite of all remonstrances to the contrary, that he had been guilty of the unpardonable sin, in not properly improving the mercy of God towards him at Southampton. No favourable construction put upon his conduct, in that instance by his brother, nor any argument he employed, afforded him a moment's alleviation of his distress. He rashly concluded that he had no longer any interest in the atonement, or in the gifts of the Spirit, and that nothing was left for him but the dismal prospect of eternally enduring the wrath of God. His brother pierced to the heart at the sight of his misery, used every means to comfort him, but all to no purpose, so deeply seated was his depression, that it rendered utterly useless all the soothing reflections that were suggested.

At this trying period Cowper remembered his friend and relative, the Rev. Martin Madan; and, though he had always considered him an enthusiast, he was now convinced that, if there was any balm in Gilead for him, Mr. Madan was the only person who could administer it. His friend lost no time in paying him a visit; and perceiving the state of his mind, he began immediately to declare unto him the gospel of Christ. He spoke of original sin, of the corruption of every man born into the world; of the efficacy of the atonement made by Jesus

Christ; of the Redeemer's compassion for lost sinners, and of the full salvation provided for them in the gospel. He then adverted to the Saviour's intercession; described him as a compassionate Redeemer, who felt deeply interested in the welfare of every true penitent, who could sympathize with those who were in distress, and who was able to save unto the uttermost all that come unto God by him. To this important information Cowper listened with the greatest attention; hope seemed to dawn upon his disconsolate mind; his heart burned within him while he listened to the word of life; his soul was pierced with a sense of his great ingratitude to so merciful a Saviour; tears of contrition burst from his eyes; he saw clearly that this was the remedy his case required; and felt fully persuaded that this was indeed the gospel of salvation. He, however, wanted that faith without which he could not recover its blessings. He saw the suitability of this gospel to his circumstances, but saw not yet how one, so vile as he conceived himself to be, could hope to partake of its benefits.

Mr. Madan urged the necessity of a lively faith in the Redeemer, not as an assent of the understanding only, but as the cordial belief of the heart unto righteousness; assured him, that though faith was the gift of God, yet was it a gift that our heavenly Father was most willing to bestow, not on one only, but on all that sought it by earnest and persevering prayer. Cowper deeply deplored the want of this faith, and could only reply to his friend's remarks, in a brief but very sincere petition, "Most earnestly do I wish it would please God to bestow it on *me*."

His brother, perceiving he had received some benefit from this interview, in his desire to relieve the poet's depressed mind, wisely overlooked the difference of sentiments on the great subjects of religion, which then existed between himself and Mr. Madan, and discovered the greatest anxiety, that he should embrace the earliest opportunity to converse with him again. He now urged Cowper to visit Mr. Madan at his own house, and offered to accompany him thither. After much entreaty Cowper consented; and though the conversation was not then the means of affording him any permanent relief, it was not without its use. He was easier, but not easy; the wounded spirit within him was less in pain, but by no means healed. A long train of still greater terrors than any he had yet endured was at hand; and when he awoke the next morning, after a few hours' sleep, he seemed to feel a stronger alienation from God than ever. He was now again the subject of the deepest mental anguish; the sorrows of death seemed to encompass, and the pains of hell to get hold of him; his ears rang with the sound of the torments that seemed to await him; his terrified imagination presented to him many horrible visions, and led him to conceive that he heard many horrible sounds; his heart seemed at every pulse to beat its last; his conscience scared him; the avenger of blood seemed to pursue him; and he saw no city of refuge into which he could flee; every moment he expected the earth would open, and swallow him up.

He was now suddenly attacked with that nervous affection, of which the peculiar form of his mind seemed to have made him susceptible, which, on several subsequent occasions darkened his brightest prospects, and which, ultimately overwhelmed his meek and gentle spirit, and caused him to end his days in circumstances the most gloomy and sorrowful. So violent was the attack on this occasion, that his friends instantly perceived the change, and consulted on the best manner to dispose of him. Dr. Cotton then kept an establishment at St. Alban's for the reception of such patients. His skill as a physician, his well-known humanity and sweetness of temper, and the acquaintance that had subsisted between him and the afflicted patient, slight as it was, determined them to place him under the doctor's care. No determination could have been more wisely taken; and subsequent events proved it to have been under His superintendence, who orders all things according to the councils of his own will, and who, with the tenderest solicitude, watches over his people; managing those events which to us appear contingent, on principles of unerring wisdom; and overruling them for the accomplishment of his gracious and benevolent intentions.

"An anxious world may sigh in vain for what
Kind Heaven decrees in goodness to withhold;
But the momentous volume of his mind,
When seen in yonder world, shall be approved,
And all its plans pronounced unerring love."

CHAPTER III.

His removal to St. Albans—Painful state of his mind there—Receives a visit from his brother—Good effects of it—His recovery—How it was effected—His subsequent happiness—Pleasing conversation with Dr. Cotton—The delightful manner in which he now passed his time—Description of his experience—His gratitude to God—Employs his brother to look out for him a new residence—Leaves St. Albans—Feelings on the occasion.

On the 7th December, 1763, he was removed to St. Albans, and placed under the care of Dr. Cotton. And, notwithstanding the skilful and judicious treatment pursued to effect his restoratron, he remained in the same gloomy and desponding state for five months. Every means that ingenuity could devise, and that benevolence and tenderness could prompt, were resorted to for this protracted period in vain. To describe in lengthened detail the state of his mind during this long interval, would justly be deemed injudicious. As Mr. Hayley very properly remarks, "Mental derangement is a topic of such awful delicacy, that it is the duty of a biographer, rather to sink in tender silence, than to proclaim with offensive temerity, the minute particulars of a calamity to which all human beings are exposed, and, perhaps, in proportion as they have received from nature, those delightful but dangerous gifts—a heart of exquisite tenderness, and a mind of creative energy." This, as Cowper most beautifully sings;—

"This is a sight for pity to peruse,
Till she resembles faintly what she views;
This, of all maladies that man infest,
Claims most compassion, and receives the least."

Without, however, entering minutely into particulars, on this painful subject, it will not be deemed improper to mention some of the leading facts respecting it, and here we shall allow the poet again to become his own biographer.

"The accuser of the brethren was ever busy with me night and day, bringing to my recollection, the commission of long-forgotten sins, and charging upon my conscience, things of an indifferent nature as atrocious crimes. Conviction of sin and despair of mercy, were the two prominent evils with which I was continually tormented. But, blessed be the God of my salvation for every sigh I drew, and for every tear I shed, since thus it pleased him to judge me here, that I might not be judged hereafter."

"After five months' continued expectation that the divine vengeance would plunge me into the bottomless pit, I became so familiar with despair, as to have contracted a sort of hardiness and indifference as to the event. I began to persuade myself, that while the execution of the sentence was suspended, it would be for my interest to indulge a less horrible train of ideas, than I had been accustomed to muse upon. I entered into conversation with the doctor, laughed at his stories, and told him some of my own to match them; still, however, carrying a sentence of irrevocable doom in my heart. He observed the seeming alteration with pleasure, and began to think my recovery well nigh completed; but the only thing that could promote and effectuate my cure, was yet wanting; an experimental knowledge of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus."

"About this time my brother came from Cambridge to pay me a visit. Dr. C. having informed him, that he thought me better, he was disappointed at finding me almost as silent and reserved as ever. As soon as we were left alone, he asked me how I found myself; I answered, as much better as despair can make me. We went together into the garden. Here, on my expressing a settled assurance of sudden judgment, he protested to me that it was all a delusion; and protested so strongly, that I could not help giving some attention to him. I burst into tears, and cried out, If it be a delusion, then am I the happiest of beings. Something like a ray of hope was now shot into my heart; but still I was afraid to indulge it. We dined together, and I spent the afternoon in a more cheerful manner. Something seemed to whisper to me, every moment, still there is mercy. Even after he left me, this change of sentiment gathered ground continually; yet, my mind was in such a fluctuating state, that I can only call it a vague presage of better things at hand, without being able to assign any reason for it."

."A few days after my arrival at St. Albans, I had thrown aside the Bible as a book in which I had no longer any interest or portion. The only instance in which I can recollect reading a single chapter, was about two months before my recovery. Having found a Bible on the bench in the garden, I opened it upon the 11th of John, where the miracle of Lazarus being raised from the dead is described; and I saw so much benevolence, goodness, and mercy, in the Saviour's conduct, that I almost shed tears at the relation, little thinking that it was an exact type of the mercy, which Jesus was on the point of extending towards myself. I sighed, and said, Oh, that I had not rejected so good a Redeemer, that I had not forfeited all his favour! Thus was my hard heart softened; and though my mind was not yet enlightened, God was gradually preparing me for the light of his countenance, and the joys of his salvation."

"The cloud of horror which had so long hung over my mind began rapidly to pass away, every moment came fraught with hopes. I felt persuaded that I was not utterly doomed to destruction. The way of salvation was still, however, hid from my eyes; nor did I see it clearer than before my illness, I only thought, that if it pleased God to spare me, I would lead a better life; and that I would yet escape hell, if a religious observance of my duty would secure me from it. Thus, may the terror of the Lord make a pharisee; but only the sweet voice of mercy in the gospel can make a Christian."

"But the happy period, which was to shake off my fetters, and afford me a clear discovery of the free mercy of God in Christ Jesus, was now arrived. I flung myself into a chair, near the window, and seeing a Bible there, ventured once more to apply to it for comfort and instruction. The first verse I saw, was, the 25th of the 3rd of Romans: '*Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.*' Immediately I received strength to believe, and the full beams of the sun of righteousness shone upon me. I saw the sufficiency of the atonement he had made for my pardon and complete justification. In a moment I believed, and received the peace of the gospel. Whatever my friend Madan had said to me, long before, revived in all its clearness, with the demonstration of the spirit, and with power."

"Unless the Almighty arm had been under me, I think I should have been overwhelmed with gratitude and joy. My eyes filled with tears, and my voice choked with transport. I could only look up to heaven in silent fear, overwhelmed with love and wonder. But the work of the Holy Spirit is best described in his own words:—it is '*Joy unspeakable and full of glory.*' Thus was my heavenly Father in Christ Jesus, pleased to give me the full assurance of faith; and, out of a strong, unbelieving heart, to raise up a child unto Abraham. How glad should I now have been to have spent every moment in prayer and thanksgiving! I lost no opportunity of repairing to a throne of grace; but flew to it with an earnestness irresistible, and never to be satisfied. Could I help it? Could I do otherwise than love and rejoice in my reconciled Father in Christ Jesus? The Lord had enlarged my heart, and I could now cheerfully run in the way of his commandments."

"For many succeeding weeks tears would be ready to flow if I did but speak of the gospel, or mention the name of Jesus. To rejoice day and night was all my employment; too happy to sleep much, I thought it but lost time that was thus spent. Oh, that the ardour of my first love had continued! But I have known many a lifeless and unhallowed hour since; long intervals of darkness, interrupted by short returns of peace and joy in believing."

His excellent physician, ever watchful and apprehensive for his welfare, now became alarmed, lest the sudden transition, from despair to joy, should wholly overpower his mind; but the Lord was his strength and his song, and had become his salvation. Christ was now formed in his heart, the hope of glory; his fears were all dispelled; despair, with its horrid train of evils, was banished from his mind; a new and delightful scene was now opened before him; he became the subject of new affections, new desires, and new joys; in a word, old things were passed away, and all things were become new. God had brought him up out of the horrible pit, and out of the miry clay, and had put a new song into his mouth, even praise to his God. He felt the full force of that liberty, of which he afterwards so sweetly sung—

————— "A liberty unsung
By poets, and by senators unpraised,
. . . .
E'en liberty of heart, derived from heaven;
Bought with his blood who gave it to mankind,
And sealed with the same token!"

The apprehensions of Dr. C. soon subsided; he saw with delight undoubted proofs of his patient's perfect recovery, became satisfied with the soundness of his cure, and subsequently had much sweet communion with him in conversing about the great things of salvation. He now visited him every morning, as long as he remained under his care, which was near twelve months after his recovery, and the gospel was invariably the delightful theme of their conversation. The patient and the physician became thus every day more endeared to each other; and Cowper often afterwards looked back upon this period, as among the happiest days he had ever spent.

His time no longer hung heavily upon his hands; but every moment of it that he could command was employed in seeking to acquire more comprehensive views of the gospel. The Bible became his constant companion; from this pure fountain of truth he drank of that living water, which was in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life. Conversation on spiritual subjects afforded him a high degree of enjoyment. Many delightful seasons did he spend thus employed, while he remained with his beloved physician. His first transports of joy having subsided, a sweet serenity of spirit succeeded, uninterrupted by any of those distressing sensations which he had before experienced; prayer and praise were his daily employment; his heart overflowed with love to his Redeemer, and his meditation of him was sweet. In his own expressive and beautiful lines, he felt—

"Ere yet mortality's fine threads gave way,
A clear escape from tyrannizing sin,
And full immunity from penal woe."

His application to the study of the Scriptures must at this time have been intense; for in the short space of twelve months he acquired comprehensive and scriptural views of the great plan of redemption; and, in addition to this, his conceptions of real Christian experience, as distinguished from delusion and hypocrisy, were accurate and striking, and such as one would only have expected from an experienced Christian. He now composed two hymns, which exhibit an interesting proof of the scriptural character of those religious views he had then embraced. These hymns he himself styles specimens of his first Christian thoughts. Delightful specimens indeed they are; and the circumstances under which they were composed will greatly enhance their value in the minds of those to whom they have long been endeared by their own intrinsic excellence. The first is upon Revelations xxi. 5.; the second is entitled Retirement. The following lines of it are so touchingly beautiful, so correctly descriptive of the overflowings of his heart in solitude, while he walked with God, and was a stranger in the earth, having left his own connections, and not yet found new ones in the church; and breathe throughout in strains so pure, tender, and unreserved, the language of the Christian's first love, that they cannot fail to be read with deep interest.

"The calm retreat, the silent shade,
With prayer and praise agree;
And seem by thy sweet bounty made
For those who follow thee.

There, if thy Spirit touch the soul,
And grace her mean abode,
Oh, with what peace, and joy, and love,
She communes with her God.

There like the nightingale she pours
Her solitary lays;
Nor asks a witness of her song,
Nor thirsts for human praise."

His letters, written about this period, as well as those of a subsequent date, abound with proofs of his deep acquaintance with Christian experience. The following remarks are taken from a letter to Mrs. Cowper. "The deceitfulness of the natural heart is inconceivable. I know well that I passed among my friends for a person at least religiously inclined, if not actually religious; and what is more wonderful, I thought myself a Christian when I had no faith in Christ, and when I saw no beauty in him that I should desire him; in short, when I had neither faith, nor love, nor any Christian grace whatever, but a thousand seeds of rebellion instead, evermore springing up in enmity against him; but, blessed be the God of my salvation, the hail of affliction and rebuke has swept away the refuge of lies. It pleased the Almighty, in great mercy, to set all my misdeeds before me. At length the storm being past, a quick and peaceful serenity of soul succeeded, such as ever attends the gift of a lively faith in the all-sufficient atonement, and the sweet sense of mercy and pardon purchased by the blood of Christ. Thus did he break me and bind me up; thus did he wound me and make me whole. This, however, is but a summary account of my conversion; neither would a volume contain the astonishing particulars of it. If we meet again in this world I will relate them to you; if not, they will serve for the subject of a conference in the next, where, I doubt not, we shall remember, and record them with a gratitude better suited to the subject."

In another letter to his amiable and accomplished cousin, Lady Hesketh, he thus writes. "Since the visit you were so kind as to pay me in the Temple, (the only time I ever saw you without pleasure,) what have I not suffered? And since it has pleased God to restore me to the use of my reason, what have I not enjoyed? You know by experience how pleasant it is to feel the first approaches of health after a fever; but, oh! the fever of the brain! to feel the quenching of that fire, is indeed a blessing which I think it impossible to receive without the most consummate gratitude. Terrible as this chastisement is, I acknowledge in it the hand of infinite justice; nor is it at all more difficult for me to perceive in it the hand of infinite mercy; when I consider the effect it has had upon me, I am exceedingly thankful for it, and esteem it the greatest blessing, next to life itself, I ever received from the divine bounty. I pray God I may ever retain the sense of it, and then I am sure I shall continue to be, as I am at present, really happy. My affliction has taught me a road to happiness, which, without it, I should never have found; and I know, and have experience of it every day, that the mercy of God to the believer is more than sufficient to compensate for the loss of every other blessing. You will believe that my happiness is no dream, because I have told you the foundation on which it is built. What I have written would appear like enthusiasm to many, for we are apt to give that name to every warm affection of the mind in others, which we have not experienced ourselves; but to you, who have so much to be thankful for, and a temper inclined to gratitude, it will not appear so."

To the same lady, a day or two afterwards, he writes—"How naturally does affliction make us Christians! and how impossible is it, when all human help is vain, and the whole earth too poor and trifling to furnish us with one moment's peace, how impossible is it then to avoid looking at the gospel. It gives me some concern, though at the same time it increases my gratitude to reflect, that a convert made in Bedlam is more likely to be a stumbling-block to others than to advance their faith. But if it have that effect upon any, it is owing to their reasoning amiss, and drawing their conclusion from false premises. He who can ascribe an amendment of life and manners, and a reformation of the heart itself, to madness, is guilty of an absurdity, that in any other case would fasten the imputation of madness upon himself; for, by so doing, he ascribes a reasonable effect to an unreasonable cause, and a positive effect to a negative. But when Christianity only is to be sacrificed, he that stabs deepest is always the wisest man. You, my dear cousin yourself, will be apt to think I carry the matter too far; and that in the present warmth of my heart, I make too ample a concession in saying that I am *only now* a convert. You think I always believed, and I thought so too; but you were deceived, and so was I. I called myself indeed a Christian, but he who knows my heart knows that I never did a right thing, nor abstained from a wrong one, because I was so; but if I did either, it was under the influence of some other motive. And it is such seeming Christians, such pretending believers, that do most mischief in the cause, and furnish the strongest arguments to support the infidelity of its enemies: unless profession and conduct go together, the man's life is a lie, and the validity of what he professes itself, is called in question. The difference between a Christian and an unbeliever, would be so striking, if the treacherous allies of the church would go over at once to the other side, that I am satisfied religion would be no loser by the bargain. You say, you hope it is not necessary for salvation to undergo the same affliction that I have undergone. No! my dear Cousin. God deals with his children as a merciful father; he does not, as he himself tells us, afflict us willingly. Doubtless there are many, who, having been placed by his good providence out of the reach of evil, and the influence of bad example, have, from their very infancy, been partakers of the grace of his Holy Spirit, in such a manner, as never to have allowed themselves in any grievous offence against him. May you love him more and more, day by day, as every day while you think of him you will find him more worthy of your love, and may you be finally accepted by him for his sake, whose intercession for all his faithful servants cannot but prevail."

In the same letter he thus expresses his gratitude to God for placing him under the care of Dr. Cotton:—"I reckon it one instance of the providence that has attended me through this whole event, that I was not delivered into the hands of some London physician, but was carried to Dr. Cotton. I was not only treated by him with the greatest tenderness while I was ill, and attended with the utmost diligence, but when my reason was restored to me, and I had so much need of a religious friend to converse with, to whom I could open my mind upon the subject without reserve, I could hardly have found a better person for the purpose. My eagerness and anxiety to settle my opinions upon that long neglected point, made it necessary, that while my mind was yet weak, and my spirits uncertain, I should have some assistance. The doctor was as ready to administer relief to me in this article likewise, and as well qualified to do it, as in that which was more immediately his province. How many physicians would have thought this an irregular appetite, and a symptom of remaining madness! But if it were so, my friend was as mad as myself, and it is well for me that he was so. My dear Cousin, you know not half the deliverances I have received; my brother is the only one in the family who does. My recovery is indeed a signal one, and my future life must express my thankfulness, for by words I cannot do it."

He now employed his brother to seek out for him an abode somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, as he had determined to leave London, the scene of his former misery; and that nothing might induce him to return thither, he resigned the office of commissioner of bankrupts, worth about 60*l.* per annum, which he still held. By this means, he reduced himself to an income barely sufficient for his maintenance; but he relied upon the gracious promise of God, that bread should be given him, and water should be sure.

On being informed that his brother had made many unsuccessful attempts to procure him a suitable dwelling, he, one day, poured out his soul in prayer to God, beseeching him, that wherever he should be pleased, in his fatherly mercy, to place him, it might be in the society of those who feared his name, and loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. This prayer, God was pleased, graciously to answer. In the beginning of June, 1765, he received a letter from his brother, to say, he had engaged such lodgings for him at Huntingdon, as he thought would suit him. Though this was farther from Cambridge, where his brother then resided, than he wished, yet, as he was now in perfect health, and as his circumstances required a less expensive way of life than his present, he resolved to take them, and arranged his affairs accordingly.

On the 17th of June, 1765, having spent more than eighteen months at St. Albans, partly in the bondage of despair, and partly in the liberty of the gospel, he took leave of the place, at four in the morning, and set out for Cambridge, taking with him the servant who had attended him while he remained with Dr. Cotton, and who had maintained an affectionate watchfulness over him during the whole of his illness, waiting upon him, on all occasions, with the greatest patience, and invariably treating him with the greatest kindness. The mingled emotions of his mind on leaving the place were painful and pleasing; he regarded it as the place of second nativity; he had here passed from death unto life—had been favoured with much leisure to study the word of God—had enjoyed much happiness in conversing upon its great truths with his esteemed physician; and he left it with considerable reluctance; offering up many prayers to God, that his richest blessings might rest upon its worthy manager, and upon all its inmates.

The state of his mind on this occasion he thus affectionately describes:—I remembered the pollution which is in the world and the sad share I had in it myself, and my heart ached at the thought of entering it again. The blessed God had endowed me with some concern for his glory, and I was fearful of hearing his name traduced by oaths and blasphemies, the common language of this highly-favoured but ungrateful country; but the promise of God, 'Fear not, I am with thee,' was my comfort. I passed the whole of my journey in fervent prayer to God, earnestly but silently entreating Him to be my guardian and counsellor in all my future journey through life, and to bring me in safety, when he had accomplished his purposes of grace and mercy towards me, to eternal glory."

CHAPTER IV.

Removal to Huntingdon—Sensations there—Engages in public worship for the first time after his recovery—Delight it afforded him—Commences a regular correspondence with some of his friends—Pleasure he experienced in writing on religious subjects—Anxiety of his mind for the spiritual welfare of his former associates—Attributes their continuance in sin chiefly to infidelity—Folly of this—Beauty of the Scriptures—Absurdity of attributing events to second causes, instead of to the overruling providence of God—Dependence upon Divine direction the best support in affliction—Forms some new connections—Becomes acquainted with the Unwin family—Happiness he experienced in their company.

After spending a few days with his brother at Cambridge, Cowper repaired to Huntingdon, and entered upon his new abode, on Saturday, the 22d of June, 1765; taking with him the servant he had brought from St. Albans, to whom he had become strongly attached for the great kindness he had shown him in his affliction. His brother, who had accompanied him thither, had no sooner left him, than finding himself alone, surrounded by strangers, in a strange place, his spirits began to sink, and he felt like a traveller in the midst of an inhospitable desert; without a friend to comfort, or a guide to direct him. He walked forth, towards the close of the day, in this melancholy frame of mind, and having wandered about a mile from the town, he found his heart so powerfully drawn towards the Lord, that on gaining a secret and retired nook in the corner of a field, he kneeled down under a bank, and poured out his complaints unto God. It pleased his merciful Father to hear him; the load was removed from his mind, and he was enabled to trust in Him that careth for the stranger; to roll his burden upon Him, and to rest assured, that wherever God might cast his lot, he would still be his guardian and shield.

The following day he went to church, for the first time after his recovery. Throughout the whole of the service, his emotions were so powerfully affecting, that it was with much difficulty he could restrain them, so much did he see of the beauty and glory of the Lord while thus worshipping Him in his temple. His heart was full of love to all the congregation, especially to such as seemed serious and attentive. Such was the goodness of God to him, that he gave him the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; and, though he joined not with the congregation in singing the praises of his God, being prevented by the intenseness of his feelings, yet his soul sung within him, and leaped for joy. The parable of the prodigal son was the portion of scripture read in the gospel appointed for the day. He saw himself in that glass so clearly, and the loving kindness of his slighted and forgotten Lord, that the whole scene was realized by him, and acted over in his heart. And he thus describes his feelings on hearing it:—"When the gospel for the day was read, it seemed more than I could well support. Oh, what a word is the word of God, when the Spirit quickens us to receive it, and gives the hearing ear, and the understanding heart! The harmony of heaven is in it, and discovers clearly and satisfactorily its author."

Immediately after church he repaired to the place where he had prayed the day before, and found the relief he had there received was but the earnest of a richer blessing. The Lord was pleased to visit him with his gracious presence, he seemed to speak to him face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend; He made all His goodness pass before him, and constrained him to say with Jacob, not "how dreadful," but "how lovely is this place! This is the house of God, and the gate of heaven."

He remained four months in the lodgings procured for him by his brother, secluded from the bustling and active scenes of life, and receiving only an occasional visit from some of his neighbours. Though he had little intercourse with men, yet he enjoyed much fellowship with God in Christ Jesus. Living by faith, and thus tasting the joys of the unseen world, his solitude was sweet, his meditations were delightful, and he wanted no other enjoyments. He now regularly corresponded with all his intimate friends, and his letters furnish the clearest proofs of the happy, and indeed, almost enviable state of his mind, during this period. To Lady Hesketh, in a letter dated July 5, 1765, he thus discloses his feelings:—"I should have written to you from St. Albans long ago, but was willing to perform quarantine, as well for my own sake, as because I thought my letters would be more satisfactory to you from any other quarter. You will perceive I allowed myself a sufficient time for the purpose, for I date my recovery from the latter end of last July, having been ill seven, and well twelve months. About that time, my brother came to see me; I was far from well when he arrived, yet, though he only remained one day, his company served to put to flight, a thousand deliriums and delusions which I still laboured under."

"As far as I am acquainted with my new residence, I like it extremely. Mr. Hodgson, the minister of the parish, made me a visit yesterday. He is very sensible, a good preacher, and conscientious in the discharge of his duty: he is well known to Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol, the author of the treatise on the Prophecies, the most demonstrable proof of the truth of Christianity, in my mind, that was ever published."

In another letter, a few days afterwards, to the same lady, he thus writes;—"Mentioning Newton's Treatise on the Prophecies brings to my mind an anecdote of Dr. Young, who you know died lately at Welwyn. Dr. Cotton, who was intimate with him, paid him a visit about a fortnight before he was seized with his last illness. The old man was then in perfect health; the antiquity of his person, the gravity of his utterance, and the earnestness with which he discoursed about religion, gave him, in the doctor's eye, the appearance of a prophet. They had been delivering their sentiments on Newton's Treatise, when Young closed the conference thus—'My friend, there are two considerations upon which my faith in Christ is built as upon a rock: first, the fall of man, the redemption of man, and the resurrection of man; these three cardinal articles of our holy religion are such as human ingenuity could never have invented, therefore they *must* be divine: the other is the fulfilment of prophecy, of which there is abundant demonstration. This proves that the scripture must be the word of God, and if so, Christianity must be true.'"

Cowper now lived in the full enjoyment of religion. Its truths supported his mind, and furnished him with an ample field for meditation; its promises consoled him, freed him from every distressing sensation, and filled him with joy unspeakable and full of glory; its duties regulated all his conduct, and his chief anxiety was to live entirely to the glory of God. The following beautiful lines of the poet are strikingly descriptive of his feelings at this period:—

> "I was a stricken deer, that left the herd
> Long since; with many an arrow deep enfix'd
> My panting sides were charged, when I withdrew
> To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
> There was I found by one who had himself
> Been hurt by th' archers: in his sides he bore,
> And in his hands and feet, the cruel scars.
> With gentle force soliciting the darts,
> He drew them forth, and heal'd, and bade me live.
> Since then, with few associates, in remote
> And silent woods I wander, far from those
> My former partners of the peopled scene;
> With few associates, and not wishing more,
> Here much I ruminate, as much I may,
> With other views of men and manners now
> Than once; and others of a life to come."

On all affairs connected with religion, Cowper now delighted to think and to converse, and his best letters were those in which he could freely introduce them to his correspondents. In the close of the letter from which we made the above extract, he thus writes:—"My dear cousin, how happy am I in having a friend to whom I can open my heart upon these subjects! I have many intimates in the world, and have had many more than I shall have hereafter, to whom a long letter upon those most important articles would appear tiresome at least, if not impertinent. But I am not afraid of meeting with that reception from you, who have never yet made it your interest that there should be no truth in the word of God. May this everlasting truth be your comfort while you live, and attend you with peace and joy in your last moments. I love you too well not to make this a part of my prayers; and when I remember my friends on these occasions, there is no likelihood that you can be forgotten."

In another letter to Lady Hesketh, dated 1st of August, 1765, he thus adverts to the character of his former associates, and feelingly expresses his anxiety for their spiritual welfare:—"I have great reason to be thankful I have lost none of my acquaintance but those whom I determined not to keep: I am sorry this class is so numerous. What would I not give, that every friend I have in the world were not almost, but altogether Christians! My dear cousin, I am half afraid to talk to you in this style, lest I should seem to indulge a censorious humour, instead of hoping, as I ought, the best of all men. But what can be said against ocular proof, and what is hope when built upon presumption? To use the most holy name in the universe for no purpose, or a bad one, contrary to his own express commandment, to pass the day and the succeeding days, weeks, and months, and years, without one act of private devotion, one confession of our sins, or one thanksgiving for the numberless blessings we enjoy; to hear the word of God in public with a distracted attention, or with none at all; to absent ourselves voluntarily from the blessed communion, and to live in the total neglect of it, are the common and ordinary liberties, which the generality of professors allow themselves: and what is this, but to live without God in the world. Many causes might be assigned for this anti-christian spirit so prevalent among professors, but one of the principal I take to be their utter forgetfulness, that the Bible which they have in their possession, is, in reality, the Word of God. My friend, Sir William Russell, was distantly related to a very accomplished man, who, though he never believed the gospel, admired the scriptures as the sublimest compositions in the world, and read them often. I have myself been intimate with a man of fine taste, who has confessed to me, that though he could not subscribe to the truth of Christianity itself, yet he never could read St. Luke's account of our Saviour's appearance to his two disciples going to Emmaus, without being wonderfully affected by it; and he thought, that if the stamp of divinity was anywhere to be found in scripture, it was strongly marked and visibly impressed upon that passage. If these men, whose hearts were chilled with the darkness of infidelity, could find such charms in the mere style of scripture, what must those find whose eyes could penetrate deeper than the letter, and who firmly believed themselves interested in all the invaluable privileges of the gospel? Had this mere man of taste searched a little further, he might have found other parts of the sacred history as strongly marked with the characters of Divinity as that he mentioned. The parable of the prodigal son, the most beautiful fiction that ever was invented; our Saviour's speech to his disciples, with which he closes his earthly ministration, full of the sublimest dignity and tenderest affection, surpass every thing that I ever read, and, like the spirit with which they were dictated, fly directly to the heart. If the scripture did not disdain all affectation of ornament, one should call such as these its ornamental parts; but the matter of it is that upon which it principally stakes its credit with us, and the style, however excellent, is only one of the many external evidences by which it recommends itself to our belief."

The warmest expressions of his gratitude to God for his distinguishing goodness to him, during his affliction, were frequently employed in his letters. In one, dated 4th September, 1765, he thus writes to his cousin:—"Two of my friends have been cut off during my illness, in the midst of such a life as it is frightful to reflect upon, and here am I, in better health and spirits, than I can ever remember to have enjoyed, after having spent months in the apprehension of instant death. How mysterious are the ways of Providence! Why did I receive grace and mercy? Why was I preserved, afflicted for my good, received, as I trust, into favour, and blessed with the greatest happiness I can ever know, or hope for in this life, while these were overtaken by the great arrest, unawakened, unrepenting, and every way unprepared for it? His infinite wisdom, to whose infinite mercy I owe it all, can solve these questions, and none else. A freethinker, as many a man miscals himself, would, without doubt, say, 'Sir, you were in great danger, and had, indeed, a most fortunate escape.' How excessively foolish, as well as shocking, is such language! As if life depended upon luck, and all that we are, or can be, all that we have now, or can hope for hereafter, could possibly be referred to accident. To this freedom of thought it is owing, that he, who is thoroughly apprized of the death of the meanest of his creatures, is supposed to leave those whom he has made in his own image, to the mercy of chance; and to this it is likewise owing, that the correction which our heavenly Father bestows upon us, that we may be fitted to receive his blessing, is so often disappointed of its benevolent intention. Fevers, and all diseases, are regarded as accidents; and long life, health, recovery from sickness, as the gift of the physician. No man can be a greater friend to the use of means upon these occasions than myself; for it were presumption and enthusiasm to neglect them. God has endued them with salutary properties on purpose that we might avail ourselves of them. But to impute our recovery to the medicine, and to carry our views no further, is to rob God of his honour. He that thinks thus, may as well fall upon his knees at once, and return thanks to the medicine that cured him, for it was certainly more immediately instrumental in his recovery than either the apothecary or the doctor."

No one ever watched more carefully the providence of God than Cowper. His views of it were just and scriptural, as is abundantly evident by the above remarks, and, if possible, more clearly evinced by the following extracts from the same excellent letter:—"My dear cousin, a firm persuasion of the superintendence of Providence over all our concerns, is absolutely necessary to our happiness. Without it we cannot be said to believe in the scripture, or practise any thing like resignation to his will. If I am convinced that no affliction can befall me without the permission of God, I am convinced likewise that he sees, and knows, that I am afflicted; believing this, I must, in the same degree, believe that, if I pray to him for deliverance, he hears me; I must needs know likewise, with equal assurance, that if he hears, he will deliver me, I may rest well assured that he has none but the most benevolent intention in declining it. He made us, not because we could add to his happiness, which was always perfect, but that we might be happy ourselves; and will he not in all his dispensations towards us, even in the minutest, consult that end for which he made us? To suppose the contrary, is to affront every one of his attributes, and to renounce utterly our dependence upon him. In this view it will appear plainly, that the line of duty is not stretched too tight, when we are told that we ought to accept everything at his hands as a blessing, and to be thankful even when we smart under the rod of iron with which he sometimes rules us. Without this persuasion, every blessing, however we may think ourselves happy in the possession of it, loses its greatest recommendation, and every affliction is intolerable. Death itself must be welcome to him who has this faith; and he who has it not must aim at it, if he is not a madman." The excellence of these extracts from Cowper's correspondence will, it is hoped, be admitted by every reader as a sufficient apology for the interruption they may occasion to our narrative. They might be greatly enlarged; but it is not intended to admit any, except such as will, in some degree at least, serve to describe his character.

It was not to be expected that a person like Cowper could remain long unnoticed, how reserved soever was his conduct. Accordingly, he had been at Huntingdon only a short time before he was visited by several persons, and introduced into several families, all eminently distinguished for their respectability, and general consistency of conduct. This soon endeared him to the place, and he thus communicated his sentiments respecting it to his correspondents;—"The longer I live here the better I like the place, and the people who belong to it. I am upon very good terms with five families, all of whom receive me with the utmost cordiality. You may recollect that I had but very uncomfortable expectations of the accommodations I should meet with in Huntingdon. How much better is it to take our lot, where it shall please Providence to cast it, without anxiety! Had I chosen for myself, it is impossible I could have fixed upon a place so agreeable to me in all respects. I so much dreaded the thought of having a new acquaintance to make with no other recommendation than that of being a perfect stranger, that I heartily wished no creature here might take the least notice of me. Instead of which, in about two months after my arrival, I became known to all the visitable people here, and do verily think it the most agreeable neighbourhood I ever saw. My brother and I meet every week by an alternate reciprocation of intercourse, as Sam Johnson would express it. As to my own personal condition, I am much happier than the day is long; and sunshine and candle-light alike, see me perfectly contented. I get books in abundance, as much company as I choose, a deal of comfortable leisure, and enjoy better health, I think, than for many years past. What is there wanting to make me happy? Nothing, if I can but be as thankful as I ought; and I trust that He, who has bestowed so many blessings on me, will give me gratitude to crown them all. I thank God for all the pleasing circumstances here, for my health of body, and perfect serenity of mind. To recollect the past, and compare it with the present, is all that I need to fill me with gratitude; and to be grateful is to be happy. I am far from thinking myself sufficiently grateful, or from indulging the hope that I shall ever be so in the present life. The warmest heart, perhaps, only feels by fits, and is often as insensible as the coldest. This, at least, is frequently the case with mine, and much oftener than it should be."

Among the families with whom Cowper was on terms of intimacy, there were none so entirely congenial to his taste as that of the Reverend Mr. Unwin. This worthy divine, who was now far advanced in years, had formerly been master of a free school in Huntingdon. On obtaining, however, from his college at Cambridge, the living of Grimston, he married Miss Cawthorne, the daughter of a very respectable draper in Ely, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter. Disliking their residence at Grimston, they removed to Huntingdon, where they had now resided for many years.

Cowper became acquainted with this interesting family, which was afterwards, almost to the close of his life, a source of comfort to him, in the following rather singular manner. The Unwins frequently noticed Mr. C. and remarked the degree of piety and intelligence he seemed to possess; this induced them to wish for farther acquaintance with the interesting stranger: his manners, however, were so reserved, that an introduction to him seemed wholly out of their reach. After waiting some time, with no apparent prospect of success, their eldest son, Mr. W. Unwin, though dissuaded from it by his mother, lest it should be thought too intrusive, ventured to speak to Mr. Cowper one day, when they were coming out of church, after morning prayers, and to engage himself to take tea with Mr. C. that afternoon. This was perfectly agreeable to Cowper, who, in one of his letters some time afterwards, thus describes his new-made acquaintance:—"To my inexpressible joy, I found him one, whose notions of religion were spiritual and lively; one, whom the Lord had been training up from his infancy for the temple. We opened our hearts to each other at the first interview; and when he parted, I immediately retired to my chamber, and prayed the Lord, who had been the author, to be the guardian of our friendship, and to grant to it fervency and perpetuity, even unto death; and I doubt not that my gracious Father heard this prayer." A friendship thus formed was not likely to be soon interrupted; accordingly it continued with unabated affection through life, and became to both parties a source of much real enjoyment. Well would it be for Christians, were they, in making choice of their friends, to follow the example of Cowper! Entering upon it by earnest prayer to God for his blessing, they might then hope to derive all those invaluable benefits from it, which it is adapted and designed to convey.

The following Sabbath Cowper dined with the Unwin's, and was treated with so much cordiality and real affection, that he ever after felt the warmest attachment to this interesting family. In his letters on the subject he thus writes:—"The last acquaintance I have made here is of the race of the Unwins, consisting of father and mother, son and daughter; they are the most agreeable people imaginable; quite sociable, and as free from the ceremonious civility of country gentlefolks as I ever met with. They treat me more like a near relation than a stranger, and their house is always open to me. The old gentleman carries me to Cambridge in his chaise; he is a man of learning and good sense, and as simple as parson Adams. His wife has a very uncommon understanding, has read much to excellent purpose, and is more polite than a duchess; she treats me with an affection so truly Christian, that I could almost fancy my own mother restored to life again, to compensate me for all my lost friends, and broken connections. She has a son, in all respects, worthy of such a mother, the most amiable young man I ever knew; he is not yet arrived at that time of life when suspicion recommends itself to us in the form of wisdom, and sets everything but our own dear selves at an immeasurable distance from our esteem and confidence. Consequently he is known almost as soon as seen; and having nothing in his heart that makes it necessary for him to keep it barred and bolted, opens it to the perusal even of a stranger. His natural and acquired endowments are very considerable, and as to his virtues, I need only say that he is a Christian. Miss Unwin resembles her mother in her great piety, who is one of the most remarkable instances of it I ever knew. They are altogether the most cheerful and engaging family it is possible to conceive. They see but little company, which suits me exactly; go when I will, I find a house full of peace and cordiality in all its parts, and am sure to hear no scandal, but such discourse instead of it as we are all the better for. Now I know them, I wonder that I liked Huntingdon so well before, and am apt to think I should find every place disagreeable that had not an Unwin belonging to it."

CHAPTER V.

Cowper becomes an inmate with Mr. Unwin's family—Is much delighted with their society—Describes the manner in which they spent their time—His opinion respecting the knowledge which Christians will have of each other in Heaven—What will engage their thoughts there—Just Views of Christian friendship—Strength of his religious affections—Humbling views of himself—Melancholy death of Mr. Unwin—Cowper's reflections upon it—Mr. Newton's unexpected but providential visit to Mrs. Unwin—Cowper's determination to remain with the family—Their removal from Huntingdon to Olney.

Towards the end of October, 1765, Cowper began to fear that his solitary and lonely situation, would not be agreeable to him during the winter; and finding his present method of living, though he was strictly economical, rather too expensive for his limited income, he judged it expedient to look out for a family, with which he might become an inmate, where he might enjoy the advantage of social and familiar intercourse, and be subject to a less expensive establishment. It providentially occurred to him, that he might probably be admitted, on such terms, into Mr. Unwin's family. He knew that a young gentleman, who had lived with them as a pupil, had just left them for Cambridge, and it appeared not improbable, that he might be allowed to succeed him, not as a pupil, but as an inmate. This subject occasioned him a tumult of anxious solicitude, and for some days, he could not possibly divert his attention from it. He at length, made it the subject of earnest prayer to his Heavenly Father, that he would be pleased to bring this affair to such an issue, as would be most calculated to promote His own glory; and he had the satisfaction, in a short time, to receive a gracious answer to his petitions. A few days afterwards he mentioned the subject to Mrs. Unwin, a satisfactory arrangement was very speedily made with the family, and he entered upon his new abode, the eleventh of November, 1765.

The manner in which he spent his time while associated with this exemplary family, and the high degree of enjoyment he there experienced, will be seen by the following extracts from his correspondence with his two amiable cousins, Lady Hesketh and Mrs. Cowper. To the former he thus writes:—

"My dear Cousin,—The frequency of your letters to me, while I lived alone, was occasioned, I am sure, by your regard for my welfare, and was an act of particular charity. I bless God, however, that I was happy even then; solitude has nothing gloomy in it, if the soul points upwards. St. Paul tells his Hebrew converts, 'Ye are come,' (already come) 'to Mount Sion, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant.' When this is the case, as surely as it was with them, or the Spirit of truth would never have spoken it, there is an end to the melancholy and dulness of life at once. You will not suspect me, my dear cousin, of a design to understand this passage literally; but this, however, it certainly means, that a lively faith is able to anticipate, in some measure, the joys of that heavenly society which the soul shall actually possess hereafter.

"Since I have changed my situation, I have found still greater cause of thanksgiving to the Father of all mercies. The family with whom I live are Christians, and it has pleased the Almighty to bring me to the knowledge of them, that I may want no means of improvement in that temper and conduct which he requires of all his servants. My dear cousin! one-half of the Christian world would call this madness, fanaticism, and folly; but are not these things warranted by the word of God. If we have no communion with God here, surely we can expect none hereafter. A faith that does not place our conversation in heaven; that does not warm the heart, and purify it too; that does not, in short, govern our thoughts, words, and deeds, is not Christian faith, nor can we procure it by any spiritual blessing, here or hereafter. Let us therefore see that we do not deceive ourselves in a matter of such infinite moment. The world will be ever telling us that we are good enough, and the world will vilify us behind our backs: but it is not the world which tries the heart—that is the prerogative of God alone. My dear cousin! I have often prayed for you behind your back, and now I pray for you to your face. There are many who would not forgive me this wrong, but I have known you so long, and so well, that I am not afraid of telling you how sincerely I wish for your growth in every Christian grace, in every thing that may promote and secure your everlasting welfare."

To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he thus writes:—"I am obliged to you for the interest you take in my welfare, and for your inquiring so particularly after the manner in which my time passes here. As to amusements—I mean what the world calls such—we have none; the place, indeed, swarms with them, and cards and dancing are the professed business of almost all the *gentle* inhabitants of Huntingdon. We refuse to take part in them, or to be accessaries to this way of murdering our time, and by so doing have acquired the name of Methodists. Having told you how we do not spend our time, I will next say how we do. We breakfast commonly between eight and nine; till eleven, we read either the scripture or the sermons of some faithful preacher; at eleven, we attend divine service, which is performed here every day; and from twelve to three, we separate, and amuse ourselves as we please. During that interval, I read in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We seldom sit an hour after dinner, but if the weather permits, adjourn into the garden, where, with Mrs. Unwin and her son, I have generally the pleasure of religious conversation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converse within doors, or sing some hymns of Martin's collection, and by the help of Mrs. Unwin's harpsichord, make up a tolerable concert, in which our hearts are the best and the most musical performers. After tea, we sally forth to take a walk in good earnest, and we have generally travelled four miles before we see home again. At night we read and converse till supper, and commonly finish the evening either with hymns, or with a sermon; and last of all, the family are called to prayers. I need not tell you that such a life as this is consistent with the utmost cheerfulness; accordingly, we are all happy, and dwell together in unity as brethren. Mrs. Unwin has almost a maternal affection for me, and I have something very like a filial one for her, and her son and I are brothers. Blessed be the God of our salvation for such companions, and for such a life; above all, for a heart to relish it."

It was during his residence with this family, while they resided at Huntingdon, that he wrote some of those excellent letters to Mrs. Cowper, with extracts from which it is our intention to enrich this part of his memoirs. Speaking of the knowledge which Christians will have of each other hereafter, he remarks—"Reason is able to form many plausible conjectures concerning the possibility of our knowing each other in a future state; and the scripture has, here and there, favoured us with an expression that looks at least like a slight intimation of it; but because a conjecture can never amount to a proof, and a slight intimation cannot be construed into a positive assertion, therefore I think we can never come to any absolute conclusion upon the subject. We may, indeed, reason about the plausibility of our conjectures, and we may discuss, with great industry and shrewdness of argument, those passages in the scripture which seem to favour this opinion; but still no certain means having been afforded us, no certain end can be attained; and after all that can be said, it will still be doubtful whether we shall know each other or not. Both reason and scripture, however, furnish us with a great number of arguments on the affirmative side. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Dives is represented as knowing Lazarus, and Abraham as knowing them both, and the discourse between them is entirely concerning their respective characters and circumstances upon earth. Here, therefore, our Saviour seems to countenance the notion of a mutual knowledge and recollection; and if a soul that has perished shall know a soul that is saved, surely the heirs of salvation shall know and recollect each other.

"Paul, in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, encourages the faithful and laborious minister of Christ to expect that a knowledge of those who had been converted by their instrumentality would contribute greatly to augment their felicity in a future state, when each minister should appear before the throne of God, saying, 'Here am I, with the children thou hast given me.' This seems to imply, that the apostle should know the converts, and the converts the apostle, at least at the day of judgment, and if then, why not afterwards?"

In another letter, the following excellent remarks occur respecting what will engage our thoughts and form part of our communications in heaven:—"The common and ordinary occurrences of life, no doubt, and even the ties of kindred, and of all temporal interests, will be entirely discarded from that happy society, and possibly even the remembrance of them done away; but it does not therefore follow that our spiritual concerns, even in this life, will be forgotten, neither do I think that they can ever appear trifling to us, in any the most distant period of eternity. God will then be all in all; our whole nature, the soul, and all its faculties, will be employed in praising and adoring him; and if so, will it not furnish us with a theme of thanksgiving, to recollect 'The rock whence we were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence we were digged?'—To recollect the time when our faith, which, under the tuition and nurture of the Holy Spirit, has produced such a plentiful harvest of immortal bliss, was as a grain of mustard-seed, small in itself, promising but little fruit, and producing less?—to recollect the various attempts that were made upon it by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and his various triumphs over all, by the assistance of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ? At present, whatever our convictions may be of the sinfulness and corruptions of our nature, we can make but a very imperfect estimate either of our weakness or our guilt. Then, no doubt, we shall understand the full value of the wonderful salvation wrought out for us by our exalted Redeemer; and it seems reasonable to suppose, that in order to form a just idea of our redemption, we shall be able to form a just one of the danger we have escaped; when we know how weak and frail we were, we shall be more able to render due praise and honour to his strength who fought for us; when we know completely the hatefulness of sin in the sight of God, and how deeply we were tainted with it, we shall know how to value the blood by which we were cleansed, as we ought."

In the following letter to the same lady, he says:—"I am not sorry that what I have said concerning our knowledge of each other, in a future state, has a little inclined you to the affirmative. For, though the redeemed of the Lord will be sure of being happy in that state, as infinite power, employed by infinite goodness, can make them, and therefore, it may seem immaterial, whether we shall, or shall not, recollect each other hereafter; yet, our present happiness, at least, is a little interested in the question. A parent, a friend, a wife, must needs, I think, feel a little heart-ache at the thought of an eternal separation from the objects of her regard: and not to know them when she meets them in another state, or never to meet them at all, amounts, though not altogether, yet nearly to the same thing. Remember and recognize them, I have no doubt we shall; and to believe that they are happy will, indeed, be no small addition to our own felicity; but to *see* them so, will surely be a greater. Thus, at least, it appears to our present human apprehension; consequently, therefore, to think, that when we leave them, we lose them for ever, and must remain eternally ignorant, whether those, who were flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, partake with us of celestial glory, or are disinherited of their heavenly portion, must shed a dismal gloom over all our present connections. For my own part, this life is such a momentary thing, and all its interests have so shrunk in my estimation, since, by the grace of our Lord Jesus, I became attentive to the things of another; that, like a worm in the bud of all my friendships and affections, this very thought would eat out the heart of them all, had I a thousand; and were their date to terminate in this life, I think I should have no inclination to cultivate and improve such a fugitive business. Yet friendship is necessary to our happiness here, and built upon Christian principles, upon which only it can stand, is a thing even of religious sanction—for what is that love, which the Holy Spirit speaking by St. John, so much inculcates, but friendship? The only love which deserves the name, is a love which can enable the Christian to toil, and watch, and deny himself, and risk, even exposure to death, for his brother. Worldly friendships are a poor weed compared with this; and even this union of the spirit in the bond of peace, would suffer, in my mind at least, could I think it were only coeval with our earthly mansions. It may possibly argue great weakness in me, in this instance, to stand so much in need of future hopes, to support me in the discharge of present duty, but so it is. I am far, I know, very far, from being perfect in Christian love, or any other divine attainment, and am, therefore, unwilling to forego whatever may help me on my progress."

The anxiety of his mind respecting religion, and the progress he had made, and was still making in it, will appear from the following extract. "You are so kind as to inquire after my health, for which reason I must tell you what otherwise would not be worth mentioning, that I have lately been just enough indisposed to convince me, that not only human life in general, but mine in particular, hangs by a slender thread. I am stout enough in appearance, yet a little illness demolishes me. I have had a serious shake, and the building is not so firm as it was. But I bless God for it, with all my heart. If the inner man be but strengthened day by day, as I hope, under the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit, it will be, no matter how soon the outward is dissolved. He who has, in a manner, raised me from the dead, in a literal sense, has given me the grace, I trust, to be ready, at the shortest notice, to surrender up to him that life, which I have twice received from him. Whether I live or die, I desire it may be to his glory, and then it must be to my happiness. I thank God, that I have those amongst my kindred, to whom I can write, without reserve, my sentiments on this subject. A letter upon any other subject, is more insipid to me than ever my task was, when a school-boy. I say not this in vain glory. God forbid! but to show what the Almighty, whose name I am unworthy to mention, has done for me, the chief of sinners. Once he was a terror to me; and his service, oh, what a weariness it was! Now I can say, I love him, and his Holy name, and am never so happy as when I speak of his mercies to me."

To the same correspondent he again writes. "To find those whom I love, clearly and strongly persuaded of evangelical truth, gives me a pleasure superior to any this world can afford. Judge then, whether your letter, in which the body and substance of saving faith is so evidently set forth, could meet with a lukewarm reception at my hands, or be entertained with indifference! Do not imagine that I shall ever hear from you upon this delightful theme, without real joy, or without prayer to God to prosper you in the way of his truth. The book you mention, lies now upon my table; Marshall is an old acquaintance of mine; I have both read him, and heard him read with pleasure and edification. The doctrines he maintains are, under the influence of the spirit of Christ, the very life of my soul, and the soul of all my happiness. That Jesus is a *present* Saviour from the guilt of sin, by his most precious blood, and from the power of it by his Spirit; that, corrupt and wretched in ourselves, in Him, and in Him *only*, we are complete; that being united to Jesus by a lively faith, we have a solid and eternal interest in his obedience and sufferings, to justify us before the face of our Heavenly Father; and that all this inestimable treasure, the earnest of which is in grace, and its consummation in glory, is given, freely *given* to us by God; in short, that he hath freely opened the kingdom of Heaven *to all believers;* are truths which cannot be disproved, though they have been disputed. These are the truths, which, by the grace of God, shall be dearer to me than life itself; shall ever be placed next my heart, as the throne, whereon the Saviour himself shall sit, to sway all its motions, and reduce that world of iniquity and rebellion to a state of filial and affectionate obedience to the will of the most Holy."

"These, my dear Cousin, are the truths to which, by nature, we are enemies; they debase the sinner, and exalt the Saviour, to a degree, which the pride of our hearts, while unsubdued by grace, is determined never to allow. May the Almighty reveal his Son in our hearts, continually more and more, and teach us ever to increase in love towards him for having given us the unspeakable riches of Christ."

In the following letter to the same lady he again writes:—"I think Marshall one of the best writers, and the most spiritual expositors of Scripture I ever read. I admire the strength of his argument, and the clearness of his reasonings, upon those points of our most holy religion which are generally least understood (even by real Christians) as master-pieces of the kind. His section upon the union of the soul with Christ is an instance of what I mean; in which he has spoken of a most mysterious truth, with admirable perspicuity, and with great good sense, making it all the while subservient to his main purport, of proving holiness to be the fruit and effect of faith. I never met with an author who understood the plan of salvation better, or was more happy in explaining it."

That Cowper inspected very closely, and watched very narrowly his own heart, will appear by the following extract from a letter to the same lady:—"Oh pride! pride! it deceives with the subtlety of a serpent, and seems to walk erect, though it crawls upon the earth. How will it twist and twine itself about to get from under the cross, which it is the glory of our Christian calling to be able to bear with patience and good will. Those who can guess at the heart of a stranger, and you especially, who are of a compassionate temper, will be more ready to excuse me than I can be to excuse myself. But, in good truth, I am too frequently guilty of the abominable vice. How should such a creature be admitted into those pure and sinless mansions were nothing shall enter that defileth; did not the blood of Christ, applied by faith, take away the guilt of sin, and leave no spot or stain behind it! O what continual need have I of an almighty, all-sufficient Saviour! I am glad you are acquainted so *particularly* with all the circumstances of my story, for I know that your secrecy and discretion may be trusted with anything. A thread of mercy ran through all the intricate maze of those afflictive providences, so mysterious to myself at the time, and which must ever remain so to all who will not see what was the great design of them; at the judgment-seat of Christ the whole shall be laid open. How is the rod of iron changed into a sceptre of love!"

"I have so much cause for humility, and so much need of it too, and every little sneaking resentment is such an enemy to it, that I hope I shall never give quarter to anything that appears in the shape of sullenness or self-consequence hereafter. Alas! if my best friend, who laid down his life for me, were to remember all the instances in which I have neglected him, and to plead them against me in judgment, where should I hide my guilty head in the day of recompense? I will pray therefore for blessings upon my friends though they cease to be so, and upon my enemies, though they continue such."

Cowper had now been an inmate with the Unwin family a little more than eighteen months; and the above extracts, taken from his confidential letters, describe the happy frame of his mind, and the great progress he made in divine knowledge, during this period. Living in the enjoyment of the divine presence himself, and associated with those who experienced the same invaluable privilege, he tranquilly pursued the even tenor of his Christian course with undiverted attention, and with holy zeal; nor did there appear the slightest reason to suppose that any alteration was likely to take place in his circumstances, or in the circumstances of the family. He might fairly have calculated upon the uninterrupted continuance, for many years, of the same distinguished privileges; but the dispensations of Divine Providence are sometimes awfully mysterious. Events unforeseen, and unexpected, are often occurring, which give a bias to our affairs quite different to any that we had ever conceived. Such was the melancholy occurrence which happened in this family, about this time, and which, at no distant period, led to Cowper's removal from Huntingdon.

Mr. Unwin, proceeding to his church, one Sunday morning in July, 1767, was flung from his horse, and received a dreadful fracture on the back part of his skull, under which he languished till the following Thursday, and then died. Cowper, in relating this melancholy event to his cousin, remarks:—"This awful dispensation has left an impression upon our spirits which will not presently be worn off. May it be a lesson to us to watch, since we know not the day, nor the hour, when our Lord cometh. At nine o'clock last Sunday morning Mr. Unwin was in perfect health, and as likely to live twenty years as either of us, and by the following Thursday he was a corpse. The few short intervals of sense that were indulged him, he spent in earnest prayer, and in expressions of a firm trust and confidence in the only Saviour. To that strong hold we must resort at last, if we would hope in death; when every other refuge fails, we are glad to fly to the only shelter to which we can repair to any purpose; and happy is it for us, when the false ground we have chosen for ourselves, breaks under us, and we find ourselves obliged to have recourse to that Rock which can never be shaken; when this is our lot, we receive great and undeserved mercy."

"The effect of this very distressing event will only be a change of my abode; for I shall still, by God's leave, continue with Mrs. Unwin, whose behaviour to me has always been that of a mother to a son. We know not yet where we shall settle, but we trust that the Lord, whom we seek, will go before us, and prepare a rest for us. We have employed our friends, Mr. Hawes, Dr. Conyers, and Mr. Newton, to look out a place for us, but at present are entirely ignorant under which of the three we shall settle, or whether under any one of them."

Just after this melancholy event had occurred, and while the family were in the midst of their distress, Mr. Newton, then curate of Olney, while on his way home from Cambridge, providentially called upon Mrs. Unwin. The late Dr. Conyers had learned from Mrs. Unwin's son, the change that had taken place in her mind, on the subject of religion; and he accordingly requested Mr. Newton to embrace the earliest opportunity of having some conversation with her on the subject. His visit could not possibly have been made at a more seasonable juncture. Mrs. Unwin was now almost overwhelmed with sorrow; and though the strength of her Christian principles, preserved her from losing that confidence in the Almighty, which can alone support the mind under such distressing circumstances, yet, both she and Mr.

Cowper, stood in need of some judicious Christian friend, to administer to them the consolations of the gospel. Their Heavenly Father could not have sent them one more capable of binding up their wounds, and soothing their sorrow, than Mr. Newton. He knew when, instrumentally, to pour the oil of consolation into their wounded spirits; and his providential visit, proved as useful as it was seasonable. He invited them to fix their future abode at Olney, whither they repaired, in the following October, to a house he had provided for them, so near the vicarage in which he lived, that by opening a door in the garden wall, they could exchange mutual visits, without entering the street. Mrs. Unwin kept the house, and Cowper continued to board with her, as he had done during her husband's life.

CHAPTER VI.

Commencement of Cowper's intimacy with Mr. Newton—Pleasure it afforded him—His charitable disposition—Means provided for its indulgence, by the munificence of the late J. Thornton, Esq.—Mr. Thornton's death—Cowper's poetic tribute to his memory—Remarks on the insufficiency of earthly objects to afford peace to the mind—His great anxiety for the spiritual welfare of his correspondents—Consolatory remarks addressed to his cousin—Severe affliction of his brother—Cowper's great concern on his behalf—Happy change that takes place in his brother's sentiments on religious subjects—His death—Cowper's reflections on it—Deep impression it made upon his mind—Description of his brother's character—Engages with Mr. Newton to write the Olney Hymns—Marriage of Mr. Unwin's son and daughter—Cowper's severe indisposition.

Great as were the advantages enjoyed by Cowper, while inmated with the Unwin family at Huntingdon, they were not to be compared with those which he experienced in his new situation at Olney. He spent his time nearly in the same manner as at Huntingdon, having the additional advantage of frequent religious intercourse with his friend, Mr. Newton, with whom he was now upon terms of the closest intimacy. The amiable manners, and exemplary piety of Cowper, greatly endeared him to all with whom he was acquainted. He gladly availed himself of the benefits of religious conversation with the pious persons in Mr. Newton's congregation, and was particularly attentive to those among them, who were in circumstances of poverty. He regularly visited the sick, and, to the utmost extent of his power, afforded them relief. He attended the social meetings for prayer established by Mr. Newton; and at such seasons, when he was occasionally required to conduct the service, agitated as were his feelings before he commenced, he no sooner began, than he poured forth his heart unto God in earnest intercession, with a devotion equally simple, sublime, and fervent, affording to all who were present on these occasions proofs of the unusual combination of elevated genius, exquisite sensibility, and profound piety, by which he was pre-eminently distinguished. His conduct in private was consistent with the solemnity and fervor of these social devotional engagements. Three times a day he prayed, and gave thanks unto God, in retirement, besides the regular practice of domestic worship. His familiar acquaintance with, and experimental knowledge of the gospel, relieved him from all terror and anxiety of the mind; his soul was stayed upon God; the divine promise and faithfulness were his support; and he lived in the enjoyment of perfect peace.

His hymns, most of which were composed at this period, prove that he was no stranger to those corrupt dispositions, which the best of men have to bewail, and which have so strong a tendency to draw away the mind from God. Against these dispositions, however, he was constantly upon the watch, and by the cultivation of devotional habits, with the gracious aid of the Divine Spirit, he suppressed every irregular desire, restrained every corrupt inclination, and ultimately came off successful in his spiritual warfare.

The first few years of his residence at Olney, may, perhaps, be regarded as the happiest of his life. Associated intimately with his beloved friend, Mr. Newton, and availing himself of his valuable assistance, in his efforts to acquire divine knowledge, his heart became established in the truth, and he experienced that degree of confidence in God, which alone can insure peace of mind, and real tranquillity. Aware of the pleasure which he took in visiting the poor, in his neighbourhood, and contributing to their relief, Mr. Newton procured for him, a liberal annual allowance of cash, for the purpose of distribution, from the late excellent John Thornton, Esq. It is almost needless to add, that becoming the almoner of this distinguished philanthropist, was to Cowper a source of the greatest enjoyment. No individual was ever more alive to the cry of distress; he seemed, indeed, to possess almost an excess of this amiable sensibility. Nothing gladdened his heart more than to be the means of drying up the widow's tears, and assuaging the orphan's grief; which the liberality of this great philanthropist allowed him often to accomplish. The decease of Mr. Thornton took place in 1790, and Cowper has immortalized his memory, by the following beautiful and sublime eulogy:—

"Thee, Thornton, worthy in some page to shine
As honest, and more eloquent than mine,
I mourn; or, since thrice happy thou must be,
The world, no longer thy abode, not thee:
Thee to deplore were grief mis-spent indeed;
It were to weep, that goodness has its meed,
That there is bliss prepared in yonder sky,
And glory for the virtuous when they die.

What pleasure can the miser's fondled hoard,
Or spendthrift's prodigal excess afford,
Sweet as the privilege of healing woe,
Suffered by virtue, combating below.
That privilege was thine; Heaven gave thee means
To illumine with delight the saddest scenes,
Till thy appearance chased the gloom, forlorn
As midnight, and despairing of a morn.
Thou had'st an industry in doing good,
Restless as his who toils and sweats for food;
Avarice in thee was the desire of wealth,
By rust unperishable, or by stealth;
And if the genuine worth of gold depend
On application to its noblest end,
Thine had a value in the scales of Heaven,
Surpassing all that mine or mint has given;
And though God made thee of a nature prone
To distribution, boundless, of thy own.
And still, by motives of religious force,
Impelled thee more to that heroic course,
Yet was thy liberality discreet,
Nice in its choice, and of a temperate heat;
And, though an act unwearied, *secret* still
As, in some solitude, the summer rill
Refreshes, where it winds, the faded green,
And cheers the drooping flowers, unheard, unseen.
Such was thy charity; no sudden start,
After long sleep, of passion in the heart;
But stedfast principle, and in its kind
Of close alliance with the eternal mind,
Traced easily to its true source above,
To Him whose works bespeak his nature, love.
Thy bounties all were Christian, and I make
This record of thee for the gospel's sake,
That the incredulous themselves may see
Its use and power exemplified in thee."

Owing to some cause, for which we are unable to account, Cowper's correspondence with his friends became much less frequent after his settlement at Olney, than it had been formerly: probably it might be attributed, in some degree at least, to his close intimacy with Mr. Newton, for they were seldom seven waking hours, apart from each other. The same vein of genuine and unaffected piety, however, runs through those letters which he did write, and they abound with remarks of uncommon excellence. To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he thus expresses his feelings:—"You live in the centre of a world, I know you do not delight in. Happy are you, my dear friend, in being able to discern the insufficiency of all it can afford, to fill and satisfy the desires of an immortal soul. That God, who created us for the enjoyment of himself, has determined in mercy that it shall fail us here, in order that the blessed result of all our inquiries after happiness in the creature, may be a warm pursuit, and a close attachment to our true interests, in fellowship with him, through the mediation of our dear Redeemer. I bless his goodness, and his grace, that I have any reason to hope I am a partaker with you in the desire after better things, than are to be found in a world polluted by sin, and therefore, devoted to destruction. May he enable us both to consider our present life in its only true light, as an opportunity put into our hands to glorify him amongst men, by a conduct suited to his word and will. I am miserably defective in this holy and blessed art, but I hope there is, at the bottom of all my sinful infirmities, a desire to live just so long as I may be enabled to answer, in some measure, at least, the end of my existence, in this respect; and then to obey the summons, and attend him in a world, where they who are his servants here, shall pay him an unsinful obedience for ever."

The lively interest which Cowper took, in the spiritual welfare of his correspondents, will appear in the following letter to his esteemed friend, Joseph Hill, Esq., dated 21st January, 1769:—"Dear Joe: I rejoice with you in your recovery, and that you have escaped from the hands of one, from whose hands you will not always escape. Death is either the most formidable, or most comfortable thing, we have in prospect, on this side of eternity. To be brought near to him, and to discern neither of these features in his face, would argue a degree of insensibility, of which I will not suspect my friend, whom I know to be a thinking man. You have been brought down to the sides of the grave, and you have been raised up again by him, who has the keys of the invisible world; who opens, and none can shut, who shuts and none can open. I do not forget to return thanks to him on your behalf, and to pray that your life, which he has spared, may be devoted to his service. 'Behold! I stand at the door, and knock,' is the word of him, in whom both our mortal and immortal life depend, and blessed be his name; it is the word of one who wounds only that he may heal, and who waits to be gracious. The language of every such dispensation is, 'Prepare to meet thy God.' It speaks with the voice of mercy and goodness, for without such notices, whatever preparation we might make for other events, we should make none for this. My dear friend, I desire and pray, that when this last enemy shall come to execute an *unlimited* commission on us, we may be found ready, being established and rooted in a well-grounded faith in his name who conquered death, and triumphed over him on the cross. If I am ever enabled to look forward to death with comfort, which I thank God is sometimes the case, I do not take my view of it from the top of my own works and deservings, though God is witness, that the labour of my life is to keep a conscience void of offence towards him. Death is always formidable to me, but when I see him disarmed of his sting by having it sheathed in the body of Christ Jesus."

To the same friend, on another occasion, he thus writes:—"I take a friend's share in all your concerns, so far as they come to my knowledge, and consequently, did not receive the news of your marriage with indifference. I wish you and your bride all the happiness that belongs to the state; and the still greater felicity of that state, which marriage is only a type of. All those connections shall be dissolved; but there is an indissoluble bond between Christ and his church, the subject of derision to an unthinking world, but the glory and happiness of all his people."

No one knew better how to administer consolation to those who were in distress, and certainly no one ever took a greater delight in doing it than Cowper. To his amiable cousin, Mrs. Cowper, who had been called to sustain a severe domestic affliction, he writes as follows:—"A letter from your brother, brought me yesterday, the most afflicting intelligence that has reached me these many years. I pray God to comfort you, and to enable you to sustain this heavy stroke with that resignation to his will, which none but himself can give, and which he gives to none but his own children. How blessed and happy is your lot, my dear friend, beyond the lot of the greater part of mankind: that you know what it is to draw near to God in prayer, and are acquainted with a throne of grace! You have resources in the infinite love of a dear Redeemer, which are withheld from millions: and the promises of God, which are, yea and amen in Christ Jesus, are sufficient to answer all your necessities, and to sweeten the bitterest cup which your Heavenly Father will ever put into your hand. May he now give you liberty to drink at these wells of salvation till you are filled with consolation and peace, in the midst of trouble. He has said, When thou passest through the fire, I will be with thee, and when through the floods, they shall not overflow thee. You have need of such a word as this, and he knows your need of it; and the time of necessity is the time when he will be sure to appear in behalf of those who trust in him. I bear you and yours upon my heart before him, night and day. For I never expect to hear of distress, which shall call upon me with a louder voice to pray for the sufferer. I know the Lord hears me for myself, vile and sinful as I am, and believe, and am sure, that he will hear me for you also. He is the friend of the widow, and the father of the fatherless, even God in his holy habitation; in all our afflictions he is afflicted; and when he chastens us, it is in mercy. Surely he will sanctify this dispensation to you, do you great and everlasting good by it, make the world appear like dust and vanity in your sight, as it truly is, and open to your view the glories of a better country, where there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor pain; but God shall wipe away all tears from your eyes for ever. O that comfortable word! 'I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction;' so that our very sorrows are evidences of our calling, and he chastens us because we are his children. My dear cousin, I commit you to the word of his grace, and to the comforts of his Holy Spirit. Your life is needful for your family; may God, in mercy to them, prolong it, and may he preserve you from the dangerous effects which a stroke like this might have upon a frame so tender as yours. I grieve for you, I pray for you, could I do more I would, but God must comfort you."

Cowper had scarcely forwarded this consolatory and truly Christian letter, when he was himself visited with a trial so severe as to call into exercise all that confidence in the Almighty which he had endeavoured to excite in the mind of his amiable relative. He received a letter from his brother, then residing as a Fellow in Bene't College, Cambridge, between whom and himself there had always existed an affection truly fraternal, stating that he was seriously indisposed. No brothers were ever more warmly interested in each other's welfare. At the commencement of Cowper's affliction, which led to his removal to St. Albans, his brother had watched over him with the tenderest solicitude; and it was doubtless owing, in a great degree, to this tenderness, that Cowper was placed under the care of Dr. Cotton. While he remained at St. Albans, his brother visited him, and, as has been related above, became the means of contributing materially to his recovery. On Cowper's removal to Huntingdon, these affectionate brothers adopted a plan for a frequent and regular interchange of visits, so that they were seldom many days without seeing each other, though the distance between their places of abode was fifteen miles; and, even after Cowper's removal to Olney, his brother, during the first two years, paid him several visits; they seemed, indeed, mutually delighted with an opportunity of being in each other's company.

Cowper, on hearing of his brother's illness, immediately repaired to Cambridge. To his inexpressible grief he found him in a condition that left little or no hopes of his recovery. In a letter to Mrs. Cowper, he thus describes his case:—"My brother continues much as he was. His case is a very dangerous one—an imposthume of the liver, attended by an asthma, and dropsy. The physician has little hopes of his recovery; indeed, I might say none at all, only, being a friend, he does not formally give him over by ceasing to visit him, lest it should sink his spirits. For my own part, I have no expectation of it, except by a signal interposition of Providence in answer to prayer. His case is clearly out of the reach of medicine, but I have seen many a sickness healed, where the danger has been equally threatening, by the only Physician of value. I doubt not he will have an interest in your prayers, as he has in the prayers of many. May the Lord incline his ear, and give an answer of peace. I know it is good to be afflicted; I trust you have found it so, and that under the teaching of the spirit of God, we shall both be purified. It is the desire of my soul to seek a better country, where God shall wipe away all tears from the eyes of his people, and where, looking back upon the ways by which he has led us, we shall be filled with everlasting wonder, love, and praise."

Finding his brother on the verge of the grave, Cowper discovered the greatest anxiety respecting his everlasting welfare. He knew that his sentiments on some of the most important truths of religion had been long unsettled; and fully aware that while such was the case, he could experience no solid enjoyment in the present life, whatever might be his condition in future, he laboured diligently to give him those views of the gospel, which he had himself found, so singularly beneficial; nor did he labour in vain. He had the unspeakable gratification to witness the complete triumph of the truth, and its consolatory influence upon the mind of his beloved brother, in his dying moments. Writing to Mr. Hill, he says:—"It pleased God to cut short my brother's connections and expectations here, yet, not without giving him lively and glorious views, of a better happiness, than any he could propose to himself in such a world as this. Notwithstanding his great learning, (for he was one of the chief men in the university in that respect,) he was candid and sincere in his inquiries after truth. Though he could not agree to my sentiments when I first acquainted him with them, nor in many conversations, which I afterwards had with him upon the subject, could he be brought to acquiesce in them as scriptural and true, yet I had no sooner left St. Albans, than he began to study with the deepest attention those points on which we differed, and to furnish himself with the best writers upon them. His mind was kept open to conviction for five years, during all which time he laboured in this pursuit with unwearied diligence, whilst leisure and opportunity were afforded. Amongst his dying words were these:—'Brother, I thought you wrong, yet wanted to believe as you did. I found myself not able to believe, yet always thought I should be one day brought to do so.' From the study of books he was brought, upon his death-bed, to the study of himself, and there learnt to renounce his righteousness, and his own most amiable character, and to submit himself to the righteousness which is of God by faith. With these views, he was desirous of death: satisfied of his interest in the blessing purchased by the blood of Christ, he prayed for death with earnestness, felt the approaches of it with joy, and died in peace."

It afforded Cowper inexpressible delight, to witness, in his brother's case, the consoling and animating power of those principles, which he had himself found to be so highly beneficial. This had been the object of his most anxious solicitude, from the period that God was pleased to visit him with the consolations of his grace. From that time he took occasion to declare to his brother what God had done for his soul; and neglected no opportunity of attempting to engage him in conversation of a spiritual kind. On his first visit to him at Cambridge, after he left St. Albans, his heart being then full of the subject, he poured it out to his brother without reserve, taking care to show him, that what he had received was not merely a new set of notions, but a real impression of the truths of the gospel. His brother listened to his statements at first with some attention, and often laboured to convince him, that the difference in their sentiments was much less real than verbal. Subsequently, however, he became more reserved; and though he heard patiently, he never replied, nor ever discovered a desire to converse on the subject. At the commencement of his affliction, little as was the concern he then felt for his spiritual interests, the thoughts of God, and of eternity, would sometimes force themselves upon his mind; at every little prospect of recovery, however, he found it no difficult matter to thrust them out again. It was evident that his mind was very far from being set on things spiritual and heavenly, as on almost every subject, but that of religion, he could converse fluently. At every suitable opportunity Cowper endeavoured to give a serious turn to the discourse, but without any apparent success. Having obtained his permission, he prayed with him frequently; still, however, he seemed as careless and unconcerned as ever.

On one occasion, after his brother had, with much difficulty, survived a severe paroxysm of his disorder, he observed to him as he sat by his bed-side, "that, though it had pleased God to visit him with great afflictions, yet mercy was mingled with the dispensation. You have many friends that love you, and are willing to do all they can to serve you, and so, perhaps, have many others in the like circumstances; but it is not the lot of every sick man, how much soever he may be beloved, to have a friend that can pray for him." He replied, "That is true; and I hope God will have mercy upon me." His love to Cowper, from that time, became very remarkable; there was a tenderness in it more than was merely natural; and he generally expressed it by calling for blessings upon him in the most affectionate terms, and with a look and manner not to be described. One afternoon, a few days before he died, he suddenly burst into tears, and said, with a loud cry, "O forsake me not!" Cowper went to the bed-side, grasped his hand, and tenderly inquired why he wished him to remain. "O, brother," said he, "I am full of what I could say to you; if I live, you and I shall be more like one another than we have been; but, whether I live, or not, all is well, and will be so; I know it well; I have felt that which I never felt before; and am sure that God has visited me with this sickness, to teach me that I was too proud to learn in health. I never had satisfaction till now, having no ground to rest my hopes upon; but now I have a foundation which nothing can shake. I have peace in myself; and if I live, I hope it will be that I might be a messenger of peace to others. I have learned that in a moment, which I could not have learned by reading many books for many years. The light I have received comes late, but not too late, and it is a comfort to me that I never made the gospel-truths a subject of ridicule. This bed would be to me a bed of misery, and it is so; but it is likewise a bed of joy, and a bed of discipline. Was I to die this night, I know I should be happy. This assurance, I hope, is quite consistent with the word of God. It is built upon a sense of my own utter insufficiency, and all-sufficiency of Christ. There is but one key to the New Testament; there is but one interpreter. I cannot describe to you, nor shall I ever be able to describe to you, what I felt when this was given to me. May I make a good use of it! How I shudder when I think of the danger I have just escaped! How wonderful is it that God should look upon me! Yet he sees me, and takes notice of all that I suffer. I see him too, and can hear him say, Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you peace." He survived this change only a few days, and died happily, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

An event like this, could not fail to make a deep impression upon the tender spirit of Cowper, and his feelings on the occasion, were such as are not experienced by ordinary minds. The following letter to his amiable cousin shows clearly the state of his mind:—"You judge rightly of the manner in which I have been affected by the Lord's late dispensation towards my brother. I found it a cause of sorrow that I lost so near a relation, and one so deservedly dear to me, and that he left me just when our sentiments upon the most interesting subject became the same. But it was also a cause of joy, that it pleased God to give me a clear and evident proof that he had changed his heart, and adopted him into the number of his children. For this I hold myself peculiarly bound to thank him, because he might have done all that he was pleased to do for him, and yet have afforded him neither strength nor opportunity to declare it. He told me, that from the time he was first ordained, he began to be dissatisfied with his religious opinions, and to suspect that there were greater things revealed in the Bible, than were generally believed or allowed to be there. From the time when I first visited him, after my release from St. Albans, he began to read upon the subject. It was at that time I informed him of the views of divine truth, which I had received in that school of affliction. He laid what I said to heart, and began to furnish himself with the best writers on the controverted points, whose works he read with great diligence and attention, carefully comparing them with the Scriptures. None ever truly and ingenuously sought the truth, but they found it. A spirit of earnest inquiry is the gift of God, who never says to any, Seek ye my face, in vain. Accordingly, about ten days before his death, it pleased the Lord to dispel all his doubts, to reveal in his heart the knowledge of the Saviour, and to give him that firm and unshaken confidence in the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners, which is invariably followed by a joy that is unspeakable and full of glory."

Of the character of his much beloved brother, whose death filled him with mingled emotions of joy and grief, Cowper has given the following interesting description:—"He was a man of a most candid and ingenuous spirit; his temper remarkably sweet, and in his behaviour to me he had always manifested an uncommon affection. His outward conduct, so far as it fell under my notice, or I could learn it by the report of others, was perfectly decent and unblamable. There was nothing vicious in any part of his practice, but being of a studious, thoughtful turn, he placed his chief delight in the acquisition of learning, and made such progress in it, that he had but few rivals. He was critically skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; was beginning to make himself master of the Syriac, and perfectly understood the French and Italian, the latter of which he could speak fluently. Learned, however, as he was, he was easy and cheerful in his conversation, and entirely free from the stiffness which is generally contracted by men devoted to such pursuits."

. . . "I had a brother once;
Peace to the memory of a man of worth!
A man of letters and of manners too!
Of manners, sweet, as virtue always wears,
When gay good humour dresses her in smiles!
He grac'd a college, in which order yet
Was sacred, and was honoured, lov'd, and wept
By more than one, themselves conspicuous there."

Notwithstanding the cheerfulness with which Cowper bore up under this painful bereavement, when it first occurred, owing to the happy circumstances related above, with which it was attended, yet there is reason to believe that it made an impression upon his peculiarly sensitive mind, more deep than visible; and that was not soon to be effaced. It unquestionably diminished his attachment to the world, and made him less unwilling to leave it. Writing to his friend, Mr. Hill, at this time, he says:—"I have not done conversing with terrestrial objects, though I should be happy were I able to hold more continual converse with a friend above the skies. He has my heart, but he allows a corner of it for all who show me kindness, and therefore one for you. The storm of 1763, made a wreck of the friendships I had contracted, in the course of many years, yours only excepted, which has survived the tempest."

It appears not improbable that his friend, Mr. Newton, might have witnessed, in the morbid tendency of his mind to melancholy, of which he then discovered symptoms, some traces of the deep and extensive wound which his mind had received by this event, though his efforts to conceal it were incessant. Hence, he wisely engaged him in a literary undertaking, congenial to his taste, suited to his admirable talents, and, perhaps, more adapted to alleviate his distress than any other that could have been selected. Mr. Newton had felt the want of a volume of evangelical hymns, on experimental subjects, suited for public and private worship; he mentioned the subject to Cowper, and pressed him to undertake it, and the result was, a friendly compact to supply the volume between them, with an understanding that Cowper was to be the principal composer. He entered upon this work with great pleasure; and though he does not appear previous to this, to have employed his poetical talents for a considerable time, yet the admirable hymns he composed, show with what ease he could write upon the doctrinal, experimental, or practical parts of Christianity. One of our best living poets, whose writings more frequently remind us of Cowper's than any we have ever read, in an essay on the poet's productions, remarks:—"Of these hymns, it must suffice to say, that, like all his best compositions, they are principally communings with his own heart, or avowals of personal Christian experience. As such they are frequently applicable to every believer's feelings, and touch, unexpectedly, the most secret springs of joy and sorrow, faith, fear, hope, love, trial, despondency, and triumph. Some allude to infirmities, the most difficult to be described, but often the source of excruciating anguish to the tender conscience. The 72d hymn, Book I. is written with the confidence of inspiration, and the authority of a prophet. The 96th hymn, of the same book, is a perfect allegory in miniature, without a failing point, or confusion of metaphor, from beginning to end. Hymn 51, Book III. presents a transformation, which, if found in Ovid, might have been extolled as the happiest of his fictions. Hymn 12, Book II. closes with one of the hardiest figures to be met with out of the Hebrew Scriptures. None but a poet of the highest order could have written it; verses cannot go beyond it, and painting cannot approach it. Hymn 38, Book II. is a strain of noble simplicity, expressive of confidence the most remote from presumption, and such as a heart at peace with God alone could enjoy and utter. Who can read the 55th hymn, Book II. without feeling as if he could, at that moment, forsake all, take up his cross, and follow his Saviour? The 19th Hymn, Book III. is a model of tender pleading, of believing, persevering prayer in trouble; and the following one is a brief parody of Bunyan's finest passage, and is admirable of its kind. The reader might almost imagine himself Christian on his pilgrimage, the triumph and the trance are brought so home to his bosom. Hymn 15, of the same book, is a lyric of high tone and character, and rendered awfully interesting, by the circumstances under which it was written—in the twilight of departing reason."*

The benevolent heart of Cowper was delighted in a high degree to co-operate with a man of Mr. Newton's talents and piety, in promoting the advancement of religion in his neighbourhood. It is deeply to be regretted, that when he had only composed sixty-eight hymns, all of which were uncommonly excellent, and were afterwards published by Mr. Newton in the Olney Collection, he was laid aside from the interesting employment by serious indisposition. It pleased God, for reasons inscrutable to us, and which it would be impious to arraign, to visit the afflicted poet, with a renewed attack of his former hypochondriacal complaint, more protracted, and not less violent, than the one he had before experienced. Just on the eve of the attack he commenced the following sublime hymn:—

"God moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

Deep in unfathomable mines
Of never failing skill
He treasures up his bright designs,
And works his sovereign will.

Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take!
The clouds ye so much dread
Are big with mercy, and shall break
In blessings on your head.

Judge not the Lord by feeble sense,
But trust him for his grace;
Behind a frowning providence
He hides a smiling face.

His purposes all ripen fast,
Unfolding every hour;
The bud may have a bitter taste,
But sweet will be the flower.

Blind unbelief is sure to err,
And scan His work in vain;
God is his own interpreter,
And he will make it plain."

CHAPTER VII.

Great severity of Cowper's mental depression—His presentiment of it—Its consequences—Remarks upon its probable cause—Absurdity of attributing it, in any degree, to religion—Mrs. Unwin's great attention to him—His aversion to the company of strangers—Symptoms of his recovery—Domesticates three leverets—Amusement they afford him—Mr. Newton's removal from Olney—Introduction of Mr. Bull to Cowper—His translation of Madame de la Guyon's poems, at Mr. Bull's request—Commences his original productions, at the suggestion of Mrs. Unwin—Renews his correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Newton—Describes the state of his mind.

We are again arrived at another of those melancholy periods of Cowper's life, over which it must be alike the duty of the biographer, and the wish of the reader, to cast a veil. Mental aberration, whoever may be the subject of it, excites the tenderest commisseration of all; but if there be a time when it may be contemplated with emotions more truly distressing than another, it is when it attacks those who are endowed with talents the most brilliant, with dispositions the most amiable, and with piety the most ardent and unobtrusive. Such was eminently the case in the present instance. To see a mind like Cowper's, enveloped in the thickest gloom of despondency, and for several years, in the prime of life, remaining in a state of complete inactivity and misery, must have been distressing in no ordinary degree.

A short time previous to the afflictive visitation, Cowper appears to have received some presentiment of its approach, and during a solitary walk in the fields, as was hinted above, he composed that beautiful hymn in the Olney collection with which we closed our last chapter. On this occasion, acute as may have been his feelings, he must have experienced an unshaken confidence in God; for it is scarcely possible to read this admirable production, however dark and distressing the dispensations of Divine Providence towards us may be, without enjoying the same delightful emotions. About the same time, he composed the hymn, entitled 'Temptation,' the following lines from which will show how powerfully his mind was then exercised.

"The billows swell, the winds are high,
Clouds overcast my wintry sky;
Out of the depths to thee I call,
My fears are great, my strength is small.

O Lord, the pilot's part perform,
And guide and guard me through the storm;
Defend me from each threatening ill,
Control the waves, say 'Peace, be still.'

Amidst the roaring of the sea,
My soul still hangs her hope on thee;
Thy constant love, thy faithful care,
Is all that saves me from despair."

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* Essay on Cowper's Productions, by James Montgomery.

He now relapsed into a state, very much resembling that which had previously occasioned his removal to St. Albans. This second attack occurred in 1773; he remained in the same painful and melancholy condition, without even a single alleviation of his sufferings, for the protracted period of five years; and it was five years more, before he wholly recovered the use of his admirable powers. His mind, which could formerly soar on the wings of faith and love, to the utmost limits of Christian knowledge and enjoyment, now sunk into the lowest depths of depression; and here seemed as if it would remain immovably fixed: rejecting, with deplorable firmness, every species of consolation that was attempted to be administered.

Various causes have been assigned, by different writers, for the melancholy aberration of mind of which Cowper was now, and at other seasons of his life, the subject; but none are so irreconcilable to everything like just and legitimate reasoning, as the attempt to ascribe it to religion. That unjust views of the character of God, and of the nature of the gospel, may never have been the predisposing causes of great and severe mental depression, we are not disposed to deny; though we think this a case of very rare occurrence, and one in which the subject of it must be in a state of great ignorance respecting the fundamental truths of religion. Ought this, however, when it does happen, to be identified with religion, of which, at the best, it can only be regarded as a mere caricature? There was evidently, in the case of Cowper, nothing that bore the slightest resemblance to this. Making some allowances for expressions occasionally employed by him peculiar to the system which he had embraced, perhaps it will not be saying too much to affirm, that no individual ever entertained more scriptural views of the gospel dispensation in all its parts, and of the perfections and attributes of its great Author, than this excellent man. The letters he wrote to his correspondents, and the hymns he composed, prior to this second attack, prove unquestionably that his views of religion were at the remotest distance from what can be termed visionary or enthusiastic: on the contrary, they were perfectly scriptural and evangelical, and were consequently, infinitely more adapted to support, than to depress his mind.

The living poet whom we have before quoted, remarks:—"With regard to Cowper's malady, there scarcely needs any other proof that it was not occasioned by his religion than this, that the error on which he stumbled was in direct contradiction to his creed. He believed that he had been predestinated to life, yet under his delusion imagined that God, who cannot lie, repent, or change, had, in his sole instance, and in one moment, reversed his own decree, which had been in force from all eternity. At the same time, by a perversion of the purest principles of Christian obedience, he was so submissive to what he erroneously supposed was the will of God, that, to have saved himself from the very destruction which he dreaded, he would not avail himself of any of the means of grace, even presuming they might have been efficacious, because he believed they were forbidden to him. Yet, in spite of the self-evident impossibility, of his faith, affecting a sound mind, with such a hallucination; though a mind previously diseased, might as readily fall into that as the other; in spite of chronology, his first aberration having taken place before he had 'tasted the good word of God;' in spite of geography, that calamity having befallen him in London, where he had no acquaintance with persons holding the reprobated doctrines of election and sovereign grace; and in spite of fact, utterly undeniable, that the only effectual consolations which he experienced under his first or subsequent attacks of depression, arose from the truths of the gospel;—in spite of all these unanswerable confutations of the ignorant and malignant falsehood, the enemies of Christian truth persevere in repeating, 'that too much religion made poor Cowper mad.' If they be sincere, they are themselves under the strongest delusion; and it will be well, if it prove not, on their part, a wilful one—it will be well, if they have not reached that last perversity of human reason, to believe a falsehood of their own invention."

The remarks of Mr. Hayley, in his admirable life of the poet, page 144, vol. 1. are, we think, liable to some objection. He says—"So fearfully and wonderfully are we made, that man in all conditions ought, perhaps, to pray that he never may be led to think of his Creator and of his Redeemer, either too little or too much, since human misery is often seen to arise equally, from an utter neglect of all spiritual concerns, and from a wild extravagance of devotion."

It is surely needless to observe, that the devotion of Cowper was as much unlike what could, with any degree of propriety, be termed wild or extravagant, as can well be imagined. To what description of devotion Mr. Hayley would apply these epithets we cannot tell, but surely not to that which is scripturally evangelical, which was eminently the character of Cowper's, and which is of a nature so heavenly and spiritual, so perfectly adapted to the circumstances of mankind, and withal so soothing and consoling, that it can never be carried to excess. The more powerfully its influence is felt upon the mind, the more extensive must be the enjoyment it produces, unless when it pleases God, as in the case of Cowper, to disorganize the mental powers, and thereby unfit it for the reception of that comfort which it would otherwise experience.

Mental disorganization may undoubtedly arise from an almost infinite variety of causes, many of which, as in the poet's case, must for ever elude our search, though they are all under the control of that God who is the giver of life and its preserver. Real religion, however, which consists in a cordial reception of the truth in the heart, can never produce it in the remotest degree: evangelical devotion cannot be too intense, nor can we know too much of our Creator and Redeemer. Contemplating the Divine Being apart from the gospel of Christ, or through the distorting medium of our own fancies, may possibly, in some cases, produce depression, viewing him as he is presented to our minds in the scriptures, in all the plenitude of his goodness and benevolence, is sure to be productive of consequences directly opposite. Instead of there being any danger likely to arise from having our thoughts too much employed upon the character of God, we think a scripturally comprehensive view of his perfections the best possible preservative from despair. To represent an excess of devotion as the cause of Cowper's malady, in however slight a degree, is obviously opposed to every consistent view of religion, and is assigning that for its cause which was infinitely more likely to become its only effectual cure.

The melancholy condition to which Cowper was now reduced, afforded Mrs. Unwin an opportunity of proving the warmth of her affection for, and the sincerity of her attachment to, the dejected poet. He now required to be watched with the greatest care, vigilance, and perseverance; and it pleased God to endow her with all that tenderness, fortitude, and firmness of mind, which were requisite for the proper discharge of duties so important. Her incessant care over him, during the long fit of his depressive malady, could only be equalled by the pleasure she experienced, on seeing his pure and powerful mind, gradually emerge from that awful state of darkness, in which it had been enveloped, into the clear sunshine of liberty and peace: she hailed his approach to convalescence, slowly as it advanced, with the mingled emotions of gratitude and praise.

Cowper, throughout the whole of this severe attack, was inaccessible to all, except his friend Mr. Newton, who, during the whole of its continuance, watched over him with the greatest tenderness, and was indefatigable in his efforts to administer consolation to his depressed spirit. He once entertained him fourteen months at the vicarage, and, with untired perseverance, laboured incessantly to dissipate the dark cloud that had gathered over his mind; but to every consolatory suggestion he was utterly deaf, concluding that God had rejected him, and that, consequently, it was sinful for him even to wish for mercy. How awful are the effects of mental disorganization! how easily does it convert that into poison which was designed for solid food! how highly ought we to prize, and how thankful ought we to be, for the uninterrupted enjoyment of our mental powers!

After enduring an accumulation of anguish, almost inconceivable, for the long space of five years, unalleviated by a single glimpse of comfort, the interesting sufferer began at length gradually to recover. He listened to the advice of Mrs. Unwin, and allowed her, occasionally at least, to divert his mind from those melancholy considerations by which he had so long been burdened. It now occurred to Mrs. Unwin, that he might probably find it beneficial to be employed in some amusing occupation. She suggested this to some of her neighbours, who all deplored the poet's case, felt a lively interest in his welfare, and would gladly have done anything in their power, that was the least likely to mitigate his distress.

The children of one of his neighbours had recently given them, for a plaything, a young leveret; it was at that time about three months old. Understanding better how to teaze the poor creature than to feed it, and soon becoming weary of their charge, they readily consented that their father, who saw it pining, and growing leaner every day, should offer it to Cowper's acceptance. Beginning then to be glad of any thing that would engage his attention without fatiguing it, he was willing enough to take the prisoner under his protection, perceiving that, in the management of such an animal, and in the attempt to tame it, he should find just that sort of employment which his case required. It was soon known among his neighbours that he was pleased with the present; and the consequence was, that in a short time, he had as many leverets offered him, as would have stocked a paddock. He undertook the care of three, which he named Puss, Tiney, and Bess. The choice of their food, and the diversity of their dispositions, afforded him considerable amusement, and their occasional diseases excited his sympathy and tenderness. One remained with him during the whole of his abode at Olney, and was afterwards celebrated in his unrivalled poem, the Task; and at its decease, honoured with a beautiful epitaph from his pen; another lived with him nearly nine years: but the third did not long survive the restraints of its confined situation. An admirably written narrative of these animals, from his own pen, was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine of that day, which has since been published at the end of almost every edition of his works.

For a considerable period, Cowper's only companions were Mrs. Unwin, Mr. and Mrs. Newton, and his three hares. About this time, it pleased God to remove Mr. Newton, to another scene of labour. Deeply interested in the welfare of his afflicted friend, and aware of his aversion to the visits of strangers, Mr. Newton thought it advisable, before he left Olney, to introduce to his interesting but most afflicted friend, the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Newport Pagnel. After some difficulty, Mr. Newton triumphed over Cowper's extreme reluctance to see strangers, and Mr. Bull visited him regularly once a fortnight, and gradually acquired his cordial and confidential esteem.

Of this gentleman, Cowper, in one of his letters, gives the following playful and amusing description :—"You are not acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Bull, of Newport—perhaps it is as well for you that you are not. You would regret still more than you do, that there are so many miles interposed between us. He spends part of the day with us tomorrow. A dissenter, but a liberal one; a man of letters and of genius; master of a fine imagination, or rather not master of it; an imagination which, when he finds himself in the company he loves, and can confide in, runs away with him into such fields of speculation, as amuse and enliven every other imagination that has the happiness to be of the party. At other times, he has a tender and delicate sort of melancholy in his disposition, not less agreeable in its way. No men are better qualified for companions in such a world as this, than men of such a temperament. Every scene of life has two sides, a dark and a bright one; and the mind that has an equal mixture of melancholy and vivacity, is best of all qualified for the contemplation of either. He can be lively without levity, and pensive without dejection. Such a man is Mr. Bull: but—he smokes tobacco—nothing is perfect."

Mr. Bull, who probably regarded the want of some regular employment as one of the predisposing causes of Cowper's illness, prevailed upon him to translate several spiritual songs, from the poetry of Madame de la Mothe Guyon, the friend of the mild and amiable Fenelon. The devotion of these songs is not of that purely unexceptionable character which might be wished; and if devotional excitement had been the cause of Cowper's malady, no recommendation could have been more injudicious. The result, however, was beneficial to the poet, instead of being injurious, proving irresistibly that devotion had a soothing, rather than an irritating effect upon his mind.

Much as Cowper admired these songs, for that rich vein of pure and exalted devotion, which runs through the whole of them, he was not insensible to their defects, as will appear by the following remarks :—"The French poetess is certainly chargable with the fault you mention, though I think it not so glaring in the piece sent you. I have endeavoured, indeed, in all the translations I have made, to cure her of the evil, either by the suppression of exceptionable passages, or by a more sober manner of expression. Still, however, she will be found to have conversed familiarly with God, but I hope not fulsomely, nor so as to give reasonable disgust to a religious reader. That God should deal familiarly with man, or, which is the same thing, that he should permit man to deal familiarly with him, seems not very difficult to conceive, or presumptuous to suppose, when some things are taken into consideration. Woe to the sinner, however, that shall dare to take a liberty with him that is not warranted by his word, or to which he himself has not encouraged him. When he assumed man's nature, he revealed himself as the friend of man. He conversed freely with him while he was upon earth, and as freely with him after his resurrection. I doubt not, therefore, that it is possible to enjoy an access to him even now, unincumbered with ceremonious awe, easy, delightful, and without constraint. This, however, can only be the lot of those who make it the business of their lives to please him, and to cultivate communion with him, and then I presume there can be no danger of offence, because such a habit of the soul is his own creation, and near as we come, we come no nearer to him than he is pleased to draw us: if we address him as children, it is because he tells us he is our Father; if we unbosom ourselves to him as our friend, it is because he calls us friends; if we speak to him in the language of love, it is because he first used it, thereby teaching us that it is the language he delights to hear from his people. But I confess, that through the weakness, the folly, and corruption of human nature, this privilege, like all other Christian privileges, is liable to abuse. There is a mixture of evil in everything we do; indulgence encourages us to encroach, and while we exercise the rights of children, we become childish. Here, I think, is the point in which my authoress failed, and here it is that I have particularly guarded my translation, not afraid of representing her as dealing with God familiarly but foolishly, irreverently, and without due attention to his majesty, of which she is somewhat guilty. A wonderful fault for such a woman to fall into, who spent her life in the contemplation of his glory, who seems to have been always impressed with a sense of it, and sometimes quite absorbed by the views she had of it."

Mrs. Unwin, who still watched over her patient with the tenderest anxiety, saw, with inexpressible delight, the first efforts of his mind, after his long and painful depression; and perceiving that translation had a good effect, she wisely urged him to employ his mind in composing some original poem, which she thought more likely to become beneficial. Cowper now listened to her advice, and felt so powerfully the obligations under which he was laid to her, for her continued attention and kindness, that he cheerfully complied with her request. The result exceeded her most sanguine expectation. A beautiful poem was produced, entitled Table Talk; another, called the Progress of Error, was shortly composed; Truth, as a pleasing contrast, followed it; this was succeeded by others of equal excellence, proving that the poet's mind had now completely emerged from that darkness in which it had so long been confined by his depressive malady.

It is interesting to observe, that Cowper's poems were almost invariably composed at the suggestion of friends. He wrote hymns, to oblige Mr. Newton; translated Madam Guyon's songs, to gratify his friend Mr. Bull, and composed the greater part of his poems, to please Mrs. Unwin. The influence of friendship on his tender mind, was powerfully affecting; and he ever regarded it as his happiest inspiration. It kindled the warmth of his heart, into a flame, intense and ardent, stimulated into activity the rich, but dormant powers of his mind, and produced those bursts of poetic feeling and beauty, which abound in his unrivalled compositions.

Cowper regained his admirable talent for composition, both in poetry and in prose, and renewed his correspondence with some of his more intimate friends, long before his mind was wholly convalescent; and his letters, written at this period, afford the best clue to the painful peculiarities of his case. On every other subject but that of his own feelings, his remarks are in the highest degree pleasing; and there was often a sprightliness and vivacity about them, that seemed to indicate a state of mind at the remotest distance from painful; but whenever he adverted to his own case, it was in a tone the most plaintive and melancholy.

Immediately after the removal of his esteemed friends, Mr. and Mrs. Newton, he commenced a correspondence with them, which he regularly kept up during almost the whole of his life. To Mrs. Newton, soon after this event, he thus describes his feelings on this occasion. "The vicarage-house became a melancholy object as soon as Mr. Newton had left it: when you left it, it became more melancholy; now it is actually occupied by another family. I cannot even look at it without being shocked. As I walked in the garden last evening, I saw the smoke issue from the study chimney, and said to myself, that used to be a sign that Mr. Newton was there; but it is so no longer. The walls of the house know nothing of the change that has taken place, the bolt of the chamber door sounds just as it used to do, and when Mr. P—— goes up stairs, for ought I know, or ever shall know, the fall of his foot can hardly perhaps, be distinguished from that of Mr. Newton. But Mr. Newton's foot will never be heard upon that staircase again. These reflections, and such as these, occurred to me on this occasion. If I were in a condition to leave Olney, I certainly would not stay in it. It is no attachment to the place that binds me here, but an unfitness for every other. I lived in it once, but now I am buried in it, and have no business with the world on the outside of my sepulchre; my appearance would startle them, and theirs would be shocking to me."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, 3d May, 1780, he thus writes: "You indulge me in such a variety of subjects, and allow me such a latitude of excursion, in this scribbling employment, that I have no excuse for silence. I am much obliged to you for swallowing such boluses, as I send you, for the sake of my gilding, and verily believe, I am the only man alive, from whom they could be welcome, to a palate like yours. I wish I could make them more splendid than they are, more alluring to the eye, at least, if not more pleasing to the taste, but my leaf-gold is tarnished, and has received such a tinge from the vapours that are ever brooding over my mind, that I think it no small proof of your partiality to me, that you will read my letters. If every human being upon earth could think for one quarter of an hour, as I have thought for many years, there might perhaps be many miserable men among them, but not one unawakened one would be found, from the Arctic to the Antarctic circle. At present, the difference between them and me, is greatly to their advantage. I delight in baubles, and know them to be so, for rested in, and viewed without a reference to their author, what is the earth, what are the planets, what is the sun itself, but a bauble? Better for a man never to have seen them, or to see them with the eyes of a brute, stupid and unconscious of what he beholds, than not to be able to say, 'The maker of all these wonders is my friend!' Their eyes have never been opened, to see that they are trifles; mine have been, and will be, till they are closed for ever."

"I live in a world abounding with incidents, upon which many grave, and perhaps some profitable observations, might be made; but these incidents never reaching my unfortunate ears, both the entertaining narrative, and the reflection it might suggest, are to be annihilated and lost. I look back on the past week, and say, what did it produce? I ask the same question of the week preceding, and duly receive the same answer from both—nothing! A situation like this, in which I am as unknown to the world, as I am ignorant of all that passes in it—in which I have nothing to do but to think, would exactly suit me, were my subjects of meditation as agreeable as my leisure is uninterrupted: my passion for retirement is not at all abated, after so many years spent in the most sequestered state, but rather increased; a circumstance, I should esteem wonderful, to a degree not to be accounted for, considering the condition of my mind, did I not know that we think as we are made to think, and of course, approve and prefer, as Providence, who appoints the bounds of our habitation, chooses for us. Thus, I am both free, and a prisoner at the same time. The world is before me; I am not shut up in the Bastile; there are no moats about my castle, no locks upon my gates, of which I have not the keys; but an invisible, uncontrolable agency, a local attachment, an inclination, more forcible than I ever felt, even to the place of my birth, serves me for prison walls, and for bounds, which I cannot pass. In former years I have known sorrow, and before I had ever tasted of spiritual trouble. The effect was, an abhorrence of the scene in which I had suffered so much, and a weariness of those objects which I had so long looked at with an eye of despondency and dejection. But it is otherwise with me now. The same cause subsisting, and in a much more powerful degree, fails to produce its natural effect. The very stones in the garden walls, are my intimate acquaintance. I should miss almost the minutest object, and be disagreeably affected by its removal, and am persuaded, that were it possible I could leave this incommodious nook for a twelvemonth, I should return to it again with raptures, and be transported with the sight of objects, which, to all the world beside, would be at least indifferent; some of them, perhaps, such as the ragged thatch, and the tottering walls, disgusting. But so it is, and it is so, because here is to be my abode, and because such is the appointment of Him who placed me in it. It is the place of all the world I love the most, not for any happiness it affords me, but because here I can be miserable with most convenience to myself, and with least disturbance to others."

In a letter to Mrs. Unwin's son, with whom he had now commenced a correspondence, he thus describes his feelings. "So long as I am pleased with an employment, I am capable of unwearied application, because my feelings are all of the intense kind; I never received a little pleasure from anything in my life; if I am delighted it is in the extreme. The unhappy consequence of this temperature is, that my attachment to my occupation seldom outlives the novelty of it. That nerve of my imagination that feels the touch of any particular amusement, twangs under the energy of the pressure with so much vehemence, that it soon becomes sensible of weariness and fatigue."

Writing to Mr. Newton, 12th July, 1780, he thus again adverts to his own case. "Such nights as I frequently spend, are but a miserable prelude to the succeeding day, and indispose me, above all things, to the business of writing. Yet with a pen in my hand, if I am able to write at all, I find myself gradually relieved; and as I am glad of any employment that may serve to engage my attention, so especially I am pleased with an opportunity of conversing with you, though it be but upon paper. This occupation, above all others, assists me in that self-deception, to which I am indebted for all the little comfort I enjoy; things seem to be as they were, and I almost forget that they can never be so again. If I have strength of mind, I have not strength of body for the task, which, you say some would impose upon me. I cannot bear much thinking. The meshes of that fine net-work, the brain, are composed of such mere spinner's threads in me, that when a long thought finds its way into them, it buzzes, and twangs, and bustles about, at such a rate, as seems to threaten the whole contexture."

To the same correspondent he writes on another occasion. "Your sentiments, with respect to me, are exactly like Mrs. Unwin's. She, like you, is perfectly sure of my deliverance, and often tells me so; I make her but one answer, and sometimes none all. That answer gives *her* no pleasure, and would give *you* as little; therefore, at this time I suppress it. It is better on every account that they who interest themselves so deeply in that event, should believe the certainty of it, than that they should not. It is a comfort to *them*, at least, if it be none to me, and as I could not, if I would, so neither would I, if I could, deprive them of it. If human nature may be compared to a piece of tapestry, (and why not?) when human nature, as it subsists in me, though it is sadly faded on the right side, retains all its colour on the wrong. At this season of the year, and in this gloomy and uncomfortable climate, it is no easy matter for the owner of a mind like mine, to divert it from sad subjects, and fix it upon such as may administer to its amusement. Poetry, above all things, is useful to me in this respect. While I am held in pursuit of pretty images, or a pretty way of expressing them, I forget everything that is irksome, and, like a boy that plays truant, determine to avail himself of the present opportunity to be amused, regardless of future consequences. It will not be long perhaps, before you will receive a poem, called the *Progress of Error;* that will be succeeded by another, in due time, called *Truth.* Don't be alarmed. I ride Pegasus with a curb. He will never run away with me again. I have even convinced Mrs. Unwin, that I can manage him, and make him stop, when I please."

On another occasion he gives the following curious and playful description of himself. "I can compare this mind of mine to nothing that resembles it more, than to a board, that is under the carpenter's plane, (I mean while I am writing to you) the shavings are my uppermost thoughts; after a few strokes of the tool, it acquires a new surface; this again, upon a repetition of his task, he takes off, and a new surface still succeeds. Whether the shavings of the present day, will be worth your acceptance, I know not; I am unfortunately, made neither of cedar nor of mahogany, but *Truncus ficulnus, inutile lignum.* consequently, though I should be planed till I am as thin as a wafer, it will be but rubbish at last."

To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he thus plaintively describes his feelings:—"My days steal away silently, and march on, (as poor mad Lear would have made his soldiers march) as if they were shod with felt; not so silently but that I hear them, yet were it not that I am always listening to their flight, having no infirmity that I had not when I was much younger, I should deceive myself with an imagination that I am still young. I am fond of writing, as an amusement, but do not always find it one. Being rather scantily furnished with subjects that are good for anything, and corresponding only with those who have no relish for such as are good for nothing, I often find myself reduced to the necessity, the disagreeable necessity, of writing about myself. This does not mend the matter much; for though, in a description of my own condition, I discover abundant materials to employ my pen upon, yet as the task is not very agreeable to *me*, so, I am sufficiently aware, that it is likely to prove irksome to others. A painter, who should confine himself, in the exercise of his art, to the drawing of his own picture, must be a wonderful coxcomb indeed, if he did not soon grow sick of his own occupation, and be peculiarly fortunate if he did not make others as sick as himself."

Notwithstanding Cowper's depressive malady, yet his views of religion, even at that period, remained unaltered, and were as much distinguished for their excellence as ever. Writing to his friend, Mr. Unwin, the following judicious remarks occur, respecting keeping the sabbath:—"With respect to the advice you are required to give to a young lady, that she may be properly instructed in the manner of keeping the sabbath, I just subjoin a few hints that have occurred to me on the occasion. I think the sabbath may be considered, first, as a commandment, no less binding upon Christians than upon Jews. The spiritual people among them did not think it enough, merely to abstain from manual occupations on that day, but entering more deeply into the meaning of the precept, allotted those hours, they took from the world, to the cultivation of holiness in their own souls; which ever was, and ever will be, incumbent upon all, who have the Scripture in their hands, and is of perpetual obligation, both upon Jews and Christians; the Commandment enjoins it, and the prophets have enforced it; and, in many instances, the breach of it has been punished with a providential severity, that has made bystanders tremble. Secondly, it may be considered as a *privilege*, which you will know how to dilate upon better than I can tell you; thirdly, as a sign of that covenant by which believers are entitled to a rest that yet remaineth; fourthly, as the *sine quâ non* of the Christian character, and upon this head, I should guard against being misunderstood to mean no more than two attendances upon public worship, which is a form, observed by thousands, who never kept a sabbath in their lives. Consistence is necessary to give substance and solidity to the whole. To sanctify the day at church, and to trifle it away out of church, is profanation, and vitiates all. After all, I should say to my catechumen, Do you love the day, or do you not? If you love it, you will never inquire how far you may safely deprive yourself of the enjoyment of it. If you do not love it, and you find yourself in conscience obliged to acknowledge it, that is an alarming symptom, and ought to make you tremble. If you do not love it, then it is a weariness to you, and you wish it over. The ideas of labour and rest, are not more opposite to each other than the idea of a sabbath, and that dislike and disgust, with which it fills the souls of thousands, to be obliged to keep it, it is worse than bodily labour."

To his cousin, Mrs. Cowper, he again writes:—"I know not what impressions time may have made upon your person, for while his claws, (as our grannams called them), strike deep furrows in some faces, he seems to sheath them with much tenderness, as if fearful of doing injury to others. But, though an enemy to the body, he is a friend to the mind, and you have doubtless found him so. Though, even in this respect, his treatment of us depends upon what he meets with at our hands, if we use him well, and listen to his admonitions, he is a friend indeed; but otherwise, the worst of enemies, who takes from us daily, something that we valued, and gives us nothing better in its stead. It is well with them, who, like you, can stand a tip-toe on the mountain top of human life, look down with pleasure upon the valley they have passed, and sometimes stretch their wings in joyful hope of a happy flight into eternity. Yet a little while, and your hope will be accomplished. The course of a rapid river is the justest of all emblems, to express the variableness of our scene below. Shakspeare says, none ever bathed himself twice in the same stream; and it is equally true, that the world upon which we close our eyes at night, is never the same as that upon which we open them in the morning."

CHAPTER VIII.

Makes preparations for publishing his first volume—Reasons assigned for it—Beneficial effects of composition on his mind—His comparative indifference to the success of his volume—Great care, nevertheless, with which he composed it—His readiness to avail himself of the assistance and advice of his friends—The interest which Mr. Newton took in his publication—Writes the preface for the volume—Cowper's judicious reply to some objections that had been made to it—Publication of the volume—Manner in which it was received—Continuance of Cowper's depression—State of his mind respecting religion—His warm attachment to the leading truths of the gospel—Ardent desires to make his volume the means of conveying them to others.

MORE than seven years had now elapsed since the commencement of Cowper's distressing malady; and though he was not yet perfectly recovered, he had, at length, gradually acquired the full exercise of those mental powers for which he was so highly distinguished. Having now employed his muse, with the happiest effect, for nearly two years, he had composed a sufficient number of lines to form a respectable volume. Mrs. Unwin had witnessed with delight the productions of his pen, and she now wisely urged him to make them public. He was, at first, exceedingly averse to the measure; but, after some consideration, he at length yielded to her suggestions, and made preparations to appear as an author. His letters to his correspondents on the subject are highly interesting; and afford a full developement of the design he had in view in appearing before the public. To Mr. Unwin he thus writes:—"Your mother says I *must* write, and *must* admits of no apology; I might otherwise plead that I have nothing to say, that I am weary, that I am dull, that it would be more convenient for you, as well as for myself, that I should let it alone. But all these pleas, and whatever pleas besides, either disinclination, indolence, or necessity, might suggest, are overruled, as they ought to be, the moment a lady adduces her irrefragable argument, *you must*. Urged by her entreaties, I have at length sent a volume to the press; the greater part of it is the produce of the last winter. Two-thirds of the volume will be occupied by four pieces. It contains, in all, about two thousand five hundred lines; and will be known, in due time, by the names of *Table Talk*, *The Progress of Error*, *Truth*, *Expostulation*, with an addition of some smaller poems, all of which, I believe, have passed under your notice. Altogether they will furnish a volume of tolerable bulk, that need not be indebted to an intolerable breadth of margin, for the importance of its figure."

In this undertaking he was encouraged by his friend, Mr. Newton, with whom he corresponded on the subject, and to whom he thus discloses his mind:—"If a board of inquiry were to be established, at which poets were to undergo an examination respecting the motives that induced them to publish, and I were to be summoned to attend, that I might give an acount of mine, I think I could truly say, what perhaps few poets could, that though I have no objection to lucrative consequences, if any such should follow, they are not my aim; much less is it my ambition to exhibit myself to the world as a genius. What then, says Mr. President, can possibly be your motive? I answer, with a bow, amusement. There is no occupation within the compass of my small sphere, poetry excepted, that can do much towards diverting that train of melancholy forebodings, which, when I am not thus employed, are for ever pouring themselves in upon me. And if I did not publish what I write, I could not interest myself sufficiently in my own success to make an amusement of it. My own amusement, however, is not my sole motive. I am merry that I may decoy people into my company, and grave that they may be the better for it. Now and then I put on the garb of a philosopher, and take the opportunity that disguise procures me, to drop a word in favour of religion. In short, there is some froth, and here and there a bit of sweet-meat, which seems to entitle it justly to the name of a certain dish the ladies call a trifle. I did not choose to be more facetious, lest I should consult the taste of my readers at the expense of my own approbation; nor more serious than I have been, lest I should forfeit theirs. A poet in my circumstances has a difficult part to act; one minute obliged to bridle his humour, if he has any, the next, to clap a spur to the sides of it. Now ready to weep, from a sense of the importance of his subject, and on a sudden constrained to laugh, lest his gravity should be mistaken for dulness."

Writing to his amiable correspondent, Mrs. Cowper, 19th October, 1781, he says:—"I am preparing a volume of poems for the press, which I imagine will make its appearance in the course of the winter. It is a bold undertaking at this time of day, when so many writers of the greatest abilities have gone before, who seem to have anticipated every valuable subject, as well as all the graces of poetical embellishment, to step forth into the world in the character of a bard; especially when it is considered that luxury, idleness, and vice, have debauched the public taste, and that scarcely anything but childish fiction, or what has a tendency to excite a laugh, is welcome. I thought, however, that I had stumbled upon some subjects that had never been poetically treated, and upon some others, to which I imagined it would not be difficult to give an air of novelty, by the manner of treating them. My sole drift is to be useful; a point which, however, I knew I should in vain aim at, unless I could be likewise entertaining. I have therefore fixed these two strings to my bow; and by the help of both, have done my best, to send my arrow to the mark. My readers will hardly have begun to laugh before they will be called upon to correct that levity, and peruse me with a more serious air. I cast a side-long glance at the good-liking of the world at large, more for the sake of their advantage and instruction than their praise.—They are children; if we give them physic, we must sweeten the rim of the cup with honey. As to the effect, I leave that in his hands, who alone can produce it; neither prose, nor verse, can reform the manners of a dissolute age, much less can they inspire a sense of religious obligation, unless assisted, and made efficacious by the power who superintends the truth he has vouchsafed to impart."

To his warm friend, Mr. Hill, he thus amusingly adverts to his publication:—"I am in the press, and it is in vain to deny it. My labours are principally the production of the last winter; all, indeed, except a few of the minor pieces.—When I can find no other occupation, I think, and when I think, I am very apt to do it in rhyme. Hence it comes to pass that the season of the year, which generally pinches off the flowers of poetry, unfolds mine, such as they are, and crowns me with a winter garland. In this respect, therefore, I and my contemporary bards are by no means upon a par. They write when the delightful influences of fine weather, fine prospects, and a brisk motion of the animal spirits, make poetry almost the language of nature; and I, when icicles depend from all the leaves of the Parnassian laurel, and when a reasonable man would as little expect to succeed in verse, as to hear a blackbird whistle. This must be my apology to you, for whatever want of fire and animation you may observe in what you will shortly have the perusal of. As to the public, if they like me not, there is no remedy. A friend will weigh and consider all disadvantages, and make as large allowances as an author can wish, and larger, perhaps, than he has any right to expect, but not so the world at large; whatever they do not like, they will not by an apology be persuaded to forgive; it would be in vain to tell *them* that I wrote my verses in January, for they would immediately reply, Why did you not write them in May? A question that might puzzle a wiser head than we poets are generally blessed with."

It might have been supposed, that the vigorous exercise of the mental powers which the composition of poetry, like that of Cowper's, required, would have increased this depressive malady, instead of diminishing it. His, however, was a peculiar case, and he found it of great advantage, as we learn in a letter to Mr. Newton, where he says:—"I have never found an amusement, among the many that I have been obliged to have recourse to, that so well answered the purpose for which I used it, as composition. The quieting and composing effect of it was such, and so totally absorbed have I sometimes been in my rhyming occupation, that neither the past, nor the future, (those themes which to me are so fruitful in regret at other times) had any longer a share in my contemplation. For this reason I wish, and have often wished since the fit left me, that it would seize me again, but hitherto I have wished it in vain.—I see no want of subjects, but I feel a total disability to discuss them. Whether it is thus with other writers, or not, I am ignorant, but I should suppose my case, in this respect, a little peculiar. The voluminous writers at least, whose vein of fancy seems always to have been rich in proportion to their occasions, cannot have been so unlike, and so unequal to themselves. There is this difference between my poetship and the generality of *them;* they appear to have been ignorant how much they stood indebted to an Almighty power for the exercise of those talents they supposed to be their own. Whereas I know, and know most perfectly, that my power to think, whatever it be, and consequently my power to compose, is, as much as my outward form, afforded to me by the same hand that makes me, in any respect, differ from a brute."

The commencement of authorship is generally a period of much painful anxiety; few persons have ventured on such an undertaking without experiencing considerable excitement; and in a mind like Cowper's, it might have been supposed that such would have been the case in a remarkable degree. No person, however, ever ventured before the public, in the character of an author, with less anxiety. Writing to Mr. Unwin, he says:—"You ask me how I feel on the occasion of my approaching publication? Perfectly at ease. If I had not been pretty well assured beforehand, that my tranquillity would be but little endangered by such a measure, I would never have engaged in it, for I cannot bear disturbance. I have had in view two principal objects; first, to amuse myself, and then to compass that point in such a manner, that others might possibly be the better for my amusement. If I have succeeded, it will give me pleasure; but if I have failed, I shall not be mortified to the degree that might perhaps be expected. The critics cannot deprive me of the pleasure I have in reflecting, that so far as my leisure has been employed in writing for the public, it has been employed conscientiously, and with a view to their advantage. There is nothing agreeable, to be sure, in being chronicled for a dunce; but I believe there lives not a man upon earth who would be less affected by it than myself."

Indifferent as he was to the result of his publications, he was far from being careless in their composition. Perhaps no author ever took more pains with his production, or sought more carefully to make them worthy of public approbation. In one of his letters, adverting to this subject, he says—"To touch, and retouch, is, though some writers boast of negligence, and others would be ashamed to show their foul copies, the secret of almost all good writing, especially in verse. I am never weary of it myself, and if you would take as much pains as I do, you would not need to ask for my corrections. With the greatest indifference to fame, which you know me too well to suppose me capable of affecting, I have taken the utmost pains to deserve it. This may appear a mystery, or a paradox, in practice, but it is true. I considered that the taste of the day is refined, and delicate to excess, and that to disgust that delicacy of the taste by a slovenly inattention to it, would be to forfeit at once, all hope of being useful; and for this reason, though I have written more verse this year than perhaps any man in England, I have finished, and polished, and touched and retouched, with the utmost care. Whatever faults I may be chargeable with as a poet, I cannot accuse myself of negligence; I never suffer a line to pass till I have made it as good as I can; and though some may be offended at my doctrines, I trust none will be disgusted by slovenly inaccuracy, in the numbers, the rhymes, or the language. If, after all, I should be converted into waste paper, it may be my misfortune, but it will not be my fault; and I shall bear it with perfect serenity."

In the character of Cowper there was nothing like an overweening confidence in his own powers. No person was ever more willing to avail himself of the advice of his friends, nor did any one ever receive advice more gratefully. Not satisfied with bestowing upon his productions the greatest pains himself, he occasionally submitted them to the correction of others, and his correspondence affords many proofs of his readiness to profit by the slightest hint. To Mr. Newton he thus writes: "I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken with my poems, and for the manner in which you have interested yourself in their appearance. Your favourable opinion affords me a comfortable presage with respect to that of the public; for though I make allowance for your partiality to me, yet I am sure you would not suffer me, unadmonished, to add myself to the number of insipid rhymers with whose productions the world is already too much pestered. I forgot to mention, that Johnson uses the discretion my poetship has allowed him, with much discernment. He has suggested several alterations, or rather marked several defective passages, which I have corrected; much to the advantage of the poems. In the last sheet he sent me, he noticed three such, which I reduced to better order. In the foregoing sheet I assented to his criticisms in some instances, and chose to abide by the original expressions in others; whenever he has marked such lines as did not please him, I have, as often as I could, paid all possible respect to his animadversions. Thus we jog on together comfortably enough; and perhaps it would be as well for authors in general, if their booksellers, when men of some taste, are allowed, though not to tinker the work themselves, yet to point out the flaws, and humbly to recommend an improvement. I have also to thank you, and ought to have done it in the first place, for having recommended to me the suppression of some lines, which I am now more than ever convinced, would at least have done me no honour."

The great interest Mr. Newton took in Cowper's publication, induced the poet to request him to compose the preface; and his correspondence with Mr. Newton on the subject is alike honourable to his judgment and his feelings; and affords a striking display of the strong hold which religion had upon his affections. He thus introduces the subject to Mr. Newton, "With respect to the poem called *Truth*, it is so true that it can hardly fail of giving offence to an unenlightened reader. I think, therefore, that in order to obviate in some measure those prejudices that will naturally erect their bristles against it, an explanatory preface, such as you, (and nobody else so well as you) can furnish me with, will have every grace of propriety to recommend it; or if you are not averse to the task, and your avocations will allow you to undertake it, and if you think it will be still more proper, I should be glad to be indebted to you for a preface to the whole. I admit that it will require much delicacy, but am far from apprehending that you will find it difficult to succeed. You can draw a hair-stroke, where another man would make a blot, as broad as a sixpence."

The preface composed by Mr. Newton, though it was in the highest degree satisfactory to Cowper, and was admitted by him to be everything that he could wish, was nevertheless thought by others to be of too sombre a cast, to introduce a volume of poems, pre-eminently distinguished for their vivacity and eloquence. Adverting to this objection, and to the suggestion of the publisher to suppress it, Cowper thus writes:—"If the men of the world are so merrily disposed, in the midst of a thousand calamities, that they will not deign to read a preface, of three or four pages, because the purport of it is serious, they are far gone, indeed, in the last stage of a frenzy. I am, however, willing to hope, that such is not the case; curiosity is an universal passion. There are few persons who think a book worth reading, but feel a desire to know something about the writer of it. This desire will naturally lead them to peep into the preface, where they will soon find, that a little perseverance will furnish them with some information on the subject. If therefore your preface finds no readers, I shall take it for granted that it is, because the book itself is accounted not worth their notice. Be that as it may, it is quite sufficient that I have played the antic myself for their diversion; and that, in a state of dejection such as they are absolute strangers to, I have sometimes put on an air of cheerfulness and vivacity, to which I myself am in reality a stranger, for the sake of winning their attention to more useful matter. I cannot endure the thought, for a moment, that you should descend to my level on the occasion, and court their favour in a style not more unsuitable to your function, than to the constant and consistent strain of your whole character and conduct. Though your preface is of a serious cast, it is free from all offensive peculiarities, and contains none of those obnoxious doctrines at which the world is too apt to be angry. It asserted nothing more than every rational creature must admit to be true—that divine and earthly things can no longer stand in competition with each other, in the judgment of any man, than while he continues ignorant of their respective value: and that the moment the eyes are opened, the latter are always cheerfully relinquished for the former. It is impossible for me however to be so insensible to your kindness in writing the preface, as not to be desirous of defying all contingencies, rather than entertain a wish to suppress it. It will do me honour, indeed, in the eyes of those whose good opinion is worth having, and if it hurts me in the estimation of others I cannot help it; the fault is neither yours, nor mine, but theirs. If a minister's is a more splendid character than a poet's, and I think nobody that understands their value can hesitate in deciding that question, then undoubtedly, the advantage of having our names united in the same volume, is all on my side."

Cowper's first volume was published in the spring of 1782. Its success, at first, fell far short of what might have been anticipated from its extraordinary merit. It was not long, however, before the more intelligent part of the reading public appreciated its value. It soon found its way into the hands of all lovers of literature. Abounding with some of the finest passages that are to be met with, either in ancient or modern poetry, it was impossible that it should remain long unnoticed. By mere readers of taste, it was read for the beauty and elegance of its composition; by many, it was eagerly sought after for the sprightliness, vivacity, and wit, with which it abounded:—by Christians, of all denominations, it was read with unfeigned pleasure, for the striking and beautiful descriptions it contained, of doctrinal, practical, and experimental Christianity.

It would scarcely be supposed that the author of a volume of poems like this, exhibiting such a diversity of powers as could not fail to charm the mind, delight the imagination, and improve the heart, could have remained, during the whole time he was composing it, in a state of great and painful depression. Such however was the peculiarity of Cowper's malady, that a train of melancholy thoughts seemed ever to be pouring themselves in upon his mind, which neither himself nor his friends were ever able to account for, satisfactorily. Writing to his friend Mr. Newton, who had recently paid him a visit, he thus discloses the state of his mind:—"My sensations at your departure were far from pleasant. When we shall meet again, and in what circumstances, or whether we shall meet or not, is an article to be found no where but in that providence which belongs to the current year, and will not be understood till it is accomplished. This I know, that your visit was most agreeable to me, who, though I live in the midst of many agreeables, am but little sensible of their charms. But when you came, I determined, as much as possible, to be deaf to the suggestions of despair; that if I could contribute but little to the pleasure of the opportunity, I might not dash it with unseasonable melancholy, and like an instrument with a broken string, interrupt the harmony of the concert."

It is gratifying to observe, that neither the attention which Cowper paid to his publication, nor the depressive malady with which he was afflicted, could divert his attention from the all-important concerns of religion. A tone of deep seriousness, and genuine Christian feeling, pervades many of his letters written about this time. To Mr. Newton he thus writes:—"You wish you could employ your time to better purpose, yet are never idle, in all that you do; whether you are alone, or pay visits, or receive them; whether you think or write, or walk, or sit still, the state of your mind is such as discovers even to yourself, in spite of all its wanderings, that there is a principle at the bottom, whose determined tendency is towards the best things. I do not at all doubt the truth of what you say, when you complain of that crowd of trifling thoughts that pesters you without ceasing; but then you always have a serious thought standing at the door of your imagination, like a justice of the peace, with the Riot Act in his hand, ready to read it and disperse the mob. Here lies the difference between you and me. You wish for more attention, I for less. Dissipation itself would be welcome to me, so it were not a vicious one; but however earnestly invited, it is coy and keeps at a distance. Yet with all this distressing gloom upon my mind, I experience, as you do, the slipperiness of the present hour, and the rapidity with which time escapes me. Everything around us, and everything that befalls us, constitutes a variety, which, whether agreeable or otherwise, has still a thievish propensity; and steals from us days, months, and years, with such unparalleled suddenness, that even while we say they are here, they are gone. From infancy to manhood, is rather a tedious period, chiefly, I suppose, because at that time, we act under the control of others, and are not suffered to have a will of our own. But thence downward into the vale of years, is such a declivity, that we have just an opportunity to reflect upon the steepness of it and then find ourselves at the bottom."

The following extracts from his correspondence with Mr. Unwin, who at that time, was on a visit at Brighthelmstone, will show the deep tone of seriousness that pervaded his mind:—"I think with you, that the most magnificent object under heaven is the great deep; and cannot but feel an unpolite species of astonishment, when I consider the multitudes that view it without emotion, and even without reflection. In all its varied forms, it is an object, of all others, the most suitable to affect us with lasting impressions of the awful power that created and controls it. I am the less inclined to think this negligence excusable, because, at a time of life, when I gave as little attention to religion as any man, I yet remember that the waves would preach to me, and that in the midst of worldly dissipation I had an ear to hear them. In the fashionable amusements which you will probably witness for a time, you will discern no signs of sobriety, or true wisdom. But it is impossible for a man who has a mind like yours, capable of reflection, to observe the manners of a multitude without learning something. If he sees nothing to imitate, he is sure to see something to avoid. If nothing to congratulate his fellow-creatures upon, at least much to excite his compassion. There is not, I think, so melancholy a sight in the world, (an hospital is not to be compared to it,) as that of a multitude of persons, distinguished by the name of gentry, who, gentle perhaps by nature, and made more gentle by education, have the appearance of being innocent and inoffensive, yet being destitute of all religion, or not at all governed by the religion they profess, are none of them at any great distance from an eternal state, where self-deception will be impossible, and where amusements cannot enter. Some of them we may hope will be reclaimed, it is most probable that many will, because mercy, if one may be allowed the expression, is fond of distinguishing itself by seeking its objects among the most desperate class; but the Scripture gives no encouragement to the warmest charity, to expect deliverance for them all. When I see an afflicted and unhappy man, I say to myself, there is perhaps a man, whom the world would envy, if they knew the value of his sorrows, which are possibly intended only to soften his heart, and to turn his affections towards their proper centre. But when I see, or hear of a crowd of voluptuaries, who have no ears but for music, no eyes but for splendour, and no tongues but for impertinence and folly—I say, or at least I see occasion to say, this is madness—this, persisted in, must have a tragical conclusion. It will condemn you, not only as Christians, unworthy of the name, but as intelligent creatures—you know by the light of nature, if you have not quenched it, that there is a God, and that a life like yours cannot be according to his will. I ask no pardon of you for the gravity and gloominess of these reflections, which, with others of a similar complexion, are sure to occur to me when I think of a scene of public diversion like that you have witnessed."

The following remarks, extracted from a letter to the same correspondent, while they serve to display the state of his mind respecting religion, exhibit at the same time, the high value which he set upon the leading truths of the gospel:—"When I wrote the poem on Truth, it was indispensably necessary that I should set forth that doctrine which I know to be true; and that I should pass, what I understood to be a just censure, upon opinions and persuasions that stand in direct opposition to it; because, though some errors may be innocent, and even religious errors are not always dangerous, yet in a case where the faith and hope of a Christian are concerned, they must necessarily be destructive; and because neglecting this, I should have betrayed my subject; either suppressing what in my judgment is of the last importance, or giving countenance by a timid silence, to the very evils it was my design to combat. That you may understand me better, I will subjoin; that I wrote that poem on purpose to inculcate the eleemosynary character of the gospel, as a dispensation of mercy, in the most absolute sense of the word, to the exclusion of all claims of merit on the part of the receiver; consequently to set the brand of invalidity upon the plea of works, and to discover, upon scriptural ground, the absurdity of that notion, which includes a solecism in the very terms of it, that man by repentance and good works, may deserve the mercy of his Maker. I call it solecism, because mercy deserved ceases to be mercy, and must take the name of justice. This is the opinion which I said, in my last, the world would not acquiesce in, but except this, I do not recollect that I have introduced a syllable into any of my pieces, that they can possibly object to; and even this I have endeavoured to deliver from doctrinal dryness, by as many pretty things, in the way of trinket and plaything, as I could muster upon the subject. So that if I have rubbed their gums, I have taken care to do it with a coral, and even that coral embellished by the ribbon to which it is attached, and recommended by the tinkling of all the bells I could contrive to annex to it."

The following beautiful lines convey sentiments so much in unison with this extract, that we cannot forbear to insert them at the close of this chapter:—

"I am no preacher; let this hint suffice,
The cross once seen is death to every vice;
Else he that hung there suffered all his pain,
Bled, groaned, and agonized, and died in vain.
There, and there only, (though the deist rave,
And atheist, if earth bear so base a slave,)
There, and there only, is the power to save;
There no delusive hope invites despair,
No mockery meets you, no deception there;
The spells and charms that blinded you before,
All vanish there, and fascinate no more."

Progress of Error.

CHAPTER IX.

Commencement of Cowper's acquaintance with Lady Austin—Pleasure it afforded him—Poetic epistle to her—Her removal to Olney—Beneficial influence of her conversational powers on Cowper's mind—Occasion of his writing John Gilpin—Lines composed at Lady Austin's request—Induced by her to commence writing The Task—Principal object he had in view in composing it—Sudden and final separation from Lady Austin—Occasional severity of his depressive malady—Hopes entertained by his friends of his ultimate recovery—His own opinion upon it—Pleasing proofs of the power of religion on his mind—Tenderness of his conscience—Serious reflections—Aversion to religious deception and pretended piety—Bigotry and intolerance, with their opposite vices, levity and indifference, deplored—Sympathy with the sufferings of the poor—Enviable condition of such of them as are pious, compared with the rich who disregard religion.

In the autumn of 1781, Cowper became acquainted with Lady Austin, whose brilliant wit and unrivalled conversational powers, were admirably adapted to afford relief to a mind like his. This lady was introduced to the retired poet by her sister, the wife of a clergyman, who resided at Clifton, a mile distant from Olney, and who occasionally called upon Mrs. Unwin. Lady Austin came to pass some time with her sister, in the summer of 1781, and Mrs. Unwin, at Cowper's request, invited the ladies to tea. So much, however, was he averse to the company of strangers, that after he had occasioned the invitation, it was with considerable reluctance he was persuaded to join the party; but having at length overcome his feelings, he entered freely into conversation with Lady Austin, and derived so much benefit from her sprightly and animating discourse, that he from that time cultivated her acquaintance with the greatest attention.

The opinion Cowper formed of this accomplished and talented lady, may be ascertained by the following extracts from his letters:—"Lady Austin has paid us her first visit, and not content with showing us that proof of her respect, made handsome apologies for her intrusion. She is a lively, agreeable woman; has seen much of the ways of the world, and accounts it a great simpleton, as it is. She laughs, and makes laugh, without seeming to labour at it. She has many features in her character which you must admire, but one in particular, on account of the rarity of it, will engage your attention and esteem. She has a degree of gratitude in her composition, so quick a sense of obligation, as is hardly to be found in any rank of life. Discover but a wish to please her, and she never forgets it; not only thanks you, but the tears will start into her eyes at the recollection of the smallest service. With these fine feelings she has the most harmless vivacity you can imagine: half an hour's conversation with her will convince you that she is one of the most intelligent, pious, and agreeable ladies you ever met with."

The following lines, part of a poetical epistle, addressed by Cowper to Lady Austin, will show how much he was delighted with his new friend:—

"Dear Anna,—between friend and friend
Prose answers every common end;
Serves, in a plain and homely way,
To express the occurrence of the day,
Our health, the weather, and the news,
What walks we take, what books we choose,
And all the floating thoughts we find
Upon the surface of the mind.
But when a poet takes the pen,
Far more alive than other men,
He feels a gentle tingling come
Down to his fingers and his thumb,
Deriv'd from nature's noblest part,
The centre of a glowing heart!
And this is what the world, who knows
No flights above the pitch of prose,
His more sublime vagaries slighting,
Denominates an itch for writing.
No wonder I, who scribble rhyme
To catch the triflers of the time,
And tell them truths divine and clear,
Which couched in prose they will not hear,
Should feel that itching and that tingling
With all my purpose intermingling,
To your intrinsic merit true,
When call'd to address myself to you.
Mysterious are His ways whose power
Brings forth that unexpected hour,
When minds that never met before
Shall meet, unite, and part no more:
It is the allotment of the skies,
The hand of the supremely wise,
That guides and governs our affections,
And plans and orders our connections,
Directs us in our distant road,
And marks the bounds of our abode.

This page of Providence quite new,
And now just opening to our view,
Employs our present thoughts and pains,
To guess and spell what it contains;
But day by day, and year by year,
Will make the dark enigma clear,
And furnish us, perhaps, at last,
Like other scenes already past,
With proof that we and our affairs
Are part of a Jehovah's cares:
For God unfolds by slow degrees
The purport of his deep decrees,
Sheds every hour a clearer light,
In aid of our defective sight,
And spreads, at length, before the soul,
A beautiful and perfect whole,
Which busy man's inventive brain
Toils to anticipate in vain.
Say, Anna, had you never known
The beauties of a rose full blown;
Could you, though luminous your eye,
By looking on the bud descry,
Or guess, with a prophetic power,
The future splendour of the flower?
Just so the Omnipotent, who turns
The system of a world's concerns,
From mere minutiæ can educe
Events of most important use;
And bid a dawning sky display
The blaze of a meridian day.
The works of man tend one and all,
As needs they must, both great and small,
And vanity absorbs at length
The monuments of human strength;
But who can tell how vast the plan
Which this day's incident began?
Too small, perhaps, the slight occasion
For our dim-sighted observation;
It pass'd unnoticed as the bird
That cleaves the yielding air unheard,
And yet may prove, when understood,
An harbinger of endless good.
Not that I deem or mean to call
Friendship a blessing cheap or small,
But merely to remark that ours,
Like some of nature's sweetest flowers,
Rose from a seed of tiny size
That seemed to promise no such prize:
A transient visit intervening,
And made almost without a meaning,
(Hardly the effect of inclination,
Much less of pleasing expectation!)
Produced a friendship, then begun,
That has cemented us in one,
And placed it in our power to prove,
By long fidelity and love,
That Solomon has wisely spoken,
'A three-fold cord is not soon broken.'"

Lady Austin was not less delighted with her new acquaintance than Cowper and Mrs. Unwin were with her. She had previously determined to leave London, and had been looking out for a residence in the country, not far distant from his sister's. The house immediately adjoining that in which Cowper resided, was at liberty; she accordingly hired it, and took possession of it in the course of the ensuing summer. Cowper thus adverts to this circumstance, in a letter to Mr. Newton:—"A new scene is opening upon us, which, whether it perform what it promises, or not, will add fresh plumes to the wings of time, at least while it continues to be a subject of contemplation. Lady Austin, very desirous of retirement, especially of a retirement near her sister, an admirer of Mr. Scot as a preacher, and of your two humble servants, myself and Mrs. Unwin, is come to a determination to settle here; and has chosen the house formerly occupied by you, for her future residence. I am highly pleased with the plan, upon Mrs. Unwin's account, who, since Mrs. Newton's departure, has been nearly destitute of all female connection, and has not, in any emergency, a woman to speak to. It has, in my view, and I doubt not it will have the same in yours, strong marks of a providential interposition. A female friend, who bids fair to prove herself worthy of the appellation, comes, recommended by a variety of considerations, to such a place as Olney. Since your removal, there was not in the kingdom a retirement more absolutely such than ours. We did not covet company, but when it came we found it agreeable. A person that understands the world well, has high spirits, a lively fancy, and great readiness of conversation, introduces a sprightliness into such a scene as this, which, if it was peaceful before, is not the worse for being a little enlivened. In case of illness too, to which we are all liable, it was rather a gloomy prospect, if we allowed ourselves to advert to it, that there was hardly a woman in the place from whom it would have been reasonable to have expected either comfort or assistance."

Preparations were made at the vicarage for the reception of Lady Austin, and she took possession of it towards the close of 1782. Both Cowper and Mrs. Unwin were so charmed with her society, and she was so delighted with theirs, that it became their custom to dine together, at each other's houses, every alternate day. The effect of Lady Austin's almost irresistible conversational powers proved highly beneficial to the poet's mind, and contributed to remove that painful depression of which he still continued to be the subject; and which would sometimes seize him when he was in her company: even with her unrivalled talents, she was scarcely able, at times, to remove the deep and melancholy gloom which still shed its darkening influence over his mind. On one occasion, when she observed him to be sinking into rather an unusual depression, she exerted, as she was invariably accustomed to do, her utmost ability to afford him immediate relief. It occurred to her she might then probably accomplish it, by telling him a story of John Gilpin, which she had treasured up in her memory from her childhood. The amusing incidents of the story itself, and the happy manner in which it was related, had the desired effect; it dissipated the gloom of the passing hour, and he informed Lady Austin the next morning that convulsions of laughter, brought on by the recollection of her story, had kept him awake during the greater part of the night, and that he had composed a poem on the subject. Hence arose the fascinating and amusing ballad of John Gilpin, which rapidly found its way into all the periodical publications of the day, and was admired by readers of every description.

Its happy influence on his own mind on subsequent occasions is adverted to in the following letter to Mr. Unwin:—"You tell me that John Gilpin made you laugh tears, and that the ladies at court are delighted with my poems. Much good may they do them; may they become as wise as the writer wishes them, and they will then be much happier than he! I know there is, in the greater part of the poems which make up the volume, that wisdom which cometh from above, because it was from above that I received it. May they receive it too! for whether they drink it out of the cistern, or whether it falls upon them immediately from the clouds, as it did on me, it is all one. It is the water of life, which whosoever drinketh shall thirst no more. As to the famous horseman above mentioned, he and his feats are an inexhaustible source of amusement. At least we find them so: and seldom meet without refreshing ourselves with the recollection of them. You are perfectly at liberty to do with them as you please, and when printed send me a copy."

Lady Austin's intercourse with Mrs. Unwin and Cowper continued, uninterrupted, till near the close of 1784; and during all this time, by her sprightly, judicious, and captivating conversation, she was often the means of rousing him from his melancholy depression. To console him, she would often exert her musical talents on the harpsichord; and at her request, he composed, among others, the following beautiful song, suited to airs she was accustomed to play:

"No longer I follow a sound,
No longer a dream I pursue;
O, happiness! not to be found,
Unattainable treasure, adieu!

I have sought thee in splendour and dress,
In the regions of pleasure and taste;
I have sought thee, and seemed to possess,
But have proved thee a vision at last.

An humble ambition and hope
The voice of true wisdom inspires;
'Tis sufficient, if peace be the scope
And the summit of all our desires.

Peace may be the lot of the mind
That seeks it in meekness and love;
But rapture and bliss are confined
To the glorified spirits above!"

During the winter of 1783–4, Cowper spent the evenings in reading to these ladies, taking the liberty himself, and affording the same to them, of making remarks on what came under their notice. On these interesting occasions, Lady Austin displayed her enchanting, and almost magical powers, with singular effect. The conversation happened one evening to turn on blank verse, of which she had always expressed herself to be passionately fond. Persuaded that Cowper was able to produce, in this measure, a poem, that would eclipse anything he had hitherto written, she urged him to try his powers in that species of composition. He had hitherto written only in rhyme, and he felt considerable reluctance to make the attempt. After repeated solicitations, however, he promised her, if she would furnish the subject, he would comply with her request. "Oh!" she replied, "you can never be in want of a subject, you can write upon anything; write upon this sofa." The poet obeyed her command, and the world is thus indebted to this lady for The Task, a poem of matchless beauty and excellence, embracing almost every variety of style, and every description of subject, combining elegance and ease, with sublimity and grandeur, adapted to impress the heart with sentiments of the most exalted piety, and to make its readers happy in the present life, while it excites in them earnest and longing desires after the felicity and glory of heaven.

In composing this exquisite poem, however, it ought to be observed that Cowper had a higher object in view than merely to please Lady Austin. His great aim was to be useful; and, indeed, this was his leading motive in all his productions, as is evident from the following extract from a letter to Mr. Unwin: "In some passages of the enclosed poem, which I send for your inspection, you will observe me very satirical, especially in my second book. Writing on such subjects I could not be otherwise. I can write nothing without aiming, at least, at usefulness. It were beneath my years to do it, and still more dishonourable to my religion. I know that a reformation of such abuses, as I have censured is not be expected from the efforts of a poet; but to contemplate the world, its follies, its vices, its indifference to duty, and its strenuous attachment to what is evil, and not to reprehend it, were to approve it. From this charge at least I shall be clear, for I have neither, tacitly, nor expressly, flattered either its characters or its customs. My principal purpose has been, to allure the reader by character, by scenery, by imagery, and such poetical embellishments, to the reading of what may profit him. Subordinately to this, to combat that predilection in favour of a metropolis, that beggars and exhausts the country, by evacuating it of all its principal inhabitants; and collaterally, and as far as is consistent with this double intention, to have a stroke at vice, vanity, and folly wherever I find them. What there is of a religious cast, in the volume, I have thrown towards the end of it, for two reasons; first, that I might not revolt the reader at his entrance; and, secondly, that my best impressions might be made last. Were I to write as many volumes as Lopez de Vega, or Voltaire, not one of them would be without this tincture. If the world like it not, so much the worse for them. I make all the concessions I can that I may please them, but I will not do this at the expense of my conscience. My descriptions are all from nature, not one of them second-handed. My delineations of the heart are from my own experience; not one of them borrowed from books, or in the least degree conjectural."

The close of the year 1784, witnessed the completion of this extensive performance, and the commencement of another of greater magnitude, though of a different description, and less adapted for general usefulness, the translation of Homer; undertaken at the united request of Mrs. Unwin and Lady Austin. This was a remarkable period in Cowper's life. Circumstances arose, altogether unforeseen by him, and over which he had no control, which led to the removal of Lady Austin from Olney. He had so often been benefited by her company, had in so many instances been cheered by her vivacity when suffering under the influence of his depressive malady, and had received such repeated proofs of affability and kindness, that he could not entertain the thought of parting with her without considerable disquietude. Immediately, however, on perceiving that separation became requisite for the maintenance of his own peace, as well as to ensure the tranquillity of his faithful and long-tried inmate, Mrs. Unwin, he wisely and firmly, took such steps as were necessary to promote it, though it was at the expense of much mental anguish.

Some of Cowper's biographers have, unjustly, and without the slightest foundation, attempted to cast considerable odium upon the character of Mrs. Unwin, for her conduct in this affair, as if all the blame of Cowper's separation from Lady Austin were to be laid at her door. One has even gone so far as to state, that her mind was of such a sombre hue, that it rather tended to foster, than to dissipate, Cowper's melancholy. An assertion utterly incapable of proof, and which, were the poet living, he would be the first to deny. The fact is, that Cowper never felt any other attachment to either of these ladies than that of pure friendship, and much as he valued the society of Lady Austin, when he found it necessary, for his own peace, to choose which he should please to retain, he could not hesitate for a moment to prefer the individual who had watched over him with so much tenderness, and probably to the injury of her own health. The whole of his conduct in this affair, and indeed, the manner in which he has everywhere spoken of his faithful inmate, proves this indubitably.

Aware of the benefit he had received from Lady Austin's company, many of his friends were apprehensive that her removal would be attended with consequences seriously injurious to the poet. Deep, however, as was the impression which it made upon his mind, he bore it with much more fortitude than could have been expected, as will be seen by the manner in which he adverted to it in a letter to Mr. Hill:—"We have, as you say, lost a lively and sensible neighbour in Lady Austin, but we have been so long accustomed to a state of retirement, within one degree of solitude, and being naturally lovers of still life, we can relapse into our former duality without being unhappy in the change. To me, indeed, a third individual is not necessary, while I can have the faithful companion I have had these twenty years."

It might be imagined, from the production of Cowper's pen at this period, that he was entirely recovered from his depressive malady; such, however, was far from the case. His letters to his correspondents prove, that whatever gaiety and vivacity there was in his writings, there was nothing in his own state of mind that bore any resemblance to such emotions; but that, on the contrary, his fits of melancholy were frequent, and often painfully acute. To his friend, Mr. Newton, he thus feelingly discloses his peculiarly painful sensations:—"My heart resembles not the heart of a Christian, mourning and yet rejoicing, pierced with thorns, yet wreathed about with roses; I have the thorn without the rose. My brier is a wintry one, the flowers are withered, but the thorn remains. My days are spent in vanity, and it is impossible for me to spend them otherwise. No man upon earth is more sensible of the unprofitableness of such a life as mine than I am, or groans more heavily under the burden; but this too is vanity: my groans will not bring the remedy, because there is no remedy for me. I have been lately more dejected and more depressed than usual; more harassed by dreams in the night, and more deeply poisoned by them in the following day. I know not what is portended by an alteration for the worse after eleven years of misery; but firmly believe, that it is not designed as the introduction of a change for the better. You know not what I suffered while you were here, nor was there any need you should. Your friendship for me would have made you in some degree a partaker of my woes, and your share in them would have been increased by your inability to help me. Perhaps, indeed, they took a keener edge, from the consideration of your presence. The friend of my heart, the person with whom I had formerly taken sweet counsel, no longer useful to me as a minister, no longer pleasant to me as a Christian, was a spectacle which must necessarily add the bitterness of mortification to the sadness of despair. I now see a long winter before me, and am to get through it as I can; I know the ground before I tread upon it. It is hollow; it is agitated; it suffers shocks in every direction; it is like the soil of Calabria—all whirlpool and undulation; but I must reel through it, at least if I be not swallowed up by the way. I have taken leave of the old year, and parted with it just when you did, but with very different sentiments and feelings upon the occasion. I looked back upon all the passages and occurrences of it as a traveller looks back upon a wilderness, through which he has passed with weariness and sorrow of heart, reaping no other fruit of his labour than the poor consolation, that, dreary as the desert was, he left it all behind him. The traveller would find even this comfort considerably lessened, if, as soon as he passed one wilderness, he had to traverse another of equal length, and equally desolate. In this particular his experience and mine would exactly tally. I should rejoice indeed that the old year is over and gone, if I had not every reason to expect a new one similar to it. Even the new year is already old in my account. I am not, indeed, sufficiently second-sighted, to be able to boast, by anticipation, an acquaintance with the events of it yet unborn, but rest assured that, be they what they may, not one of them comes a messenger of good to me. If even death itself should be of the number, he is no friend of mine; it is an alleviation of the woes, even of an unenlightened man, that he can wish for death, and indulge a hope, at least, that in death he shall find deliverance. But, loaded as my life is with despair, I have no such comfort as would result from a probability of better things to come were it once ended. I am far more unhappy than the traveller I have just referred to; pass through whatever difficulties, dangers, or afflictions, I may, I am not a whit nearer home, unless a dungeon be called so. This is no very agreeable theme, but in so great a dearth of subjects to write upon, and especially impressed as I am at this moment with a sense of my own condition, I could choose no other. The weather is an exact emblem of my mind in its present state. A thick fog envelopes every thing, and at the same time it freezes intensely. You will tell me, that this cold gloom will be succeeded by a cheerful spring, and endeavour to encourage me to hope for a spiritual change resembling it, but it will be lost labour. Nature revives again; but a soul once slain lives no more. The hedge that has been apparently dead is not so: it will burst into leaf, and blossom at the appointed time, but no such time is appointed for the *stake* that stands in it. It is as dead as it seems, and will prove itself no dissembler. The latter end of next month will complete a period of eleven years, in which I have spoken no other language. It is a long time for a man, whose eyes were once opened, to spend in darkness; long enough to make despair an inveterate habit; and such it is to me. My friends, I know, expect that I shall yet enjoy health again. They think it necessary to the existence of divine truth, that he who once had possession of it should never finally lose it. I admit the solidity of this reasoning in every case but my own, and why not in my own? For causes which to them it appears madness to allege, but which rest upon my mind, with a weight of immovable conviction. If I am recoverable, why am I thus? why crippled, and made useless in the church, just at the time of life when my judgment and experience, being matured, I might be most useful. Why cashiered, and turned out of service, till according to the course of years, there is not life enough left in me to make amends for the years I have lost; till there is no reasonable hope left that the fruit can ever pay the expense of the fallow? I forestall the answer—God's ways are mysterious, and he giveth no account of his matters—an answer that would serve my purpose as well as theirs that use it. There is a *mystery* in my destruction, and in time it will be explained.

"I could easily, were it not a subject that would make us melancholy, point out to you some essential difference between the state of the person you mentioned and my own, which would prove mine to be by far the most deplorable of the two. I suppose no man would despair if he did not apprehend something singular in the circumstances of his own story, something that discriminates it from that of every other man, and that induces despair as an inevitable consequence. You may encounter his unhappy persuasion with as many instances as you please, of persons who, like him, having renounced all hope, were yet restored, and may thence infer that he, like them, shall meet with a season of restoration—but it is in vain. Every such individual accounts himself an exception to all rules, and, therefore, the blessed reverse that others have experienced, affords no ground of comfortable expectation to him. But you will say, it is reasonable to conclude that as all your predecessors in this vale of misery and horror have found themselves delightfully disappointed, so may you. I grant the reasonableness of it; it would be sinful, perhaps, as well as uncharitable to reason otherwise; but an argument hypothetical in its nature, however rationally conducted, may lead to a false conclusion; and in this instance so will yours. But I forbear, and will say no more, though it is a subject on which I could write more than the mail could carry. I must deal with you as I deal with poor Mrs. Unwin, in all our disputes about it. Cutting all controversy short by the event."

To a request from Mr. Newton that Cowper would favour the editor of the Theological Magazine with an occasional essay, he thus writes:—"I converse, you say, upon other subjects than that of despair, and may therefore write upon others. Indeed, my friend, I am a man of very little conversation upon any subject. From that of despair, I abstain as much as possible, for the sake of my company, but I will venture to say that it is never out of my mind one minute in the whole day. I do not mean to say that I am never cheerful. I am often so; always, indeed, when my nights have been undisturbed for a season. But the effect of such continual listening to the language of a heart hopeless and deserted, is, that I can never give much more than half my attention to what is started by others, and very rarely start anything myself. You will easily perceive that a mind thus occupied, is but indifferently qualified for the consideration of theological matters. The most useful, and the most delightful topics of that kind, are to me forbidden fruit; I tremble as I approach them. It has happened to me sometimes that I have found myself imperceptibly drawn in and made a party in such discourse. The consequence has been dissatisfaction and self-reproach. You will tell me, perhaps, that I have written upon those subjects in verse, and may therefore in prose. But there is a difference. The search after poetical expression, the rhymes, and the numbers, are all affairs of some difficulty, they amuse indeed, but are not to be attained without study, and engross, perhaps, a larger share of the attention than the subject itself."

In the spring of 1785, his friends became more sanguine in their expectations of his ultimate recovery, and they felt persuaded, it would take place at no very distant period. It appears also, by the following extract, that Cowper was not himself, wholly destitute of hope, on the subject. Writing to Mr. Newton, he says:—"I am sensible of the tenderness and affectionate kindness with which you recollect our past intercourse, and express your hopes of my future restoration. I too, within the last eight months, have had my hopes, though they have been of short duration, cut off; like the foam upon the waters. Some previous adjustments, indeed are necessary before a lasting expectation of comfort can take place in me. There are those persuasions in my mind, which either entirely forbid the entrance of hope, or, if it enter, immediately eject it. They are incompatible with any such inmate, and must be turned out themselves before so desirable a guest can possibly have secure possession. This you say, will be done. It may be; but it is not done yet; nor has a single step in the course of God's dealings with me been taken towards it. If I mend, no creature ever mended so slowly, that recovered at last. I am like a slug, or a snail, that has fallen into a deep well; slug as he is, he performs his descent with a velocity proportioned to his weight; but he does not crawl up again quite so fast. Mine was a rapid plunge; but my return to daylight, if I am indeed returning, is leisurely enough. Were I such as I once was, I should say that I have a claim upon your particular notice, which nothing ought to supercede. Most of your connections you may fairly be said to have formed by your own act; but your connection with me was the work of God. The kine that went up with the ark from Bathshemesh, left what they loved behind them, in obedience to an impression which to them was perfectly dark and unintelligible. Your journey to Huntingdon was not less wonderful. He indeed, who sent you, knew well wherefore, but you knew not. That dispensation, therefore, would furnish me as long as we can both remember it, with a plea for some distinction at your hands, had I occasion to use and urge it, which I have not. But I am altered since that time; and if your affection for me had ceased, you might very reasonably justify your change by mine. I can say nothing for myself at present: but this I can venture to foretell, that should the restoration of which my friends assure me obtain, I shall undoubtedly love those who have continued to love me, even in a state of transformation from my former self, much more than ever."

It is gratifying to know, that, while such was the melancholy state of Cowper's mind, and while he steadily refused all religious comfort, come whence it might, he nevertheless afforded the most pleasing proofs by his amiable and consistent conduct, of the firm hold which religion still had of his affections. The excellent remarks that are to be found in his letters, written at this period, show that he had some lucid intervals, and that occasional gleams of light shot across the darkened horizon of his mind. "It strikes me," (he says on one occasion,) "as a very observable instance of providential kindness to man, that such an exact accordance had been contrived between his ear and the sounds with which, at least in a rural situation, it is almost every moment visited. All the world is sensible of the uncomfortable effect that certain sounds have upon the nerves, and consequently upon the spirits: and if a sinful world had been filled with such as would have curdled the blood, and have made the sense of hearing a perpetual inconvenience, I do not know that we should have had a right to complain. But now the fields, the woods, and the gardens, have each their concerts, and the ear of man is for ever regaled by creatures, who, while they please themselves, at the same time delight him. Even the ears that are deaf to the gospel, are continually entertained, though without appreciating it, by sounds, for which they are solely indebted to its author. There is somewhere in infinite space, a world that does not roll within the precincts of mercy, and as it is reasonable, and even scriptural to suppose, that there is music in heaven, in these dismal regions perhaps the reverse of it is found; tones so dismal, as to make woe itself more insupportable, and even to acuminate despair."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, the following serious reflections occur:—"People that are but little acquainted with the terrors of divine wrath, are not much afraid of trifling with their Maker. But for my own part, I would sooner take Empledocles' leap, and fling myself into mount Etna, than I would do it in the slightest instance, were I in circumstances to make an election. In the scripture we find a broad and clear exhibition of mercy, it is displayed in every page. Wrath is in comparison, but slightly touched upon, because it is not so much a discovery of wrath as of forgiveness. But had the displeasure of God been the principal subject of the book, and had it circumstantially set forth that measure of it only which may be endured in this life, the Christian world would perhaps, have been less comfortable; but I believe presumptuous meddlers with the gospel would have been less frequently met with."

To Mr. Unwin he thus writes: "Take my word for it, the word of a man singularly qualified to give his evidence in this matter, who having enjoyed the privilege some years, has been deprived of it more, and has no hope that he shall live to recover it. Those that have found a God, and are permitted to worship him, have found a treasure, of which, highly as they may prize it, they have but very scanty and limited conceptions. These are my Sunday morning speculations—the sound of the bells suggested them, or rather gave them such an emphasis, that they force their way into my pen in spite of me; for though I do not often commit them to paper, they are never absent from my mind."

"You express sorrow, that your love of Christ was excited in you, by a picture. Could the most insignificant thing suggest to me the thought that Christ is precious, I would not despise the thought. The meanness of the instrument cannot debase the nobleness of the principle. He that kneels to a picture of Christ is an idolator; but he in whose heart, the sight of such a picture kindles a warm remembrance of the Saviour's suffering, must be a Christian. Suppose that I dream as Gardiner did, that Christ walks before me, that he turns and smiles upon me, and fills my soul with ineffable love and joy. Will a man tell me that I am deceived, that I ought not to love or rejoice in him for such a reason, because a dream is merely a picture drawn upon the imagination? I hold not with such divinity. To love Christ is the greatest dignity of man, be that affection wrought in him how it may."

No person ever formed more correct views of what really constitutes Christianity than Cowper, nor could any one ever feel a greater aversion to a mere profession of it. In a letter to one of his correspondents, the following remarks occur: "I say amen, with all my heart, to your observations on religious characters. Men who profess themselves adepts in mathematical knowledge, in astronomy, or jurisprudence, are generally as well qualified as they would appear. The reason may be, that they are always liable to detection, should they attempt to impose upon mankind, and therefore take care to be what they pretend. In religion alone, a profession is often slightly taken up, and slovenly carried on, because forsooth, candour and charity require us to hope the best, and to judge favourably of our neighbour; and because it is easy to deceive the ignorant, who are a great majority, upon this subject. Let a man attach himself to a particular party, contend furiously for what are properly called evangelical doctrines, and enlist himself under the banner of some popular preacher, and the business is done. Behold a Christian! a saint! a phœnix! In the meantime perhaps his heart, his temper, and even his conduct, is unsanctified: possibly less exemplary than that of some avowed infidels. No matter, he can talk, he has the Bible in his pocket, and a head well stored with notions. But the quiet, humble, modest, and peaceable person, who is in his practice what the other is only in his profession, who hates a noise about religion, and therefore makes none, who, knowing the snares that are in the world, keeps himself as much out of it as he can, and never enters it but when duty calls, and even then with fear and trembling—is the Christian that will always stand highest in the estimation of those who bring all characters to the test of true wisdom, and judge of the tree by its fruits."

In another letter, on a similar subject, he thus writes:—"It is indeed a melancholy consideration, that the gospel, whose direct tendency is to promote the happiness of mankind in the present, as well as in the life to come, which so effectually answers the design of its author, whenever it is well understood and sincerely believed, should, through the ignorance, the bigotry, the superstition of its professors, and the ambition of popes and princes, have produced incidentally so much mischief; only furnishing the world with a plausible pretext to worry each other, while they sanctified the worst cause with the specious pretext of zeal, for the furtherance of the best. Angels descend from heaven to publish peace between man and his Maker—the Prince of Peace himself comes to confirm and establish it; and war, hatred, and desolation are the consequence. Thousands quarrel about the interpretation of a book, which none of them understand. He that is slain, dies firmly persuaded that the crown of martyrdom awaits him; he that slew him, is equally convinced that he has done God service. In reality they are both mistaken and equally unentitled to the honour they have arrogated to themselves. If a multitude of blind men should set out for a certain city, and dispute about the right road till a battle ensued between them, the probable effect would be that none of them would ever reach it: and such a fray, preposterous and shocking in the extreme, would exhibit a picture in some degree resembling the original of which we have been speaking. And why is not the world thus occupied at present? only because they have exchanged a zeal that was no better than madness for an indifference equally pitiable and absurd. The holy sepulchre has lost its importance in the eyes of nations, called Christians, not because the light of true wisdom has delivered them from a superstitious attachment to the spot, but because he that was buried in it is no longer regarded by them as the Saviour of the world. The exercise of reason, enlightened by philosophy, has cured them indeed of the misery of an abused understanding, but together with the delusion they have lost the substance, and for the sake of the lies that were grafted upon it, have quarrelled with the truth itself. Here then we see the *ne plus ultra* of human wisdom, at least in affairs of religion. It enlightens the mind with respect to non-essentials, but with respect to that in which the essence of Christianity consists, leaves it perfectly in the dark. It can discover many errors that in different ages have disgraced the faith, but it is only to make way for one more fatal than them all, which represents that faith as a delusion. Why those evils have been permitted shall be known hereafter. One thing, in the meantime, is certain, that the folly and frenzy of the professed disciples of the gospel, have been more dangerous to its interests, than all the avowed hostilities of its adversaries, and perhaps for this cause, these mischiefs might be suffered to prevail for a season, that its divine original and nature might be the more illustrated, when it should appear that it was able to stand its ground for ages, against that most formidable of all attacks—the indiscretion of its friends. The outrages that have followed this perversion of the truth, have proved, indeed a stumbling-block to individuals; the wise of this world, with all their wisdom, have not been able to distinguish between the blessing and the abuse of it. Voltaire was offended, and Gibbon has turned his back, but the flock of Christ is still nourished, and still increases, notwithstanding the unbelief of a philosopher is able to convert bread into a stone, and fish into a serpent."

The following very serious reflections occur, in a letter to Mr. Newton, about this time, adverting to the sufferings of the poor at Olney, whose distressing circumstances on all occasions excited the tenderest sympathies of the poet:—"The winter sets in with great severity. The rigour of the season, and the advanced price of provisions, are very threatening to the poor. It is well with those that can feed upon a promise and wrap themselves up warm in the robe of salvation. A good fire-side and a well-spread table are but indifferent substitutes for these better accommodations; so very indifferent, that I would gladly exchange them both for the rags and the unsatisfied hunger of the poorest creature, that looks forward with the hope to a better world, and weeps tears of joy in the midst of penury and distress. What a a world is this! How myteriously governed, and, in appearance, left to itself. One man, having squandered thousands at a gaming-table, finds it convenient to travel; gives his estate to somebody to manage for him; amuses himself a few years in France and Italy; returns, perhaps, wiser than he went, having acquired knowledge, which, but for his follies, he would never have acquired; again makes a splendid figure at home, shines in the senate, governs his country as its minister, is admired for his abilities, and if successful, adored, at least by a party. When he dies he is praised as a demigod, and his monument records everything but his vices. The exact contrast of such a picture is to be found in many cottages at Olney. I have no need to describe them, you know the characters I mean; they love God, they trust him, they pray to him in secret, and though he means to reward them openly, the day of recompense is delayed. In the meantime they suffer everything that infirmity and poverty can inflict upon them. Who would suspect, that has not a spiritual eye to discern it, that the fine gentleman might possibly be one whom his Maker had in abhorrence, and the wretch last mentioned, dear to him as the apple of his eye? It is no wonder that the world, who only look at things as they are connected with the present life, find themselves obliged, some of them at least, to doubt a providence, and others absolutely to deny it: when almost all the real virtue there is to be found in it, exists in a state of neglected obscurity, and all the vices cannot exclude them from the privilege of worship and honour. But behind the curtain the matter will be explained; very little, however, to the satisfaction of the great."

CHAPTER X.

Publication of Cowper's second volume of poems—Manner in which it was received by the public—His feelings on the occasion—Great self-abasement—Renewal of his correspondence with Lady Hesketh—acceptance of her proffered assistance—Her projected visit to Olney—Cowper's pleasing anticipations of its results—Her arrival—Cowper's removal from Olney to Weston—His intimacy with the Throckmortons—Happiness it afforded him.

Cowper's second volume of poems, the publication of which had been delayed much longer than was expected, appeared at length, in the summer of 1785. His first volume, though it had not met with that success which might have been expected, had nevertheless, been extensively circulated, and was spoken of highly by some of the first literary characters of the age. It had, therefore, raised the expectations of the public and had thus made way for its successor, which no sooner made its appearance than it was eagerly sought after, and met with a rapid and extensive sale. High as had been the expectations of his friends, they fell far short of what he had accomplished in that brilliant display of real poetical talent everywhere to be found in the Task. The singularity of the title made its first appearance somewhat repulsive; its various and matchless beauties were however soon discovered, and it speedily raised the reputation of Cowper to the highest summit of poetic genius, and placed him among the first class of poets.

In a letter to Mr. Newton, he describes his feelings on this occasion, in such a manner as proves him to have been influenced by nothing like selfish or ambitious motives; but by principles far more noble and exalted:—"I found your account of what you experienced in your state of maiden authorship very entertaining, because very natural. I suppose no man ever made his first sally from the press without a conviction that all eyes and ears would be engaged to attend him, at least without a thousand anxieties lest they should not.—But, however arduous and interesting such an enterprise may be in the first instance, it seems to me that our feelings on the occasion soon become obtuse. I can answer at least for one. Mine are by no means what they were when I published my first volume. I am even so indifferent to the matter, that I can truly assert myself guiltless of the very idea of my book sometimes for whole days together. God knows that my mind having been occupied more than twelve years in the contemplation of the most distressing subjects, the world, and its opinion of what I write, is become as unimportant to me as the whistling of a bird in a bush. Despair made amusement necessary, and I found poetry the most agreeable amusement. Had I not endeavoured to perform my best, it would not have amused me at all. The mere blotting of so much paper would have been but indifferent sport. God gave me grace also to wish that I might not write in vain. Accordingly I have mingled much truth with some trifle; and such truths as deserved at least to be clad as well and as handsomely as I could clothe them. If the world approve me not, so much the worse for them, but not for me, I have only endeavoured to serve them, and the loss will be their own. And as to their commendations, if I should chance to win them, I feel myself equally invulnerable there. The view that I have had of myself, for many years, has been so truly humiliating, that I think the praises of all mankind could not hurt me. God knows that I speak my present sense of the matter at least most truly, when I say, that the admiration of creatures like myself seems to me a weapon the least dangerous that my worst enemy could employ against me. I am fortified against it by such solidity of real self-abasement, that I deceive myself most egregiously, if I do not heartily despise it. Praise belongeth to God: and I seem to myself to covet it no more than I covet divine honours. Could I assuredly hope that God would at last deliver me, I should have reason to thank him for all that I have suffered, were it only for the sake of this single fruit of my affliction—that it has taught me how much more contemptible I am in myself than I ever before suspected, and has reduced my former share of self-knowledge (of which at that time I had a tolerable good opinion) to a mere nullity, in comparison to what I have acquired since. Self is a subject of inscrutable misery and mischief, and can never be studied to so much advantage as in the dark; for as the bright beams of the sun seems to impart a beauty to the most unsightly objects, so the light of God's countenance, vouchsafed to a fallen creature, so sweetens him and softens him for the time, that he seems both to others and to himself, to have nothing selfish or sordid about him. But the heart is a nest of serpents, and will be such while it continues to beat. If God cover the mouth of that nest with his hand, they are hush and snug; but if he withdraw his hand the whole family lift up their heads and hiss, and are as active and venomous as ever. This I always professed to believe from the time that I had embraced the truth, but I never knew it as I know it now. To what end I have been made to know it as I do, whether for the benefit of others or for my own, or for both, or for neither, will appear hereafter."

While Cowper looked upon his publication with so much indifference, his friends regarded it with very opposite feelings. Its rapid and extensive circulation, not only delighted those who were intimately associated with him, and had been witnesses to the acute anguish of his mind, during his depressive malady, but it also gratified several of his former associates and correspondents, and induced them to renew their communications with the poet. Among these was Lady Hesketh, who was so charmed with productions of his pen, that on her return from abroad, where she had spent several years with her husband, she renewed her correspondence with Cowper, and as she was now a widow and was handsomely provided for, she generously offered to render him any assistance he might want. Cowper's reply to an affectionate letter she wrote him, shows the warmth of his affection towards those whom he loved. He thus writes:—"My dear Cousin, It is no new thing for you to give pleasure. But I will venture to say that you do not often give more than you gave me this morning. When I came down to breakfast and found on the table, a letter franked by my uncle, and when opening that frank, I found that it contained a letter from you, I said within myself, This is just as it should be. We are all grown young again, and the days that I thought I should see no more, are actually returned. You perceive, therefore, that you judged well when you conjectured that a line from you would not be disagreeable to me. It could not be otherwise than as in fact it has proved, a most agreeable surprise. For I can truly boast of an affection for you that neither years nor intercepted intercourse have at all abated. I need only recollect how much I valued you once, and with how much cause, immediately to feel a revival of the same value; if that can be said to revive, which at the most has only been dormant for want of employment. But I slander it when I say it has slept. A thousand times have I recollected a thousand scenes, in which our two selves have formed the whole of the drama, with the greatest pleasure at times too, when I had no reason to suppose that I should ever hear from you again. The hours that I have spent with you, were among the pleasantest of my former days, and are therefore chronicled in my mind so deeply as to fear no erasure. You say that you have often heard of me; that puzzles me. I cannot imagine from what quarter; but it is no matter. I must tell you however, my dear cousin, that your information has been a little defective. That I am happy in my situation is true; I live, and have lived these twenty years, with Mrs. Unwin, to whose affectionate care of me, during the far greater part of that time, it is, under Divine Providence owing that I live at all. But I do not account myself happy in having been for thirteen of those years in a state of mind that has made all that care and attention necessary. An attention and a care, that have injured her health, and which, had she not been uncommonly supported, must have brought her to the grave. But I will pass to another subject; it would be cruel to particularize only to give pain, neither should I by any means give a sable hue to the first letter of a correspondence so unexpectedly renewed. I must, however, tell you, my dear cousin, that dejection of spirits, which I suppose, may have prevented many a man from becoming an author has made me one. I find constant employment necessary, and therefore take care to be constantly employed. Manual occupations do not engage the mind sufficiently, as I know by experience, having tried many. But composition, especially of verse, absorbs it wholly. I write therefore generally three hours in the morning, and in the evening I transcribe. I read also, but less than I write, for I must have bodily exercise, and therefore never pass a day without it.

"I do not seek new friends, not being altogether sure that I should find them, but have unspeakable pleasure in being beloved by an old one. I hope that our correspondence has now suffered its last interruption, and that we shall go down together to the grave, chattering and chirping as happily as such a scene as this will permit. I am happy that my poems have pleased you. My volume has afforded me no such pleasure at any time, either while I was writing it, or since its publication, as I have derived from yours and my uncle's favourable opinion respecting it. I make certain allowances for partiality, and for that peculiar quickness of taste, with which you both relish what you like, and after all drawbacks upon those accounts, duly made, find myself rich in the measure of your approbation, that still remains. But above all I honour John Gilpin, since it was he who first encouraged you to write. I made him on purpose to laugh at, and he served his purpose well; but I am now indebted to him for a more valuable acquisition than all the laughter in the world amounts to, the recovery of my intercourse with you, which is to me inestimable. I am glad that I always loved you as I did. It releases me from any occasion to suspect that my present affection for you is indebted for its existence to any selfish considerations. No, I am sure I love you disinterestedly, and for your own sake, because I never thought of you with any other sensations, than those of the truest affection, even while I was under the persuasion, that I should never hear from you again. But with my present feelings superadded to those that I always had for you, I find it no easy matter to do justice to my sensations. I perceive myself in a state of mind, similar to that of the traveller described in Pope's Messiah, who, as he passes through a sandy desert, starts at the sudden and unexpected sound of a water-fall.—Your very generous offer of assistance has placed me in a situation new to me, and in which I feel myself somewhat puzzled how to behave. When I was once asked if I wanted anything, and given delicately to understand that the inquirer was ready to supply all my occasions, I thankfully and civilly, but positively declined the favour. I neither suffer nor have suffered such inconveniences, as I had not much rather endure, than come under an obligation to a person, who is almost a stranger to me. But to you I answer otherwise. I know you thoroughly, and the liberality of your disposition, and have that consummate confidence in the sincerity of your wish to serve me, that delivers me from all awkward constraint, and from all fear of trespassing by acceptance. To you therefore I reply, yes. Whensoever and whatsoever, and in what manner soever, you please, and add moreover, that my affection for the giver is such as will increase to me tenfold the satisfaction I shall have in receiving. You must not, however, strain any points to your own inconvenience or hurt; there is no need of it; but indulge yourself in communicating (no matter what) that you can spare without missing it, since by so doing you will be sure to add to the comforts of my life, one of the sweetest that I can enjoy—a token and a proof of your affection. At the same time that I would not grieve you by putting a check upon your bounty, I would be as careful not to abuse it, as if I were a miser, and the question were, not about your money but my own."

The happiest consequences resulted from the renewal of Cowper's correspondence with this accomplished and excellent lady. After an interchange of some of the most interesting letters that were ever written, she proposed at length to pay the sequestered poet a visit at Olney, and made arrangements accordingly. The following extracts from Cowper's letters to her on this occasion will be read with pleasure, as a faithful record of the delight he anticipated from this interview:—"I have been impatient to tell you, that I am impatient to see you again. Mrs. Unwin partakes with me in all my feelings. Let me assure you, that your kindness in promising us a visit, has charmed us both. I shall see you again, I shall hear your voice. We shall take walks together. I will show you my prospects—the hovel, the alcove, the Ouse, and its banks, everything that I have described. I anticipate the pleasure of those days not very far distant, and feel a part of it this moment. My dear, I will not let you come till the end of May or the beginning of June, because before that time my green-house will not be ready to receive us, and it is the only pleasant room belonging to us. When the plants go out, we go in. I line it with nets, and spread the floor with mats; and there you shall sit, with a bed of mignonette at your side, and a hedge of honeysuckles, roses, and jasmine; and I will make you a bouquet of myrtle every day. We now talk of nobody but you—what we will do with you when we get you, where you shall walk, where you shall sleep, in short everything that bears the remotest relation to your well-being at Olney occupies all our talking time, which is all that I do not spend at Troy. Mrs. Unwin has already secured for you an apartment, or rather two, just such as we could wish. The house in which you will find them is within thirty yards of our own, and opposite to it. The whole affair is thus commodiously adjusted; and now I have nothing to do but to wish for June; and June, my cousin, was never so wished for since June was made. I shall have a thousand things to hear, and a thousand to say, and they will all rush into my mind together, till it will be so crowded with things impatient to be said, that for some time I shall say nothing. But no matter—sooner or later they will all come out. After so long a separation, a separation, which of late seemed so likely to last for life, we shall meet each other as alive from the dead; and, for my own part, I can truly say, that I have not a friend in the other world whose resurrection would give me greater pleasure."

"If you will not quote Solomon, my dearest cousin, I will. He says, and as beautifully as truly, 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, but when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life!' I feel how much reason he had on his side when he made this observation, and am myself really sick of your delay. Well, the middle of June will not always be a thousand years off; and when it comes, I shall hear you, and see you too, and shall not care a single farthing if you do not touch a pen for a month. From this very morning, 15th May, 1786, I begin to date the last month of our long separation; and confidently, the most comfortable hope, that before the fifteenth of June shall present itself, we shall have seen each other. Is it not so? and will it not be one of the most extraordinary eras of my extraordinary life? A year ago we neither corresponded, nor expected to meet in this world. But the world is a scene of marvellous events, many of them more marvellous than fiction itself would dare to hazard; (blessed be God!) they are not all of the distressing kind. Now and then, in the course of an existence, whose hue is for the most part sable, a day turns up that makes amends for many sighs, and many subjects of complaint. Such a day shall I account the day of your arrival at Olney. Wherefore is it (canst thou tell me) that, together with all these delightful sensations, to which the sight of a long absent dear friend gives birth, there is a mixture of something painful, flutterings and tumults, and I know not what accompaniments of our pleasure, that are in fact perfectly foreign from the occasion? Such I feel when I think of our meeting, and such, I suppose, feel you; and the nearer the crisis approaches, the more I am sensible of them. I know beforehand that they will increase with every turn of the wheels that shall convey you to Olney; and when we actually meet, the pleasure, and this unaccountable pain together, will be as much as I shall be able to support. I am utterly at a loss for the cause, and can only resolve it into that appointment, by which it has been foreordained that all human delights shall be qualified and mingled with their contraries. But a fig for them all! Let us resolve to combat with, and to conquer them. They are dreams; they are illusions of the judgment. Some enemy that hates the happiness of human kind, and is ever industrious to dash, if he cannot destroy it, works them in us, and they being so perfectly unreasonable as they are, is a proof of it. Nothing that is such can be the work of a good agent. This I know too by experience, that, like all other illusions, they exist only by force of imagination, are indebted for their prevalence to the absence of their object, and in a few moments after their appearance cease. So then this is a settled point, and the case stands thus. You will tremble as you draw near to Olney, and so shall I; but we will both recollect that there is no reason why we should, and this recollection will, at least, have some little effect in our favour. We will likewise both take the comfort of what we know to be true, that the tumult will soon cease, and the pleasure long survive the pain, even as long, I trust, as we ourselves shall survive it. Assure yourself, my dear cousin, that both for your sake, since you make a point of it, and for my own, I will be as philosophically careful as possible, and these fine nerves of mine shall not be beyond measure agitated when you arrive. In truth, there is a much greater probability that they will be benefited, and greatly too. Joy of heart, from whatever occasion it may arise, is the best of all nervous medicines; and I should not wonder, if such a turn given to my spirits should have even a lasting effect, of the most advantageous kind, upon them. You must not imagine neither, that I am, on the whole, in any great degree, subject to nervous affections: occasionally I am, and have been these many years, much liable to dejection; but, at intervals, and sometimes for an interval of weeks, no creature would suspect it. For I have not, that which commonly is a symptom of such a case belonging to me: I mean occasional extraordinary elevation. When I am in the best health, my tide of animal sprightliness flows with great equality, so that I am never, at any time, exalted in proportion as I am sometimes depressed. My depression has a cause, and if the cause were to cease, I should be as cheerful thenceforth, and perhaps for ever, as any man need be."

"Your visit is delayed too long, to my impatience, at least it seems so, who find the spring, backward as it is, too forward, because many of its beauties will have faded before you will have an opportunity to see them. We took our customary walk yesterday, and saw, with regret, the laburnums, syringas, and guelder roses, some of them blown, and others just upon the point of blowing, and could not help observing, that all these will be gone before Lady Hesketh comes. Still, however, there will be roses, and jasmine, and honey-suckle, and shady walks, and cool alcoves, and you will partake them with us. But I want you to have a share of everything that is delightful here, and cannot bear that the advance of the season should steal away a single pleasure before you come to enjoy it. I will venture to say, that even *you* were never so much expected in your life."

"I regret that I have made your heart ache so often, my dear cousin, with talking about my fits of dejection. Something has happened that has led me to the subject, or I would have mentioned them more sparingly. Do not suppose that I treat you with reserve; there is nothing in which I am concerned that you shall not be made acquainted with. But the tale is too long for a letter: I will only add, for your present satisfaction, that the cause is not exterior, that it is not within the reach of human aid, and that yet I have a hope myself, and Mrs. Unwin a strong persuasion of its removal. I am indeed even now, and have been for a considerable time, sensible of a change for the better, and expect, with good reason, a comfortable lift from you. Guess then, my beloved cousin, with what wishes I look forward to the time of your arrival, from whose coming I promise myself not only pleasure, but peace of mind, at least an additional share of it. At present it is an uncertain and transient guest with me; but the joy with which I shall see, and converse with you, at Olney, may, perhaps, make it an abiding one."

It is seldom that pleasure, anticipated with such warmth of feeling, fully answers our expectations. Human enjoyments almost invariably seem much more valuable in prospect than in possession. Cowper's interview with his cousin, however, was altogether an exception, and proved a source of more real delight to both parties than either of them had expected. As might naturally be supposed, after a separation of three-and-twenty years, they both experienced the full force of those emotions, which Cowper had so well described in his letters, and their first meeting was, indeed, painfully pleasing; every sensation, however, that was in any degree painful, soon subsided, and gave place to such only as were pure and delightful. Mrs. Unwin was pleased with the sweetness of temper, agreeable manners, and cheerful conversation of Lady Hesketh, and her ladyship was no less delighted with the mild, amiable, and affectionate conduct of her new companion; while Cowper's heart was gladdened to have the advantage of daily intercourse with another highly cultivated mind."

The happy effect this change had upon Cowper's spirits will be seen by the following extracts from his correspondence:—"My dear cousin's arrival, as it could not fail to do, has made us happier than we ever were at Olney. Her great kindness, in giving us her company, is a cordial that I shall feel the effect of, not only while she is here, but while I live. She has been with us a fortnight. She pleases everybody, and is, in her turn, pleased with everything she finds here; is always cheerful and good tempered; and knows no pleasure equal to that of communicating pleasure to us, and to all around her. This disposition in her is the more comfortable, because it is not the humour of the day, a sudden flash of benevolence and goodness, occasioned merely by a change of scene, but it is her natural turn, and has governed all her conduct ever since I knew her first. We are consequently happy in her society, and shall be happier still to have you partake with us in our joy. I am fond of the sound of bells, but was never more pleased with those of Olney than when they rang her into her new habitation. She is, as she ever was, my pride and my joy; and I am delighted with everything that means to do her honour. Her first appearance was too much for me; my spirits, instead of being gently raised, broke down with me, under the pressure of too much joy, and left me flat, or rather melancholy, throughout the day, to a degree that was mortifying to myself, and alarming to her. But I have made amends for this torture since; and, in point of cheerfulness, have far exceeded her expectations, for she knew that sable had been my suit for many years. By her help we get change of air and of scene, though still resident at Olney; and by her means, have intercourse with some families in this country, with whom, but for her, we could never have been acquainted. Her presence here would at any time, even in her happiest days, have been a comfort to me; but in the present day I am doubly sensible of its value. She leaves nothing unsaid, nothing undone, that she thinks will be conducive to our well-being; and so far as she is concerned, I have nothing to wish, but that I could believe her sent hither in mercy to myself; then I should be thankful."

Lady Hesketh had not long been at Olney before she became dissatisfied with the poet's residence. She thought it a situation altogether unsuitable for a person subject to depression. Cowper himself had often entertained the same opinion respecting it; and both he and Mrs. Unwin had frequently wished for a change, and had, indeed, been looking out for a house more agreeable to their taste. At that time a very commodious cottage, pleasantly situated in the village of Weston Underwood, a mile and a half distant from Olney, belonging to Sir John Throckmorton, was unoccupied. It occurred to Cowper, that this would be a very agreeable summer residence for his cousin; and on his mentioning it to her, she immediately engaged it, not for herself only, but for the future residence of the poet and his amiable companion, with whom she had now made up her mind to become a frequent, if not a constant associate. The following extracts will best describe Cowper's feelings on this occasion:—"I shall now communicate news that will give you pleasure. When you first contemplated the front of our abode, you were shocked. In your eyes it had the appearance of a prison, and you sighed at the thought that your mother lived in it. Your view of it was not only just, but prophetic. It had not only the aspect of a place built for the purposes of incarceration, but has actually served that purpose, through the long, long period, that we have been the prisoners; but a gaol delivery is at hand. The bolts and bars are to be loosed, and we shall escape. A very different mansion, both in point of appearance and accommodation, expects us; and the expense of living in it will not be much greater than we are subjected to in this. It is situated at Weston, one of the prettiest villages in England, and belongs to Mr. Throckmorton, afterwards Sir John Throckmorton. We all three dine with him to-day by invitation, and shall survey it in the afternoon, point out the necessary repairs and finally adjust the treaty. I have my cousin's promise that she will never let a year pass without a visit to us, and the house is large enough to take us, and our suite, and her also, with as many of her's as she shall choose to bring. The change will, I hope, prove advantageous, both to your mother and to me, in all respects. Here we have no neighbourhood; there we shall have much agreeable neighbours in the Throckmortons. Here we have a bad air in the winter, impregnated with the fishy-smelling fumes of the marsh miasma; there we shall breathe in an atmosphere untainted. Here we are confined from September to March, and sometimes longer; there we shall be upon the very verge of pleasure grounds, upon which we can always ramble, and shall not wade through almost impassable dirt to get at them. Both your mother's constitution and mine have suffered materially by such close and long confinement; and it is high time, unless we intend to retreat into the grave, that we should seek out a more wholesome residence. So far is well; the rest is left to Heaven."

To his friend Mr. Newton, he thus writes:—"You have heard of our intended removal. The house that is to receive us is in a state of preparation, and when finished, will be both smarter and more commodious than our present abode. But the circumstance that recommends it chiefly is its situation. Long confinement in the winter, and indeed, for the most part in the autumn too, has hurt us both. A gravel walk, thirty yards long, affords but indifferent scope to the locomotive faculty; yet it is all that we have had to move in for eight months in the year, during thirteen years that I have been a prisoner. Had I been confined in the Tower, the battlements of it would have furnished me with a larger space. You say well, that there was a time when I was happy at Olney; and I am now as happy at Olney, as I expect to be anywhere, without the presence of God. Change of situation is with me no otherwise an object, than as both Mrs. Unwin's health and my own happen to be concerned in it. We are both I believe partly indebted for our respective maladies, to an atmosphere encumbered with raw vapours, issuing from flooded meadows, and we have perhaps fared the worse for sitting so often, and sometimes for several successive months, over a cellar, filled with water. These ills we shall escape in the uplands: and as we may reasonably hope, of course, their consequences. But as for happiness, he that once had communion with his Maker, must be more frantic than ever I was yet, if he can dream of finding it at a distance from him. I no more expect happiness at Weston than here, or than I should expect it in company with felons and outlaws in the hold of a ballast-lighter. Animal spirits, however, have their value, and are especially desirable to him who is condemned to carry a burden which at any rate will tire him, but which without their aid, cannot fail to crush him."

On the 15th November, 1786, Cowper entered upon his new abode. The following extracts from his letters describe his sensations on the occasion:—"There are some things that do not exactly shorten the life of man, yet seem to do so, and frequent removals from place to place are of that number. For my own part, at least, I am apt to think, if I had been more stationary, I should seem to myself to have lived longer. My many changes of habitation have divided my time into many short periods; and when I look back upon them they appear only as the stages of a day's journey, the first of which is at no great distance from the last. I lived longer at Olney than anywhere. There indeed I lived till mouldering walls and a tottering house warned me to depart. I have accordingly taken the hint, and two days since arrived, or rather took up my abode, at Weston. You perhaps have never made the experiment, but I can assure you that the confusion that attends a transmigration of this kind is infinite, and has a terrible effect in deranging the intellect. When God speaks to a chaos, it becomes a scene of order and harmony in a moment; but when his creatures have thrown one house into confusion by leaving it, and another by tumbling themselves and their goods into it, not less than many days' labour and contrivance are necessary to give them their proper places. And it belongs to furniture of all kinds, however convenient it may be in its place, to be a nuisance out of it. We find ourselves here in a comfortable house. Such it is in itself; and my cousin, who has spared no expense in dressing it up for us, has made it a genteel one. Such, at least, it will be, when its contents are a little harmonized. She left us on Tuesday, and on Wednesday, Mrs. Unwin and I took possession of our new abode. I could not help giving a last look to my old prison, and its precincts; and though I cannot easily account for it, having been miserable there so many years, felt something like a heart-ache, when I took my leave of a scene, that certainly in itself had nothing to engage my affection. But I recollected that I had once been happy there, and could not, without tears in my eyes, bid adieu to a place in which God had so often found me. The human mind is a great mystery; mine, at least, appears to be such upon this occasion. I found that I not only had a tenderness for that ruinous abode, because it had once known me happy in the presence of God, but that even the distress I had there suffered, for so long a time, on account of his absence, had endeared it to me as much. I was weary of every object, had long wished for a change, yet could not take leave without a pang at parting. What consequences are to attend our removal, God only knows. I know well that it is not in the power of situation to effect a cure of melancholy like mine. The change, however, has been entirely a providential one; for much as I wished it, I never uttered that wish, except to Mrs. Unwin. When I learned that the house was to be let, and had seen it, I had a strong desire that Lady Hesketh should take it for herself, if she should happen to like the country. That desire, indeed, is not exactly fulfilled, and yet, upon the whole, is exceeded. We are the tenants; but she assures us that we shall often have her for a guest, and here is room enough for us all. You, I hope, my dear friend, and Mrs. Newton, will want no assurances to convince you that you will always be received here with the sincerest welcome, more welcome than you have been you cannot be, but better accommodated you may and will be."

CHAPTER XI.

Extracts from his correspondence—Description of the deep seriousness that generally pervaded his mind—His remarks to justify his removal from Olney—Vindicates himself and Mrs. Unwin from unjust aspersions—Reasons for undertaking the translation of Homer—His opinion of Pope's—Unremitting attention to his own—Immense pains he bestowed upon it—His readiness to avail himself of the assistance of others—Vexation he experienced from a multiplicity of critics—Just remarks upon criticism—Determination to persevere in his work—Justifies himself for undertaking it—Pleasure he took in relieving the poor—Renewal of his correspondence with General Cowper and the Rev. Dr. Bagot—Consolatory letter to the latter.

The extracts we have already made from Cowper's correspondence prove, unquestionably, that the leading bias of his mind was towards the all-important concerns of religion. As an exhibition, however, of the state of his mind in this respect, at least, up to the close of 1786, the period of his removal to Weston, we think the following extracts cannot fail to be interesting. To Mr. Newton he writes as follows:—"Those who enjoy the means of grace, and know how to use them well, will thrive anywhere; others no where. More than a few, who were formerly ornaments of this garden, which you once watered, here flourished, and have seemed to wither, and become, as the apostle James strongly expresses it—twice dead—plucked up by the roots; others transplanted into a soil, apparently less favourable to their growth, either find the exchange an advantage, or at least, are not injured by it. Of myself, who had once both leaves and fruit, but who have now neither, I say nothing, or only this—that when I am overwhelmed with despair, I repine at my barrenness, and think it hard to be thus blighted; but when a glimpse of hope breaks in upon me, I am then contented to be the sapless thing I am, knowing that he who has commanded me to wither, can command me to flourish again when he pleases. My experiences, however, of this latter kind, are rare and transient. The light that reaches me cannot be compared either to that of the sun, or of the moon; it is a flash in a dark night, during which the heavens seem opened only to shut again. I should be happy (and when I say this, I mean to be understood in the fullest and most emphatical sense of the word) if my frame of mind were such as to permit me to study the important truths of religion. But Adam's approach to the tree of life, after he had sinned, was not more effectually prohibited by the flaming sword that turned every way, than mine to its great Antitype has been now almost these thirteen years, a short interval of three or four days, which passed about this time twelvemonth, alone excepted. For what reason I am thus long excluded, if I am ever again to be admitted, is known to God only. I can say but this, that if he is still my father, his paternal severity has, towards me, been such as to give me reason to account it unexampled. For though others have suffered desertion, yet few, I believe, for so long a time, and perhaps none a desertion accompanied with such experience. But they have this belonging to them: that as they are not fit for recital, being made up merely of infernal ingredients, so neither are they susceptible of it, for I know no language in which they could be expressed. They are as truly things which it is not possible for man to utter, as those were which Paul heard and saw in the third heaven. If the ladder of Christian experience reaches, as I suppose it does, to the very presence of God, it has nevertheless its foot in the abyss. And if Paul stood, as no doubt he did, on the topmost stave of it, I have been standing, and still stand, on the lowest, in this thirteenth year that has passed since I descended. In such a situation of mind, encompassed by the midnight of absolute despair, and a thousand times filled with unspeakable horror, I first commenced an author. Distress drove me to it; and the impossibility of existing without some employment, still recommends it. I am not, indeed, so perfectly hopeless as I was, but I am equally in need of an occupation, being often as much, and sometimes even more, worried than ever. I cannot amuse myself as I once could with carpenters', or with gardeners' tools, or with squirrels and guinea-pigs. At that time I was a child; but since it has pleased God, whatever else he withholds from me, to restore to me a man's mind, I have put away childish things. Thus far, therefore, it is plain that I have not chosen, or prescribed to myself, my own way, but have been providentially led to it; perhaps I might say, with equal propriety, compelled and scourged into it: for certainly could I have made my choice, or were I permitted to make it even now, those hours which I spend in poetry I would spend with God. But it is evidently his will that I should spend them as I do, because every other way of employing them he himself continues to make impossible. The dealings of God with me are to myself utterly unintelligible. I have never met, either in books, or in conversation, with an experience at all similar to my own. More than twelve months have now passed since I began to hope, that having walked the whole breadth of the bottom of this Red Sea, I was beginning to climb the opposite shore, and I prepared to sing the song of Moses. But I have been disappointed; those hopes have been blasted; those comforts have been wrested from me. I could not be so duped even by the arch-enemy himself as to be made to question the divine nature of them, but I have been made to believe (which you will say is being duped still more) that God gave them to me in derision, and took them away in vengeance. Such, however, is, and has been my persuasion many a long day; and when I shall think on this subject more comfortably, or as you will be inclined to tell me, more rationally and scripturally, I know not. In the meantime I embrace, with alacrity, every alleviation of my case, and with the more alacrity, because, whatever proves a relief of my distress is a cordial to Mrs. Unwin, whose sympathy with me, through the whole of it, has been such, that despair excepted, her burthen has been as heavy as mine."

Some of his friends, and Mr. Newton among the rest, on being apprized of his intended removal from Olney, expressed apprehensions that it would introduce him to company, uncongenial to his taste, if not detrimental to his piety. Adverting to these objections, he thus writes to his esteemed correspondent: "If in the course of such an occupation as I have been driven to by despair, or by the inevitable consequence of it, either my former connections are revived, or new ones occur, these things are as much a part of the dispensation of Providence as the leading points themselves. If his purposes in thus directing me are gracious, he will take care to prove them such in the issue; and, in the meantime, will preserve me (for he is able to do that, in one condition of life as well as in another) from all mistakes that might prove pernicious to myself, or give reasonable offence to others. I can say it, as truly as it was ever spoken, Here I am; let him do with me as seemeth to him good. At present, however, I have no connections, at which either you, I trust, or any who love me, and wish me well, have occasion to conceive alarm. Much kindness indeed I have experienced at the hands of several, some of them near relations, others not related to me at all, but I do not know that there is among them a single person from whom I am likely to catch contamination. I can say of them all, with more truth than Jacob uttered, when he called kid venison, 'The Lord thy God brought them unto me.' I could show you among them two men, whose lives, though they have but little of what we call evangelical light, are ornaments to a Christian country, men who fear God more than some who profess to love him. But I will not particularize further on such a subject. Be they what they may, our situations are so distant, and we are likely to meet so seldom, that were they, as they are not, persons even of exceptionable manners, their manners would have little to do with me. We correspond, at present, only on the subject of what passed at Troy three thousand years ago; and they are matters that, if they can do no good, will at least hurt nobody."

"Your letter to Mrs. Unwin concerning our conduct, and the offence taken at it in our neighbourhood, gave us both a great deal of concern, and she is still deeply affected by it. Of this you may assure yourself, that if our friends in London have been grieved, it is because they have been misinformed, which is the more probable, because the bearers of intelligence hence to London are not always very scrupulous concerning the truth of their reports; and that if any of our serious neighbours have been astonished, they have been so without the slightest occasion. Poor people are never well employed even when they judge one another; but when they undertake to scan the motives, and estimate the behaviour of those whom Providence has raised a little above them, they are utterly out of their province and their depth. They often see us get into Lady Hesketh's carriage, and rather uncharitably suppose that it always carries us into a scene of dissipation, which, in fact, it never does. We visit, indeed, at Mr. Throckmorton's, and at Gayhurst, rarely, however, at the latter, on account of the greater distance; frequently, though not very frequently, at Weston, both because it is nearer, and because our business in the house, that is making ready for our reception, often calls us that way. What good we can get or can do in these visits, is another question, which they, I am sure, are not qualified to solve. Of this we are both sure, that under the guidance of Providence we have formed these connections, that we should have hurt the Christian cause rather than have served it, by a prudish abstinence from them; and that St. Paul himself, conducted to them as we have been, would have found it expedient to have done as we have done. It is always impossible to conjecture to much purpose, from the beginnings of a providential event, how it will terminate. If we have neither received nor communicated any spiritual good at present, while conversant with our new acquaintance, at least no harm has befallen on either side; and it were too hazardous an assertion, even for our censorious neighbours to make, that the cause of the gospel can never be served in any of our future interviews with them, because it does not appear to have been served at present. In the mean time, I speak a strict truth as in the sight of God, when I say that we are neither of us at all more addicted to gadding than heretofore. We both naturally love seclusion from company, and never go into it without putting a force upon our own dispositions; at the same time I will confess, and you will easily conceive, that the melancholy incident to such close confinement as we have so long endured, finds itself a little relieved by such amusements as a society so innocent affords. You may look round the Christian world, and find few, I believe, of our station, who have so little intercourse as we with the world, that is not Christian. We place all the uneasiness that you have felt for us on the subject, to the account of that cordial friendship of which you have long given us a proof. But you may be assured, that notwithstanding all the rumours to the contrary, we are exactly what we were when you saw us last:—I, miserable on account of God's departure from me, which I believe to be final; and she seeking his return to me in the path of duty, and by continual prayer."

After the publication of Cowper's second volume of poems, and indeed, for some considerable time before its actual appearance, he was diligently engaged in producing a new translation of Homer's unrivalled poems. His reasons for undertaking a work of so great magnitude, and that required such immense labour: and the spirited manner with which he brought it to a close, shall be related as nearly as possible in his own words. Writing to Mr. Newton, he thus describes the commencement of this great undertaking: "I am employed in writing a narrative, but not so useful as that you have just published. Employment, however, with the pen, is through habit become essential to my well-being; and to produce always original poems, especially of considerable length, is not so easy. For some weeks after I had finished the Task, and sent away the last sheet corrected, I was through necessity idle, and suffered not a little in my spirits for being so. One day, being in such distress of mind as was hardly supportable, I took up the Iliad; and merely to direct attention, and with no more preconception of what I was then entering upon, than I have at this moment of what I shall be doing this day twenty years hence, translated the first twelve lines of it. The same necessity pressed me again, I had recourse to the same expedient, and translated more. Every day bringing its occasion for employment with it, every day consequently added something to the work; till at last I began to reflect thus:—The Iliad and the Odyssey together consists of about forty thousand verses. To translate these forty thousand verses will furnish me with occupation for a considerable time. I have already made some progress, and find it a most agreeable amusement. Homer, in point of purity, is a most blameless writer, and though he was not an enlightened man, has interspersed many great and valuable truths throughout both his poems. In short, he is in all respects a most venerable old gentleman, by an acquaintance with whom no man can disgrace himself; the literati are all agreed to a man, that although Pope has given us two pretty poems, under Homer's title, there is not to be found in them the least portion of Homer's spirit, nor the least resemblance of his manner. I will try, therefore, whether I cannot copy him more happily myself. I have at least the advantage of Pope's faults and failings, which like so many beacons upon a dangerous coast, will serve me to steer by, and will make my chance for success more probable. These, and many other considerations, but especially a mind that abhorred a vacuum as its chief bane, impelled me so effectually to the work, that ere long, I mean to publish proposals for a subscription of it, having advanced so far as to be warranted in doing so."

In another letter to the same correspondent, the following just and critical remarks on Pope's translation occur: "Your sentiments of Pope's Homer agree perfectly with those of every competent judge with whom I have at any time conversed about it. I never saw a copy so unlike the original. There is not, I believe, in all the world to be found, an uninspired poem so simple as are both of those of Homer; nor in all the world a poem more bedizened with ornaments than Pope's translation of them. Accordingly, the sublime of Homer in the hands of Pope, becomes bloated and tumid, and his description tawdry. Neither had Pope the faintest conception of those exquisite discriminations of character for which Homer is so remarkable. All his persons, and equally upon all occasions, speak in an inflated and strutting phraseology, as Pope has managed them; although in the original, the dignity of their utterance, even when they are most majestic, consists principally in the simplicity of their sentiments, and of their language. Another censure I must pass upon our Anglo-Grecian, out of many that obtrude themselves upon me, but for which I have now neither time nor room to spare, which is, that with all his great abilities, he was defective in his feelings to a degree, that some passages in his own poems make it difficult to account for. No writer more pathetic than Homer, because none more natural; and because none less natural than Pope, in his version of Homer, therefore, than he, none less pathetic. One of the great faults of Pope's translation is, that it is licentious. To publish, therefore, a translation that should be at all chargeable with the same fault, would be useless. Whatever will be said of mine, when it does appear, it shall never be said that it is not faithful. I thank you heartily both for your wishes and prayers, that should a disappointment occur, I may not be too much hurt by it. Strange as it may seem to say it, and unwilling as I should be to say it to any person less candid than yourself, I will nevertheless say that I have not entered upon this work, unconnected as it must needs appear with the cause of God, without the direction of his providence, nor have I been altogether unassisted by him in the performance of it. Time will show to what it ultimately tends. I am inclined to think that it has a tendency, to which I myself am at present a perfect stranger. Be that as it may, he knows my frame, and will consider that I am dust, and dust too that has been so trampled under foot, and beaten, that a storm less violent than an unsuccessful issue of such a business might occasion, would be sufficient to blow me quite away. As I know not to what end this my present occupation may finally lead, so neither did I know when I wrote it, or at all suspect, one valuable end, at least, that was to be answered by the Task. It has pleased God to prosper it; and being composed in blank verse, it is likely to prove as seasonable an introduction to a blank verse Homer, by the same hand, as any that could have been devised; yet when I wrote the last line of the Task, I as little suspected that I should ever engage in a version of the old Asiatic tale, as you do now."

Having undertaken a work that required so much labour, he bestowed upon it the utmost pains, and allowed nothing to divert his attention from it. In his correspondence the following remarks occur. "The little time that I can devote to any other purpose than that of poetry, is, as you may suppose, stolen. Homer is urgent; much is done, and much still remains undone, and no school-boy is more attentive to the performance of his daily task than I am.—In truth, my time is very much occupied; and the more so, because I not only have a long and laborious work in hand,—for such it would prove at any rate,—but because I make it a point to bestow my utmost attention to it, and to give it all the finishing that the most scrupulous accuracy can command. As soon as breakfast is over I retire to my nutshell of a summer-house, which is my verse manufactory, and here I abide seldom less than three hours, and not often more. In the afternoon I return to it again; and all the daylight that follows, except what is sometimes devoted to a walk, is given to Homer. It is well for me, that a course which is now become necessary, is so much my choice. Assure yourself, therefore, that when at any time it happens that I am in arrears in my correspondence with you, neither neglect nor idleness is the cause. I have a daily occupation of forty lines to translate, a task which I never excuse myself from, when it is possible to perform it. Equally sedulous I am in the matter of transcribing, so that between both, my mornings and evenings are, for the most part, completely engaged. Add to this, that though my spirits are seldom so bad but I can write verse, they are often at so low an ebb as to make the production of a letter impossible. I am now in the twentieth book of Homer, and shall assuredly proceed, because the farther I go the more I find myself justified in the undertaking; and in due time, if I live, shall assuredly publish. In the whole I shall have composed about forty thousand verses, about which forty thousand verses, I shall have taken great pains, on no occasion suffering a slovenly line to escape me. I leave you to guess, therefore, whether, such a labour once achieved, I shall not determine to turn it to some account, and to gain myself profit by it if I can; if not, at least, some credit for my reward. Till I had made such a progress in my present undertaking as to put it out of all doubt, that, if I lived, I should proceed in, and finish it, I kept the matter to myself. It would have done me little honour to have told my friends, that I had an arduous enterprise in hand, if afterwards I must have told them that I had dropped it. Knowing it to have been universally the opinion of the literati, ever since they have allowed themselves to consider the matter coolly, that a translation, properly so called, of Homer, is, notwithstanding what Pope has done, a desideratum in the English language; it struck me that an attempt to supply the deficiency would be an honourable one, and having made myself, in former years, somewhat critically, master of the original, I was by this double consideration, induced to make the attempt myself.—I am now translating into blank verse the last book of the Iliad, and mean to publish by subscription. I wish that all English readers had an unsophisticated and unadulterated taste, and could relish real simplicity. But, I am well aware, that in this respect, I am under a disadvantage, and that many, especially many ladies, missing many pretty terms of expression that they have admired in Pope, will account my translation, in those particulars, defective. But, I comfort myself with the thought that in reality it is no defect; on the contrary, that the want of all such embellishments as do not belong to the original, will be one of its principal merits, with persons really capable of relishing Homer. He is the best poet that ever lived for many reasons, but for none more than that majestic plainness that distinguishes him from all others. As an accomplished person moves gracefully without thinking of it, in like manner, the dignity of Homer seems to have cost him no labour. It was natural to him to say great things, and to say them well, and little ornaments were beneath his notice."

The following extract will show that no person ever appeared before the public in a work of any literary importance, and more correct views of its legitimate claims under such circumstances. "I thank you for your friendly hints and precautions, and shall not fail to give them the guidance ot my pen. I respect the public, and I respect myself, and had rather want bread than expose myself wantonly to the condemnation of either. I hate the affectation so frequently found in authors, of negligence and slovenliness, and in the present case am sensible how necessary it is to shun them, when I undertake the vast and invidious labour of doing better than Pope has done before me. I thank you for all that you have said and done in my cause, and beforehand for all that you shall say and do hereafter. I am sure that there will be no deficiency on your part. On my own part I assure you that no pains shall be wanted to make the work as complete as possible. I am now in a scene of perfect tranquillity and the profoundest silence, kicking up the dust of heroic narrative and besieging Troy again. I told you that I had almost finished the translation of the Iliad, and I verily thought so. But I was never more mistaken. By the time when I had reached the end of the poem, the first book of my version was a twelvemonth old. When I came to consider it, after having laid it by so long, it did not satisfy me; I set myself to mend it, and did so. But still it appeared to me improvable, and that nothing would so effectually secure that point as to give the whole book a new translation. With the exception of a very few lines, I have so done, and was never in my life so convinced of the soundness of Horace's advice to publish nothing in haste; so much advantage have I derived from doing that twice which I thought I had accomplished notably at once. He, indeed, recommends nine years imprisonment of your verses before you send them abroad; but the ninth part of that time, is, I believe, as much as there is need of to open a man's eyes upon his own defects, and to secure him from the danger of premature self-approbation. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that nine years make so wide an interval between the cup and the lip, that a thousand things may fall out between. New engagements may occur, which may make the finishing of that which a poet has begun impossible. In nine years he may rise into a situation, or he may sink into one, utterly incompatible with his purpose. His constitution may break in nine years, and sickness may disqualify him for improving what he enterprized in the days of his health.—His inclination may change, and he may find some other employment more agreeable; or another poet may enter upon the same work, and get the start of him. Therefore, my friend Horace, though I acknowledge your principle to be good, I must confess the practice you would ground it upon is carried to an extreme. The rigour that I exercised upon the first book, I intend to exercise upon all that follow, and have now actually advanced into the middle of the seventh, nowhere admitting more than one line in fifty of the first translation. You must not imagine that I had been careless and hasty in the first instance. In truth, I had not; but, in rendering so excellent a poet as Homer into our language, there are so many points to be attended to, both in respect of language and numbers, that a first attempt must be fortunate indeed if it does not call aloud for a second. You saw the specimen, and you saw (I am sure) one great fault in it; I mean the harshness of some of the elisions. I do not altogether take the blame of these to myself, for into some of them I have been absolutely driven and haunted by a series of reiterated objections, made by a critical friend, whose scruples and delicacies teazed me almost out of all patience."

With a view to make his translation as perfect as possible, Cowper, before he committed it to the press, availed himself of the assistance of several eminent critics, from some of whom he derived considerable assistance, which, at every convenient opportunity, he very readily and gratefully acknowledged. The remarks of others, however, to whose notice he had been persuaded to submit parts of his manuscript, were so frivolous and perfectly hypercritical, as to occasion him considerable vexation. Of this, the closing remarks of the last, and the whole of the following extract will afford ample proof. "The vexation and perplexity that attends a multiplicity of criticisms by various hands, many of which are sure to be futile, many of them unfounded, and some of them contradictory to others, is inconceivable, except by the author, whose ill-fated work happens to be the subject of them. This also appears to me self-evident, that if a work have passed under the review of one man of taste and learning, and have had the good fortune to please him, his approbation gives security for that of all others qualified like himself. I speak thus, after having just escaped such a storm of trouble, occasioned by endless remarks, hints, suggestions, and objections, as drove me almost to despair, and to the very verge of a resolution to drop my undertaking for ever. With infinite difficulty, I at last sifted the chaff from the wheat, availed myself of what appeared to me just, and rejected the rest, but not till the labour and anxiety had nearly undone all that one judicious critic had been doing for me.—I assure you, I can safely say, that vanity and self-importance had nothing to do in all this distress that I suffered. It was merely the effect of an alarm that I could not help taking, when I compared the great trouble I had with a few lines only thus handled, with that which I foresaw such handling of the whole must necessarily give me. I felt beforehand that my constitution would not bear it. Though Johnson's friend has teased me sadly, I verily believe that I shall have no more such cause to complain of *him*. We now understand one another, and I firmly believe that I might have gone the world through before I had found his equal in an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the original. Though he is a foreigner, he has a perfect knowledge of the English language, and can consequently appreciate its beauties, as well as discover its defects.

"The animadversions of the critic you sent me, hurt me more than they would have done, had they come from a person from whom I might have expected such treatment. In part they appeared to me unjust, and in part ill-natured: and, the man himself being an oracle in almost every body's account, I apprehended that he had done me much mischief. Why he says that the translation is far from exact is best known to himself. For I know it to be as exact as is compatible with poetry; and prose translations of Homer are not wanted. The world has one already. I am greatly pleased with the amendments of a friend, to whom I sent a specimen, which he has returned amended with so much taste and candour, and accompanied with so many expressions of kindness, that it quite charmed me. He has chiefly altered the lines encumbered with elisions, and I will just take this opportunity to tell you, because I know you to be as much interested in what I write as myself, that some of the most offensive of these elisions were occasioned by mere criticism. I was fairly hunted into them by vexatious objections, made without end by ——, and his friends, and altered, and altered, till at last I scarcely cared how I altered. I am not naturally insensible, and the sensibilities I had by nature have been wonderfully enhanced by a long series of shocks, given to a frame of nerves that was never very athletic. I feel accordingly, whether painful or pleasant, in the extreme; am easily elevated, and easily cast down. The power of a critic freezes my poetical powers, and discourages me to such a degree, that makes me ashamed of my own weakness. Yet I presently recover my confidence again, especially when I have every reason to believe, as in the case you refer to, that a critic's censures are harsh and unreasonable, and arise more from his own wounded and mortified feelings, than from any defect in the work itself."

Notwithstanding the irritation produced in the mind of the poet by the trifling amendments and vexatious criticisms of some whom he had been persuaded to consult, he nevertheless persevered in the translation, with undiminished activity, and gave abundant proof that he possessed that real greatness of mind which alone could enable him to undertake and accomplish a work of so great magnitude. To Lady Hesketh he thus discloses the state of his mind in this respect. "Your anxious wishes for my success delight me, and you may rest assured that I have all the ambition on the subject that you can wish me to feel. I more than admire my author. I often stand astonished at his beauties. I am for ever amused with the translation of him, and I have received a thousand encouragements: these are all so many happy omens, that I hope will be verified by the event. I am not ashamed to confess that, having commenced an author, I am most abundantly desirous to succeed as such. I have (what perhaps you little suspect me of) in my nature an infinite share of ambition. But with it, I have at the same time, as you will know, an equal share of diffidence. To this combination of opposite qualities it has been owing, that till lately, I stole through life without undertaking any thing, yet always wishing to distinguish myself. At last I ventured, ventured too in the only path that, at so late a period, was yet open to me, and am determined, if God have not determined otherwise, to work my way through the obscurity that has been so long my portion, into notice. Everything, therefore, that seems to threaten this my favourite purpose, with disappointment, affects me severely. I suppose that all ambitious minds are in the same predicament. He who seeks distinction must be sensible of disapprobation, exactly in the same proportion as he desires applause. I have thus, my dear cousin, unfolded my heart to you in this particular, without a speck of dissimulation. Some people, and good people too, would blame me, but you will not; and they, I think, would blame without just cause. We certainly do not honour God when we bury, or when we neglect to improve, as far as we can, whatever talent he may have bestowed upon us, whether it be little or much. In natural things, as well as spiritual, it is a never-failing truth, that to him who *hath*, (that is to him who employs what he hath diligently, and so as to increase it) more shall be given. Set me down, therefore, my dear cousin, for an industrious rhymer, so long as I shall have ability. For in this only way is it possible for me, so far as I can see, either to honour God, or even to serve myself."

In reply to the apprehensions expressed by some of his correspondents, that the confinement and close application which this work necessarily required, would prove injurious to his health, and be likely to increase his depression, he made the following remarks. "You may well wonder at my courage, who have undertaken a work of such enormous length, you would wonder more if you knew I translated the whole Iliad, with no other help than a Clavis. But I have since equipped myself for this immense journey, and am revising the work in company with a good commentator. I thank you for the solicitude you express on the subject of my present studies. The work is undoubtedly long and laborious, but it has an end, and proceeding leisurely, with a due attention to air and exercise, it is possible that I may live to finish it. Assure yourself of one thing, that though to a by-stander, it may seem an occupation surpassing the powers of a constitution never very athletic, and, at present, not a little the worse for wear, I can invent for myself no employment that does not exhaust my spirits more. I will not pretend to account for this, I will only say that it is not the language of predilection for a favourite amusement, but that the fact is really so. I have ever found that those plaything avocations which one may execute almost without any attention, fatigue me, and wear me away, while such as engage me much, and attach me closely, are rather serviceable to me than otherwise."

During the whole of Cowper's residence at Olney, he retained the same sentiments of affectionate sympathy for the sufferings of the poor that he had evinced when he first came among them. And though he had experienced some painful proofs of their insensibility, ingratitude, and unkindness, yet his heart had often been made to rejoice with those, whom, either his own liberality, or the liberality of his friends had enabled him to relieve. Aware that it afforded him so much pleasure to be employed in communicating happiness to others, his friends often placed at his disposal such things as they felt inclined to distribute. The following interesting extract from a letter to Mr. Unwin, proves how highly he was gratified in being thus benevolently employed. "I have thought with pleasure of the summer that you have had in your heart, while you have been employed in softening the severity of winter, in behalf of so many who must otherwise have been exposed to it. You never said a better thing in your life than when you assured Mr. —— of the expedience of a gift of bedding to the poor at Olney. There is no one article of this world's comforts, with which, as Falstaff says, they are so heinously unprovided. When a poor woman, and an honest one, whom we know well, carried home two pair of blankets, a pair for herself and husband, and a pair for her six children, that you kindly placed at my disposal, as soon as the children saw them, they jumped out of their straw, caught them in their arms, kissed them, blessed them, and danced for joy. An old woman, a very old one, the first night that she found herself so comfortably covered, could not sleep a wink, being kept awake by the contrary emotions of transport on the one hand, and the fear of not being thankful enough on the other."

After the publication of Cowper's second volume, and previous to his removal from Olney, he had renewed his correspondence with some relatives and friends with whom he had formerly been on terms of intimacy, but who seemed almost to have forgotten him, until the popularity of his publications arrested their attention. Among these were General Cowper, and Rev. Walter Bagot. Cowper's letters to the latter prove that his attachment to him was not slight and superficial, but deep and fervent. In February, 1786, it pleased God to deprive Mr. Bagot of his amiable and accomplished wife, who was respected and beloved by all who knew her. On this melancholy occasion Cowper wrote to him as follows: "Alas! alas! my dear, dear friend, may God himself comfort you! I will not be so absurd as to attempt it. By the close of your letter, it should seem that in this hour of great trial, he withholds not his consolations from you. I know by experience that they are neither few nor small; and though I feel for you as I never felt for man before, yet do I sincerely rejoice in this, that, whereas there is but one comforter in the universe, under afflictions such as yours, you both know Him, and know where to seek Him. I thought you a man the most happily mated that I had ever seen, and had great pleasure in your felicity. Pardon me, if now I feel a wish, that, short as my acquaintance with her was, I had never seen her, I should then have mourned with you, but not as I do now. Mrs. Unwin also sympathizes with you most sincerely, and you neither are, nor will be soon forgotten, in such prayers as we can make. I will not detain you longer now, my poor afflicted friend, than to commit you to the mercy of God, and to bid you a sorrowful adieu. May God be with you, my friend, and give you a just measure of submission to his will, the most effectual remedy for the evils of this changing scene. I doubt not that he has granted you this blessing already, and may he still continue it."

CHAPTER XII.

Pleasure he enjoyed in his new residence—Sudden death of Mrs. Unwin's son—Cowper's distress on the occasion—Experiences a severe attack of illness—Is compelled to relinquish, for a time, his labours of translation—Mr. Rose's first visit to him—His sudden recovery—Manner of spending his time—Peculiarities of his case—Is dissuaded from resuming his translation—His determination to persevere in it—Applies to it with the utmost diligence—Great care with which he translated it—His admiration of the original—Providential preservation of Mrs. Unwin—His painful depression unremoved.

By the end of November, 1786, Cowper was comfortably settled in his new residence at Weston. The house was delightfully situated, very near that of his friendly and accomplished landlord, Sir John Throckmorton, with whom he was now on terms of intimacy, and who had given him the full use of his spacious and agreeable pleasure grounds. This afforded him an opportunity, at almost all seasons, of taking that degree of exercise in the open air, which he always found so conducive to his health. The following extracts from his first letter to Lady Hesketh, after entering on his new abode, describes the state of his feelings, and proves how truly he enjoyed the change. "November 26, 1826. It is my birthday, my beloved cousin, and I determine to employ a part of it that is not destitute of festivity, in writing to you. The dark thick fog that has obscured it, would have been a burthen to me at Olney, but here I have hardly attended to it. The neatness and snugness of our abode, compensates for all the dreariness of the season, and whether the ways are wet or dry, our house at least, is always warm and commodious. Oh! for you my cousin, to partake of these comforts with us! I will not begin already to tease you upon that subject, but Mrs. Unwin remembers to have heard from your own lips, that you hate London in the spring, perhaps, therefore, by that time, you may be glad to escape from a scene which will be every day growing more disagreeable, that you may enjoy the comforts of the Lodge. You well know that the best house has a desolate appearance unfurnished. This house accordingly, since it has been occupied by us, and our *meubles*, is as much superior to what it was when you saw it, as you can imagine; the parlour is even elegant. When I say that the parlour is elegant, I do not mean to insinuate that the study is not so. It is neat, warm, and silent, and a much better study than I deserve, if I do not produce in it an incomparable translation of Homer. I think every day of those lines of Milton, and congratulate myself on having obtained, before I am quite superannuated, what he seems to have hoped for sooner."

"And may at length my weary age
Find out the peaceful hermitage."

"For if it is not an hermitage, at least it is a much better thing, and you must always understand, my dear, that when poets talk of cottages, hermitages, and such like things, they mean a house with six sashes in front, two comfortable parlours, a smart stair-case, and three bed-chambers, of convenient dimensions; in short, exactly such a house as this is."

"The Throckmortons continue the most obliging neighbours in the world. One morning last week, they both went with me to the cliffs—a scene, my dear, in which you would delight beyond measure, but which you cannot visit except in the spring, or autumn. The heat of summer and clinging dirt of winter would destroy you. What is called the cliff, is no cliff, nor at all like one, but a beautiful terrace, sloping gently down to the base, and from the brow of which, though it is not lofty, you have a view of such a valley, as makes that which you saw from the hills near Olney, and which I have had the honour to celebrate, an affair of no consideration."

"Wintry as the weather is, do not suspect that it confines me. I ramble daily, and every day change my ramble. Wherever I go, I find short grass under my feet, and when I have travelled perhaps, five miles, come home with shoes not at all too dirty for a drawing room."

Cowper was scarcely settled in his new abode, and had hardly had time to participate of its enjoyments, before an event occurred, which plunged both him and Mrs. Unwin into the deepest distress. It pleased God, who does every thing according to his will, with angels as well as with men, all whose dispensations, mysterious as some of them may appear, are conducted on principles of unerring wisdom, and infinite benevolence, to remove from this scene of toil and labour, to regions of peace and happiness, Mrs. Unwin's son, in the prime of life, and in a manner the most sudden and unexpected. Cowper had always loved him as a brother, and had most unreservedly communicated his mind to him, on all occasions. Their attachment to each other was mutually strong, cordial, and affectionate. The loss of such a friend could not fail to make a deep impression on the poet's mind, and the following extracts will shew how much he felt on the occasion. "I find myself here situated exactly to my mind. Weston is one of the prettiest villages in England, the walks about it are at all seasons of the year delightful. We had just begun to enjoy the pleasantness of our new situation, to find at least as much comfort in it as the season of the year would permit, when affliction found us out in our retreat, and the news reached us of the death of Mr. Unwin. He had taken a western tour with Mr. Henry Thornton, and on his return, at Winchester, was seized with a putrid fever, which sent him to his grave. He is gone to it, however, though young, as fit for it as age itself could have made him. Regretted indeed, and always to be regretted by those who knew him; for he had everything that makes a man valuable, both in his principles and in his manners, but leaving still this consolation to his surviving friends; that he was desirable in this world, chiefly because he was so well prepared for a better."

"The death of one whom I valued as I did Mr. Unwin, is a subject on which I could say much, and with much feeling. But habituated as my mind has been these many years to melancholy themes, I am glad to excuse myself the contemplation of them as much as possible. I will only observe that the death of so young a man, whom I saw so lately in good health, and whose life was so desirable on every account, has something in it peculiarly distressing. I cannot think of the widow and the children he has left without an heart-ache that I remember not to have felt before. We may well say that the ways of God are mysterious: in truth they are so, and to a degree that only such events can give us any conception of. Mrs. Unwin's life has been so much a life of affliction, that whatever occurs to her in that shape, has not at least, the terrors of novelty to embitter it. She is supported under this, as she has been under a thousand others, with a submission of which I never saw her deprived for a moment."

"Though my experience has long since taught me that this world is a world of shadows, and that it is the more prudent, as well as the more christian course, to possess the comforts that we find in it, as if we possessed them not, it is no easy matter to reduce this doctrine to practice. We forget that that God who gave them, may, when he pleases, take them away; and that, perhaps, it may please him to take them away at a time when we least expect it, and are least disposed to part with them. Thus it has happened in the present case. There never was a moment in Unwin's life when there seemed to be more urgent want of him than the moment in which he died. He had attained to an age, when, if they are at any time useful, men become more useful to their families, their friends, and the world. His parish began to feel, and to be sensible of the value of his ministry; his children were thriving under his own tuition and management. The removal of a man in the prime of life, of such a character, and with such connections, seems to make a void in society that can never be filled. God seemed to have made him just what he was, that he might be a blessing to others, and when the influence of his character and abilities began to be felt, removed him. These are mysteries that we cannot contemplate without astonishment, but which will nevertheless be explained hereafter, and must in the mean time, be revered in silence. It is well for Mrs. Unwin that she has spent her life in the practice of an habitual acquiescence in the dispensations of Providence, else I know that this stroke would have been heavier, after all that she has suffered upon another account, than she could have borne. She derives, as she well may, great consolation from the thought that he lived the life, and died the death of a christian. The consequence is, if possible, more certain than the most mathematical conclusion, that therefore he is happy."

Cowper had scarcely given vent to his feelings on the melancholy occurrence of Mr. Unwin's decease, when he was himself again visited by severe indisposition. His depressive malady returned, with all its baleful consequences, and prevented him for more than six months, either from doing anything with his translation of Homer, or carrying on his correspondence with his friends, or even from enjoying the conversation of those with whom he was most intimately associated, and whom he loved most affectionately. It is highly probable, that the painful feelings, occasioned by a too frequent recurrence to the apparently disastrous consequences, that must be the result of his friend's removal, occasioned this attack. His mind bore up under the first shock with comparative firmness, but his intense feelings, perhaps, pictured its remote effects in colours much more gloomy than were ever likely to be realised. Such seems to have been the case with him at the death of his brother. He attended him in his dying hours, saw him gradually sink into the arms of death, arranged all the affairs of his funeral, and then, when other persons less susceptible of feeling, would in all probability have forgotten the event, his apprehensive mind invested it with imaginary horrors that were to him insupportable.

This affliction of Cowper's commenced in the early part of January, 1787. In his letters to his cousin, he thus adverts to the first symptoms of it. "I have had a little nervous fever lately that has somewhat abridged my sleep, and though I find myself better to-day than I have been since it seized me, yet I feel my head lightish, and not in the best order for writing." In the next letter to the same correspondent, written about a week afterwards—the last he wrote to any of his correspondents until his recovery, he again adverts to the progress of his complaint. "I have been so much indisposed with the nervous fever, that I told you in my last had seized me, my nights, during the whole week, may be said to have been almost sleepless. The consequence has been that, except the translation of about thirty lines at the conclusion of the thirteenth book, I have been forced to abandon Homer entirely. This was a sensible mortification to me as you may suppose, and felt the more, because my spirits of course failing with my strength, I seemed to have peculiar need of my old amusement. It seemed hard, therefore, to be forced to resign it, just when I wanted it most. But Homer's battles cannot be fought by a man who does not sleep well, and who has not some little degree of animation in the day time. Last night, however, quite contrary to my expectation, the fever left me entirely, and I slept soundly, quietly, and long. If it please God that it return not, I shall soon find myself in a condition to proceed. I walk constantly, that is to say, Mrs. Unwin and I together: for at these times I keep her continually employed, and never suffer her to be absent from me many minutes. She gives me all her time, and all her attention, and forgets that there is another object in the world besides myself."

About this time, that intimacy between Cowper and Samuel Rose, Esq., which subsequently ripened into a friendship that nothing but death could dissolve, commenced. At the close of the letter from which we made our last extract, Cowper thus adverts to the circumstance. "A young gentleman called here yesterday, who came six miles out of his way to see me. He was on a journey to London from Glasgow, having just left the university there. He came I suppose, partly to satisfy his own curiosity, but chiefly, as it seemed, to bring me the thanks of some of the Scotch professors for my two volumes. His name is Rose, an Englishman. Your spirits being good, you will derive more pleasure from this incident than I can at present, therefore I send it." Notwithstanding the depression of mind which Cowper was beginning again to experience, when this unexpected interview between him and Mr. Rose took place, and his consequent aversion to the visits of any one, but especially strangers, yet he was so highly pleased with his new friend, that he commenced a correspondence with him immediately on recovering his health; and he ever regarded it as a providential circumstance, and a token of the goodness of God towards him, in giving him a friend and a correspondent, who in some measure, at least, supplied the loss he had experienced by the death of Mr. Unwin.

In February, 1787, Cowper's depressive malady had so greatly increased that his mind became again enveloped in the deepest gloom. The following extracts from his letters, written after his recovery, which took place in the ensuing autumn, will best describe the painful and distressing state to which he was reduced:—"My indisposition could not be of a worse kind. Had I been afflicted with a fever, or confined by a broken bone, neither of these cases would have made it impossible that we should meet. I am truly sorry that the impediment was insurmountable while it lasted, for such, in fact, it was. The sight of any face, except Mrs. Unwin's, was to me an insupportable grievance; and when it has happened, that by forcing himself into my hiding place, some friend has found me out, he has had no great cause to exult in his success, as Mr. Bull could tell you. From this dreadful condition of mind, I emerged suddenly; so suddenly that Mrs. Unwin, having no notice of such a change herself, could give none to any body; and when it obtained, how long it might last, and how far it might be depended upon, was a matter of the greatest uncertainty. It affects me on the recollection with the more concern, because it has deprived me of an interview with you, and has prevented you from visiting others who would have been very glad to see you."

In the midst of Cowper's severe attack, his friend, Mr. Rose, paid him another visit, and was greatly distressed to find him reduced to such a degree of wretchedness that he could not be prevailed upon to converse with him on any subject. Cowper, as soon as he began to feel the slightest symptoms of recovery, recollected the great sympathy and disinterested kindness of his new friend, and he took care to present him with the first productions of his pen. In the last week of July, 1787, he thus addressed him:—"This is the first time I have written this six months; and nothing but the constraint of obligation could induce me to write now. I cannot be so wanting to myself as not to endeavour, at least, to thank you, both for the visits with which you have favoured me, and the poem that you have sent me. In my present state of mind I *taste* nothing, nevertheless I read,—partly from habit, and partly because it is the only thing I am capable of." A month afterwards he again wrote to the same correspondent. "I have not yet taken up my pen, except to write to you. The little taste that I have had of your company, and your kindness in finding me out, make me wish that we were nearer neighbours, and that there were not so great a disparity in our years; that is to say, not that you were older, but that I was younger. Could we have met early in life, I flatter myself that we might have been more intimate than now we are likely to be. But you shall not find me slow to cultivate such a measure of your regard as your friends of your own age can spare me. I hope the same kindness, which has prompted you twice to call on me, will prompt you again; and I shall be happy, if, on a future occasion, I shall be able to give you a more cheerful reception than can be expected from an invalid. My health and spirits are considerably improved, and I once more associate with my neighbours. My head, however, has been the worst part of me, and still continues so; is subject to giddiness and pain, maladies very unfavourable to poetical employment: but I feel some encouragement to hope that I may possibly, before long, find myself able to resume the translation of Homer. When I cannot walk, I read, and read perhaps more than is good for me. But I cannot be idle. The only mercy that I show myself in this respect is, that I read nothing that requires much closeness of application."

Cowper was now recovered sufficiently to resume his correspondence with Lady Hesketh, and the following extracts will throw some additional light on the gradually improving state of his health, and on the manner in which he then spent his time. "My dear cousin, though it costs me something to write, it would cost me more to be silent. My intercourse with my neighbours being renewed, I can no longer forget how many reasons there are, why you especially should not be neglected; no neighbour, indeed, but the kindest of my friends, and ere long, I hope an inmate. My health and spirits seem to be mending daily. To what end I know not, neither will conjecture, but endeavour, as far as I can, to be content that they do so. I use exercise, and take the air in the park; I read much; have lately read Savary's Travels in Egypt; Memoirs of Baron du Tott; Fenn's Original Letters; the Letters of Frederick of Bohemia; and am now reading Memoirs d'Henri de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. I have also read Barclay's Argenis, a Latin romance, and the best romance that was ever written. All these, together with Madan's Letters to Priestly, and several pamphlets, I have read within these two months. So that you will say I am a great reader. I, however, write but little, because writing is become new to me; but I shall come on by degrees, and hope to regain the use of my pen before long. Our friends at the Hall make themselves more and more amiable in our account, by treating us rather as old friends, that as friends newly acquired. There are few days in which we do not meet, and I am now almost as much at home in their house as in my own. I have the free use of their library, an acquisition of great value to me, as I cannot live without books. By this means, I have been so well supplied, that I have not yet even looked at the Lounger, which you were so kind as to send me. His turn comes next, and I shall probably begin him to-morrow."

Cowper's correspondence with Mr. Newton, had now been suspended for some months. In the beginning of the ensuing October he renewed it; and the following extracts will afford some interesting information respecting the peculiarity of his case. "*My Dear Friend*—After a long but necessary interruption of our correspondence, I return to it again, in one respect, at least, better qualified for it than before; I mean by a belief of your identity, which for thirteen years, strange and unaccountable as it may appear, I did not believe. The acquisition of this light, if light it may be called, which leaves me as much in the dark as ever, on the most interesting subjects, releases me, however, from the most disagreeable suspicion that I am addressing myself to you as the friend whom I loved and valued so highly in my better days, while in fact you are not that friend but a stranger. I can now write to you without seeming to act a part, and without having any need to charge myself with dissimulation; a charge from which, in that state of mind, and under such an uncomfortable persuasion, I know not how to exculpate myself, and which, as you will easily conceive, not seldom made my correspondence with you a burden. Still, indeed, it wants, and is likely to want, that best ingredient, which alone can make it truly pleasant, either to myself or you—that spirituality which once enlivened all our intercourse. You will tell me, no doubt, that the knowledge I have gained is an earnest of more, and more valuable information too; and that the dispersion of the clouds in part, promises, in due time, their complete dispersion. I should be happy to believe it: but the power to do so is at present far from me. Never was the mind of man benighted to a degree that mine has been. The storms that have assailed me would have overset the faith of every man that ever had any; and the very remembrance of them, even after they have been long passed by, makes hope impossible. Mrs. Unwin, whose poor bark is still held together, though much shattered by being tossed and agitated so long at the side of mine, does not forget yours and Mrs. Newton's kindness on this last occasion. Mrs. Newton's offer to come to her assistance, and your readiness to have rendered us the same service, could you have hoped for any salutary effect of your presence, neither Mrs. Unwin nor myself undervalue, nor shall presently forget. But you judged right when you supposed that even your company would have been no relief to me; the company of my father or my brother, could they have been returned from the dead to visit me, would have been none. We are now busy in preparing for the reception of Lady Hesketh, whom we expect here shortly. Mrs. Unwin's time has, of course, been lately occupied to a degree that made writing to her impracticable; and she excused herself the rather, knowing my intentions to take her office. It does not, however, suit me to write much at a time. This last tempest has left my nerves in a worse condition than it found them; my head especially, though better informed, is more infirm than ever; I will therefore only add, that I rejoice to hear Mrs. Cowper has been so comfortably supported under her heavy trial. She must have severely felt the loss of her son. She has an affectionate heart towards her children, and could not but be sensible of the bitterness of such a cup. But God's presence sweetens every bitter. Desertion is the only evil that a christian cannot bear."

Cowper's friends were all delighted to see him again in full possession of his mental powers; and, as many of them attributed his last attack to the irritation and fatigue occasioned by his translation of Homer, they endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing it, and recommended him to confine his attention to original poetry. Cowper was not, however, to be diverted from his purpose without an irrefragable proof of its injurious tendency, and he had formed a very different opinion on the subject to that of his friends. In a letter to Mr. Newton, he particularly adverts to it.—"I have many kind friends, who, like yourself, wish that, instead of turning my endeavours to a translation of Homer, I had proceeded in the way of original poetry. But I can truly say, that it was ordered otherwise, not by me, but by that God who governs all my thoughts and directs all my intentions as he pleases. It may seem strange, but it is true, that after having written a volume, in general, with great ease to myself, I found it impossible to write another page. The mind of man is not a fountain, but a cistern; and mine, God knows, a broken one. It is my creed, that the intellect depends as much, both for the energy and the multitude of its exertions, upon the operations of God's agency upon it, as the heart, for the exercise of its graces, upon the influence of the Holy Spirit. According to this persuasion, I may very reasonably affirm, that it was not God's good pleasure that I should proceed in the same track, because he did not enable me to do it. A whole year I waited, and waited in circumstances of mind that made a state of mere employment peculiarly irksome to me. I longed for the pen as the only remedy, but I could find no subject: extreme distress at last, drove me, as, if I mistake not, I told you some time since, to lay Homer before me, and translate for amusement. Why it pleased God that I should be hunted into such a business, of such enormous length and labour, by miseries for which he did not see good to afford me any other remedy, I know not. But so it was; and jejune as the consolation may be, and unsuited to the exigencies of a mind that once was spiritual, yet a thousand times have I been glad of it, for a thousand times it has served, at least, to divert my attention in some degree, from such terrible tempests as I believe have seldom been permitted to beat upon a human mind. Let my friends, therefore, who wish me some little measure of tranquillity in the performance of the most turbulent voyage that ever Christian mariner made, be contented, that having Homer's mountains and forests to windward, I escape, under their shelter, from many a gust of melancholy depression that would almost overset me, especially when they consider that, not by choice, but by necessity, I make *them* my refuge. As to the fame, and honour, and glory, that may be acquired by poetical feats of any sort, God knows, that if I could lay me down in my grave with hope at my side, or sit with this companion in a dungeon all the residue of my days, I would cheerfully waive them all. For, the little fame that I have already earned, has never saved me from one distressing night, or from one despairing day, since I first acquired it. *For* what I am reserved, or *to* what, is a mystery; I would fain hope, not merely that I may amuse others, or only to be a translator of Homer."

Ten months had now elapsed since Cowper had laid aside his translation, and as Johnston, the publisher, had been informed of his recovery, he wrote to require him to persevere in the work with as little delay as possible.—Cowper immediately recommenced the undertaking, and again entered upon it with all his former spirit and activity. The following extracts will show that his affliction had not deprived him of the vigour of his mind, or produced in him the slightest disinclination to engage in this laborious work. "I am as heretofore occupied with Homer; my present occupation is the revisal of all I have done, which is the first fifteen books. I stand amazed at my own increasing dexterity in the business, being verily persuaded that as far as I have gone, I have improved the work to double its value. I will assure you, that it engages, unavoidably, my whole attention. The length of it, the spirit of it, and the exactness requisite to its due performance, are so many most interesting subjects of consideration to me, who find that my best attempts are only introductory to others, and, that what to-day I supposed finished, to-morrow I must begin again. Thus it fares with a translator of Homer.—To exhibit the majesty of such a poet in a modern language, is a task that no man can estimate the difficulty of till he attempts it. To paraphrase him loosely, to hang him with trappings that do not belong to him, all this is comparatively easy. But to represent him with only his own ornaments, and still to preserve his dignity, is a labour, that if I hope in any measure to achieve it, I am sensible can only be achieved by the most assiduous and most unremitting attention; a perseverance that nothing can discourage, a minuteness of observation that suffers nothing to escape, and a determination not to be seduced from the straight line that lies before us, by any images which fancy may present. There are perhaps, few arduous undertakings that are not, in fact, more arduous than we at first supposed them. As we proceed, difficulties increase upon us, but our hopes gather strength also, and we conquer difficulties, which, could we have foreseen them, we should never have had the boldness to encounter. You possess by nature all that is necessary to success in the profession you have chosen. What remains is in your own power. They say of poets, that they must be born such; so must mathematicians, so must great generals, so must lawyers, and so indeed must men of all denominations, or it is not possible that they should excel. But with whatever faculties we are born, and to whatever studies our genius may direct us, *studies* they must still be. I am persuaded that Milton did not write his Paradise Lost, nor Homer his Illiad, nor Newton his Principia, without immense labour. Nature gave them a bent to their respective pursuits, and that strong propensity, I suppose, is what we mean by genius. The rest they gave themselves."

"My first thirteen books of Homer have been criticised in London; have been by me accommodated to these criticisms; returned to London in their improved state, and sent back to Weston with an imprimantur. This would satisfy some poets less anxious than myself about what they expose in public, but it has not satisfied me. I am now revising them again, by the light of my own critical taper, and make more alterations than at the first. But are they improvements? you will ask. Is not the spirit of the work endangered by all this correctness? I think and hope that it is not. Being well aware of the possibility of such a catastrophe, I guard particularly against it. Where I find a servile adherence to the original would render the passage less animated than it would be, I still, as at the first, allow myself a liberty. On all other occasions, I prune with an unsparing hand, determined that there shall not be found in the whole translation an idea that is not Homer's. My ambition is, to produce the closest copy possible, and at the same time, as harmonious as I can possibly make it.—This being my object, you will no longer think, if indeed you have thought it at all, that I am unnecessarily, and overmuch industrious. The original surpasses everything; it is of an immense length, is composed in the best language ever used upon earth, and deserves, indeed demands, all the labour that any translator, be he who he may, can possibly bestow upon it. At present, mere English readers know no more of Homer in reality, than if he had never been translated. That consideration indeed it was, which mainly induced me to the undertaking; and if after all, either through idleness or dotage, upon what I have already done, I leave it chargeable with the same incorrectness as my predecessors, or, indeed, with any other that I may be able to amend, I had much better have amused myself otherwise. I am now in the nineteenth book of the Illiad, and on the point of displaying such feats of heroism, performed by Achilles, as make all other achievements trivial. I may well exclaim, Oh, for a muse of fire! especially, having not only a great host to cope with, but a great river also; much, however, may be done when Homer leads the way. What would I give if he were now living, and within my reach! I, of all men living, have the best excuse for indulging such a wish, unreasonable as it may seem, for I have no doubt the fire of his eyes, and the smile of his lips, would put me, now and then, in possession of his full meaning more effectually than any commentator!"

The close application of Cowper, to the translation of Homer, was not allowed to suspend, though it in some measure interrupted, his correspondence with Mr. Newton. To him he still opened the state of his mind without the least reserve, and it will appear, from the following extracts, that he had lost, in no degree, his relish for the enjoyments of religion, though his mind still continued under the influence of his depressive malady. "Your last letter informed us, that you were likely to be much occupied for some time in writing on a subject that must be interesting to a person of your feelings—the Slave Trade. I was unwilling to interrupt your progress in so good a work, and have, therefore, enjoined myself a longer silence than I should otherwise have thought excusable, though, to say the truth, did not our once intimate fellowship in the things of God recur to my remembrance, and present me with something like a warrant for doing it, I should hardly have prevailed upon myself to write at all. Letters such as mine, to a person of a character such as yours, are like snow in harvest; and you will say, that if I will send you a letter that you can answer, I shall make your part of the business easier than it is. This I would gladly do; but though I abhor a vacuum, as much as nature herself is said to do, yet a vacuum I am bound to feel, of all such matter as may merit your perusal. I have lately been engaged in correspondence with a lady whom I never saw. She lives at Perton Hall, near Kimbolton, and is the wife of Dr. King, who has the living. She is evidently a Christian, and a very gracious one. I would that she had you for a correspondent, rather than me. One letter from you would do her more good than a ream of mine. But so it is; and though I despair of communicating to her anything that will be of much advantage, I must write to her this evening. Undeserving as I feel myself to be of divine protection, I am nevertheless receiving almost daily, I might indeed say hourly, proofs of it. A few days ago, Providence interfered to preserve me from the heaviest affliction that I could now suffer: the loss of Mrs. Unwin, and in a way too, the most shocking imaginable. Having kindled her fire in the room where she dresses, (an office that she always performs for herself,) she placed the candle on the hearth, and kneeling, addressed herself to her devotions; a thought struck her while thus occupied, that the candle, being short, might possibly catch her clothes, she pinched it out with the tongs, and set it on the table. In a few moments the chamber was so filled with smoke, that her eyes watered, and it was hardly possible to see across it.—Supposing that it proceeded from the chimney, she pushed the billets backward, and while she did so, casting her eye downward, perceived that her dress was on fire. In fact, before she extinguished the candle, the mischief that she apprehended had begun; and when she related the matter to me, she showed me her clothes, with a hole burnt in them as large as this sheet of paper. It is not possible, perhaps, that so tragical a death could occur to a person actually engaged in prayer, for her escape seems almost a miracle. Her presence of mind, by which she was enabled, without calling for help, or waiting for it, to gather up her clothes, and plunge them, burning as they were, in water, seems as wonderful a part of the occurrence as any. The very report of fire, though distant, has rendered hundreds torpid and incapable of self-succour; how much more was such a disability to be expected, when the fire had not seized a neighbour's house, or begun its devastations on our own, but was actually consuming the apparel that she wore, and seemed in possession of her person."

The continued gloomy state of Cowper's mind will be seen by the following extract from a letter to his cousin, Lady Hesketh, with whom he corresponded, as nearly as possible, at stated and regular intervals,—January 30, 1788, he thus writes: "It is a fortnight since I heard from you, that is to say, a week longer than you have been accustomed to make me wait for a letter. I do not forget that you have recommended it to me, on occasions somewhat similar, to banish all anxiety, and to ascribe your silence only to the interruptions of company. Good advice, my dear, but not easily taken by a man circumstanced as I am. I have learned in the school of adversity, a school from which I have no expectations that I shall ever be dismissed, to apprehend the worst, and have ever found it the only course in which I can indulge myself, without the least danger of incurring a disappointment. This kind of experience, continued through many years, has given me such an habitual bias to the gloomy side of everything, that I never have a moment's ease on any subject to which I am not indifferent. How then can I be easy, when I am left afloat upon a sea of endless conjectures, of which you furnish the occasion. Write, I beseech you, and do not forget that I am now a battered actor upon this turbulent stage, that what little vigour of mind I ever had, of the self-supporting kind I mean, has long since been broken, and, that though I can hear nothing well, yet anything better than a state of ignorance concerning your welfare. I have spent hours in the night, leaning upon my elbow, and wondering what your silence can mean. I entreat you, once more, to put an end to these speculations, which cost me more animal spirits than I can spare. I love you, my cousin, and cannot suspect either with or without cause, the least evil, in which you may be concerned, without being quietly troubled! O, trouble! the portion of mortals—but mine in particular. Would I had never known thee, or could bid thee farewell for ever! for, I meet thee at every turn, my pillows are stuffed with thee, my very roses smell of thee, and even my cousin, who would, I am sure, cure me of all trouble if she could, is sometimes innocently the cause of trouble to me!"

CHAPTER XIII.

Pressing invitations of his friends to write a poem on the Slave Trade—Reasons for declining it—Correspondence with Mrs. King—Particular description of his feelings—Death of Sir Ashley Cowper—Description of his character—Great severity of Cowper's depression—Is again urged to write on the Slave Trade—Again declines it—Assigns particular reasons for it—His indefatigable application to Homer—Notice he took of passing events—Mr. and Mrs. Newton's visit to Weston—The pleasure it afforded Cowper—Lady Hesketh's visit—Completion of the Iliad, and commencement of the Odyssey—His unwearied application to Homer not allowed to divert his attention from religion—Occasional composition of original poetry—Readiness to listen to any alteration that might be suggested in his productions.

Many of Cowper's friends were anxious to have him employ his admirable powers in a poem on the abolition of slavery, and Lady Hesketh wrote him several pressing invitations on the subject; to which he gave the following reply. "I have now three letters of yours, my dearest cousin, before me, all written in the space of a week, and must be, indeed, insensible of kindness, did I not feel yours on this occasion. I cannot describe to you, neither could you comprehend it if I could, the manner in which my mind is sometimes impressed with melancholy on particular subjects. Your late silence was such a subject. I heard, saw, and felt, a thousand terrible things, which had no real existence, and was haunted by them night and day, till they at last extorted from me that doleful epistle, which I have since wished had been burnt before I sent it. But the cloud has passed, and, as far as you are concerned, my heart is once more at rest. Before you gave me the hint contained in your last letters, I had once or twice, as I lay on my bed, watching the break of day, ruminated on the subject which you kindly recommended to me. Slavery, or a release from slavery, such as the poor negroes have endured, or perhaps both these topics together, appeared to me a theme so important at the present juncture, and at the same time so susceptible of practical management, that I more than once perceived myself ready to start in that cause, could I have allowed myself to desert Homer for so long a time as it would have cost me to do them justice. While I was pondering these things, the public prints informed me that Miss More was on the point of publication, having actually finished what I had not began. The sight of her advertisement convinced me that my best course would be that to which I felt myself most inclined; to persevere without turning aside to attend to any other call, however alluring, in the business I have in hand. It occurred to me likewise, that I have lately borne my testimony in favour of my black brethren, and that I was one of the earliest, if not the first, of those who have, in the present day, expressed their detestation of the diabolical trade in question. On all accounts I judged it best to be silent. I shall be glad to see Hannah More's poem; she is a favourite writer with me, and has more nerve and energy, both in her thoughts and language, than half the rhymers in the kingdom."

It will be seen by the last extract made from Cowper's letters to Mr. Newton, that he had now commenced a correspondence with Mrs. King, and as his letters to that lady are highly interesting, we shall make such use of them as will be descriptive of the state of his mind at that period. "A letter from a lady who was once intimate with my brother, could not fail of being most acceptable to me. I lost him just at a moment when those truths which have recommended my volumes to your approbation, were become his daily sustenance, as they had long been mine. But the will of God was done. I have sometimes thought that had his life been spared, being made brothers by a stricter tie than ever, in the bonds of the same faith, hope, and love, we should have been happier in each other than it was in the power of mere natural affection to make us. But it was his blessing to be taken from a world in which he had no longer any wish to continue; and it will be mine, if, while I live in it, my time may be not altogether wasted: in order to effect that good end, I wrote what I am happy to find has given you pleasure to read. But for that pleasure, Madam, you are indebted neither to me nor to my muse; but (as you are well aware) to Him who alone can make divine truths palatable, in whatever vehicle conveyed. It is an established philosophical axiom, that nothing can communicate what it has not in itself; but in the effects of Christian communion, a very strong exception is found to this general rule, however self-evident it may seem. A man, himself destitute of all spiritual consolation, may by occasion, impart it to others. Thus I, it seems, who wrote those very poems, to amuse a mind oppressed with melancholy, and who have myself derived from them no other benefit, (for mere success in authorship will do me no good,) have nevertheless, by so doing, comforted others, at the same time that they administer to me no consolation. But I will proceed no farther in this strain, lest my prose should damp a pleasure that my verse has happily excited. On the contrary, I will endeavour to rejoice in your joy, and especially, because I have myself been the instrument of conveying it."

"I owe you many acknowledgments, dear Madam, for that unreserved communication both of your history and of your sentiments, with which you honoured me in your last, it gives me great pleasure to learn that you are so happily circumstanced, both in respect of situation and frame of mind. With your view of religious subjects, you could not indeed, speaking properly, be pronounced unhappy in any circumstances; but to have received from above, not only that faith which reconciles the heart to affliction, but many outward comforts also, and especially that greatest of all earthly comforts, a comfortable home, is happiness indeed. May you long enjoy it! As to health or sickness, you have learned already their true value, and know well that the former is no blessing, unless it be sanctified, and that the latter is the greatest we can receive, when we are enabled to make a proper use of it."

"The melancholy that I have mentioned to you, and concerning which you are so kind as to inquire, is of a kind, so far as I know, peculiar to myself. It does not at all affect the operations of my mind, on any subject to which I can attach it, whether serious or ludicrous, or whatever it may be, for which reason I am almost always employed either in reading or writing, when I am not engaged in conversation. A vacant hour is my abhorrence; because, when I am not occupied, I suffer under the whole influence of my unhappy temperament. I thank you for your recommendation of a medicine from which you have derived benefit yourself. but there is hardly anything that I have not proved, however beneficial it may have been found to others, in my own case, utterly useless. I have, therefore, long since bid adieu to all hope from human means—the means excepted of perpetual employment. I will not say that we shall never meet, because it is not for a creature, who knows not what will be to-morrow, to assert anything positively concerning the future. Things more unlikely I have seen come to pass; and things which, if I had expressed myself on them at all, I should have said were impossible. But, being respectively circumstanced as we are, there seems no present probability of it. You speak of insuperable hinderances, and I also have hinderances that would be equally difficult to surmount. One is, that I never ride; that I am not able to perform so long a journey on foot; and that chaises do not roll within the sphere of that economy which my circumstances oblige me to observe. If this were not of itself a sufficient excuse, when I decline so obliging an invitation as yours, I could mention yet other obstacles. But to what end? One impracticability makes as effectual a barrier as a thousand: it will be otherwise in other worlds: either we shall not bear about us a body, or it will be more easily transportable than this. The world in which we live is indeed, as you say, a foolish world, and is likely to continue such, till the Great Teacher himself shall vouchsafe to make it wiser. I am persuaded that time alone will never mend it. But there is doubtless a day appointed when there will be a more general manifestation of the beauty of holiness, than mankind have ever yet beheld. When that period shall arrive, there will be an end of prophane representations, whether of heaven or hell, on the stage, of which you complain—the great realities of religion will supersede them."

"You must think me a tardy correspondent, unless you have charity enough to suppose that I have met with other hinderances than those of indolence and inattention. With these I cannot charge myself, for I am never idle by choice; and inattentive to you I certainly have not been. My silence has been occasioned by a malady to which I have all my life been subject—an inflammation of the eyes. The last sudden change of weather, from excessive heat to a wintry degree of cold, occasioned it, and at the same time gave me a pinch of the rheumatic kind, from both which disorders I have but just recovered. I do not suppose that our climate has been much altered since the days of our forefathers, the Picts; but certainly the human constitution, in this country, has altered very much. Inured as we are from our cradles to every vicissitude, in a climate more various than any other, and in possession of all that modern refinement has been able to contrive for our security, we are yet as subject to blights as the tenderest blossoms of spring; and we are so well admonished of every change in the atmosphere by our bodily feelings, as hardly to have any need of a weather-glass to mark them. For this we are, no doubt, indebted to the multitude of our accommodations; for it was not possible to retain the hardiness that originally belonged to our race, under the delicate management of which, for many ages, we have been accustomed. It is observable, however, that though we have by these means lost much of our pristine vigour, our days are not the fewer. We live as long as those whom, on account of the sturdiness of their frame, the poets supposed to have been the progeny of oaks. Perhaps, too, they had but little feeling, and for that reason might be imagined to be so descended; for a very robust, athletic habit, seems inconsistent with much sensibility. But sensibility is the *sine quâ non* of real happiness. If, therefore, our lives have been shortened, and if our feelings have been rendered more exquisite, as our habit of body has become more delicate, on the whole we have no cause to complain, but are rather gainers by our degeneracy."

In the beginning of June, 1788, an event occurred, which, though it had been long expected by Cowper and by all his friends, could not fail to make a deep impression upon his peculiarly sensitive mind. This was the death of his esteemed and venerable relation Ashly Cowper, Esq., Clerk of the Parliaments, and brother to Cowper's father, the last moments of whose life his daughter, Lady Hesketh, had watched over with the tenderest solicitude. In reply to an affectionate letter from his friend Mr. Hill, apprizing him of the event, he thus writes:—"Your letter brought me the first intelligence of the event it mentions. My last from Lady Hesketh gave me reason enough to expect it; but the certainty of it was unknown to me till I learned it by your information. If gradual decline, the consequence of great age, be a sufficient preparation of the mind to encounter such a loss, our minds were certainly prepared to meet it: yet to you I need not say that no preparation can supersede the feelings of the heart on such occasions. While our friends yet live, inhabitants of the same world with ourselves, they seem still to live to *us*—we are sure that they often think of *us;* and, however improbable it may seem, it is never impossible that we may see each other once again. But the grave, like a great gulph, swallows all such expectations, and in the moment when a beloved friend sinks into it, a thousand tender recollections awaken a regret that will be felt in spite of all reasonings, and let our warnings have been what they may. My dear uncle's death awakened in me many reflections, which, for a time, sunk my spirits. A man like him would have been mourned had he doubled the age he reached. At any age his death would have been felt as a loss that no survivor could repair. And though it was not probable that, for my own part, I should ever see him more, yet the consciousness that he still lived, was a comfort to me. Let it comfort us now, that we have lost him only at a time when nature could afford him to us no longer; that as his life was blameless, so was his death without anguish, and that he is gone to heaven. I know not that human life, in its most prosperous state, can present anything to our wishes half so desirable as such a close of it."

In another letter, he again writes;—"We have indeed lost one who has not left his like in the present generation of our family; and whose equal, in all respects, no future generation of it will probably produce. I often think what a joyful interview there has been between him and some of his friends who went before him. The truth of the matter is, my dear, they are happy ones, and we shall never be entirely so ourselves till we have joined the party. Can there be anything so worthy of our warmest wishes as to enter on an eternal, unchangeable state, in blessed fellowship and communion with those whose society we valued most, and for the best reasons, while they continued with us? A few steps more through a vain, foolish world, and this happiness will be yours. But I earnestly hope the end of thy journey is not near. For of all that live, thou art one whom I can least spare; for thou also art one who shall not leave thy equal behind thee."

The state of Cowper's mind at this period will be discovered by the following extract from a letter to his friend Mr. Bull, who appears to have solicited him for some original hymns, to be used by him probably on some public occasion. "Ask possibilities, and they shall be performed; but ask not hymns from a man suffering with despair as I do. I would not sing the Lord's song were it to save my life, banished as I am, not to a strange land, but to a remoteness from his presence, in comparison to which the distance from east to west is no distance—is vicinity and cohesion. I dare not, either in prose or verse, allow myself to express a frame of mind which I am conscious does not belong to me; least of all can I venture to use the language of absolute resignation, lest, only counterfeiting, I should, for that very reason, be taken strictly at my word, and lose all my remaining comfort. Can there not be found, among the translations of Madame Guion, somewhat that might serve the purpose? I should think there might. Submission to the will of Christ, my memory tells me, is a theme that pervades them all. If so, your request is performed already; and if any alteration in them should be necessary, I will, with all my heart, make it. I have no objection to giving the graces of a foreigner an English dress, but insuperable ones to all false pretences and affected exhibitions of what I do not feel."

Several of Cowper's correspondents, at this time, again strongly urged him to write a poem on the Slave Trade. The following extracts will show that he was unwilling to give a refusal, though he could by no means prevail upon himself to accede to their wishes. "Twice or thrice, before your request came, have I been solicited to write a poem on the cruel, odious, and disgusting subject of Negro Slavery. But besides that it would be in some sort treason against Homer to abandon him for any other matter, I felt myself so much hurt in my spirits the moment I entered on the contemplation of it, that I have at last determined, absolutely, to have nothing more to do with it. There are some scenes of horror on which my imagination has dwelt not without some complacency; but then they are such scenes as God, not man, produces. In earthquakes, high winds, tempestuous seas, there is a grand as well as a terrible. But when man is tempted to disturb, there is such meanness in the design, and such cruelty in the execution, that I both hate and despise the whole operation, and feel it a degradation of poetry to employ her in the description of it. I hope, also, that the generality of my countrymen have more generosity in their nature than to want the fiddle of verse to go before them in the performance of an act to which they are invited by the loudest calls of humanity. I shall rejoice if your friend, influenced by what you told him of my present engagements shall waive his application to me for a poem on this revolting subject. I account myself honoured by his intention to solicit one, and it would give me pain to refuse him, which inevitably I shall be constrained to do. The more I have considered it, the more I have convinced myself that it is not a promising theme for verse, at least to me. General censure on the iniquity of the practice will avail nothing. The world has been overwhelmed with such remarks already, and to particularize all the horrors of it, were an employment for the mind, both of the poet and of his readers, of which they would necessarily soon grow weary. For my own part, I cannot contemplate the subject very nearly, without a degree of abhorrence that affects my spirits, and sinks them below the pitch requisite for success in verse. Lady Hesketh recommended it to me some months since, and then I declined it for those reasons, and for others which I need not now mention."

The close attention that Cowper found it necessary to pay to his Homer, left him, at this period, but little time for any other engagement. Adverting to this, he thus writes to Mr. Newton:—"It is a comfort to me that you are so kind as to make allowance for me, in consequence of my being so busy a man. The truth is, that could I write with both hands, and with both at the same time,—verse with one, and prose with the other,—I should not, even so, be able to despatch both my poety and my arrears of correspondence faster than I have need. The only opportunities that I can find for conversing with distant friends are in the early hour, (and that sometimes reduced to half a one,) before breakfast. Neither am I exempt from hinderances, which, while they last, are insurmountable, especially one, by which I have been occasionally a sufferer all my life—an inflammation of the eyes; which has often disabled me from all sorts of scribbling. When I tell you that an unanswered letter troubles my conscience, in some degree, like a crime, you will think me endued with a most heroic patience, who have so long submitted to that trouble on account of yours, not answered yet. But the truth is, that I have been much engaged. Homer, you know, affords me constant employment, besides which I have rather, what may be called,—considering the privacy in which I have long lived,—a numerous correspondence: to one of my friends in particular, a near and much beloved relation, I write weekly, and sometimes twice in the week; nor are these my only excuses; the sudden changes of the weather have much affected me, and have often made me wholly incapable of writing."

The summer of 1788 was remarkably hot and dry, and to show the manner in which it affected Cowper's mind we give the following extract from a letter to one of his correspondents:—"It has pleased God to give us rain, without which, this part of the country at least, must soon have become a desert. The goodness and power of God are never, (I believe,) so universally acknowledged as at the end of a long drought. Man is naturally a self-sufficient animal, and in all concerns that seem to be within the sphere of his own ability, thinks little, or not at all, of the need he always has of protection and furtherance from above. But he is sensible that the clouds will not assemble at *his* bidding, and that though they do assemble, they will not fall in showers, because *he* commands them. When, therefore, at last the blessing descends, you shall hear, even in the streets, the most irreligious and thoughtless with one voice exclaim,—Thank God! Confessing themselves indebted to his power, and willing, at least as far as words go, to give Him the glory. I can hardly doubt, therefore, that the earth is sometimes parched, and the crops endangered, in order that the multitude may not want a memento to whom they owe them; nor absolutely forget the power on which we all depend for all things. The summer is leaving us at a rapid rate, as indeed do all the seasons, and though I have marked their flight often, I know not which is the swiftest. Man is never so deluded as when he dreams of his own duration. The answer of the old patriarch to Pharaoh may be adopted by every man at the close of the longest life.—'Few and evil have been the days of the years of my pilgrimage.' Whether we look back from fifty, or from twice fifty, the past appears equally a dream;' and we can only be said truly to have lived, while we have been profitably employed. Alas, then! making the necessary deductions, how short is life! Were men in general to save themselves all the steps they take to no purpose, or to a bad one, what numbers, who are now active and thoughtless, would become sedentary and serious."

In the latter part of July, 1788, Mr. and Mrs. Newton paid Cowper a visit at Weston; and the pleasure it afforded him, will, with the state of his mind on the occasion, be seen by the following extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Newton, after his return.—"I rejoice that you and yours reached London safe, especially when I reflect that you performed your journey on a day so fatal, as I understand, to others travelling the same road. I found those comforts in your visit which have formerly sweetened all our interviews, in part restored. I knew you, knew you for the same shepherd who was sent to lead me out of the wilderness into the pasture, where the Chief Shepherd feeds his flock, and felt my sentiments of affectionate friendship for you the same as ever. But one thing was still wanting, and that thing the crown of all. I shall find it in God's time if it be not lost for ever. When I say this, I say it trembling: for at what time soever comfort may come, it will not come without its attendant evil: and whatever good things may occur in the interval, I have sad forebodings of the event, having learned by experience that I was born to be persecuted with peculiar fury, and assured by believing, that such as my lot has been, it will be to the end. This belief is connected in my mind with an observation I have often made, and is, perhaps, founded in great part upon it,—that there is a certain *style* of dispensations maintained by Providence, in the dealings of God with every man, which, however the incidents of his life may vary, and though he may be thrown into different situations, is never exchanged for another. The style of dispensation peculiar to myself has hitherto been that of sudden, violent, unlooked-for change. When I have thought myself falling into the abyss, I have been caught up again; when I have thought myself on the threshold of a happy eternity, I have been thrust down to hell. The rough and the smooth of such a lot, taken together, should perhaps, have taught me never to despair; but through an unhappy propensity in my nature to forbode the worst, they have, on the contrary, operated as an admonition to me, never to hope. A firm persuasion that I can never durably enjoy a comfortable state of mind, but must be depressed in proportion as I have been elevated, withers my joys in the bud, and, in a manner, entombs them before they are born: for I have no expectation but of sad vicissitude, and ever believe that the last shock of all will be fatal."

It might be supposed, from the gloomy state of Cowper's mind, as described by his letters, that no person could feel any real enjoyment in his society, and that his friends who visited him, did so, not so much for their own sake as for his. The fact, however, was, that all who had once been favoured with his company, were particularly anxious to enjoy it again; for though he was never what might be termed brilliant in conversation, yet he was always interesting; and his amiable, polite, and unaffected manners, associated with his rich intellectual acquirements, which he had the happy talent of displaying, in a manner perfectly unobtrusive, made him the charm of the social circle. His anxiety to promote the happiness of those with whom he might happen to be associated, gave to his conversation an air of cheerfulness, and sometimes even of sprightliness and vivacity, altogether different to that which generally pervaded his correspondence: and the same amiable solicitude for the welfare of others, caused him sometimes to write to his correspondents, in a style the most playful and agreeable. Of this we have an instance, in a letter to Mrs. King, written about this time.—"You express some degree of wonder that I found you out to be sedentary, at least, much a stayer within doors, without any sufficient data for my direction. Now, if I should guess your figure and stature with equal success, you will deem me not only a poet, but a conjuror. Yet, in fact, I have no pretensions of that sort. I have only formed a picture of you in my own imagination, as we ever do of a person of whom we think much, but whom we have never seen. Your height, I conceive, to be about five feet five inches, which, though it would make a short man, is yet height enough for a woman. If you insist on an inch or two more, I have no objection. You are not very fat, but somewhat inclined to be so, and unless you allow yourself a little more air and exercise, will incur some danger of exceeding your present dimensions before you die. Let me, therefore, once more recommend to you, to walk a little more, at least in your garden, and to amuse yourself with pulling up here and there a weed, for it will be an inconvenience to you to be much fatter than you are, especially when your strength will be naturally on the decline. I have given you a fair complexion, a slight tinge of the rose on your cheeks, dark brown hair, and, if the fashion would give you leave to show it, an open and well-formed forehead. To all this I add a pair of eyes not quite black, but approaching nearly to that hue, and very animated. I have not absolutely determined on the shape of your nose, or the form of your mouth, but should you tell me that I have in other respects drawn a tolerable likeness, have no doubt but I can describe them too. I assure you that though I have a great desire to read Lavater, I have never seen his volumes, nor have I availed myself in the least of any of his rules on this occasion. Ah, Madam! if with all this sensibility of yours, which exposes you to so much sorrow, and necessarily must expose you to it in a world like this, I have had the good fortune to make you smile, I have then painted you, whether with a strong resemblance, or with none at all, to very good purpose."

During the time that Mr. and Mrs. Newton were on their visit at Weston, Cowper's friend, Mr. Samuel Rose, arrived there also. Cowper was highly pleased with this circumstance, as it served to enliven his social circle, and afforded him an opportunity to introduce his young friend to Mr. Newton, whose advice and influence, might probably be of considerable advantage to him at a future period. To a person, easily diverted from his purpose, the company of friends whom he so highly esteemed, would have been thought a sufficient excuse for the suspension of every literary engagement. Cowper, however, laboured indefatigably at his translation, and instead of laying it aside because of his friend's visits, he gladly availed himself of their advice and assistance. We learn from the following remarks, extracted from a letter to his cousin, written about this time, that Cowper would not allow his friend Rose to pay him an idle visit;—"My dear cousin, the Newtons are still here, and will continue with us, I believe, till the 15th of the month. Here is also my friend, Mr. Rose, a valuable young man, who attracted by the effluvia of my genius, found me out in my retirement last January twelvemonth. I have not permitted him to be idle, but have made him transcribe for me the twelfth book of the Iliad. He brings me the compliments of several of the literati, with whom he is acquainted in town; and tells me that from Dr. Maclain, whom he saw lately, he learns that my book is in the hands of sixty different persons at the Hague, who are all enchanted with it; not forgetting the said Dr. Maclain himself, who tells him that he reads it every day, and is always the better for it. I desire to be thankful for this encouraging information, and am willing to ascribe it to its only legimate cause, the blessing of God upon my feeble efforts."

Shortly after Mr. Rose, and Mr. and Mrs. Newton, left Weston, the vacuum which the absence of their agreeable company made in Cowper's enjoyments, was supplied by the arrival of his cousin, Lady Hesketh, whose cheerful conversation contributed greatly to his comfort, and who diminished much of the labour of his translation by transcribing the manuscript, so that a fair copy might be forwarded to the printer's. In September, 1788, he finished the Iliad, and thus describes his feelings on the occasion, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Rose:—"The day on which you shall receive this, I beg you will remember to drink one glass at least, to the success of the Iliad, which I finished the day before yesterday, and yesterday began the Odyssey. It will be some time before I shall perceive myself travelling in another road; the objects around me are at present so much the same, Olympus and a council of gods meet me at my first entrance. To tell you the truth, I am weary of heroes and deities, and, with reverence be it spoken, shall be glad for variety's sake to change their company for that of a Cyclops."

Cowper's time was now so much employed, in his translation, that he had but little opportunity for keeping up his correspondence, and the letters he wrote at this period, abound with apologies for his apparent neglect. He still, however, found time to advert to passing events, sufficiently to prove that the best of his mind remained decidedly serious. To Mrs. King he thus writes:—"Mrs. Battison, your late relative at Bedford, being dead, I was afraid you would have no more calls there; but the marriage so near at hand, of the young lady you mention, with a gentleman of that place, gives me hope again, that you may occasionally approach us, as heretofore; and that on some of those occasions you will perhaps find your way to Weston. The deaths of some and the marriages of others, make a new world of it every thirty years. Within that space of time, the majority are displaced and a new generation has succeeded. Here and there one is permitted to stay a little longer, that there may not be wanting a few grave dons like myself, to make the observation. The thought struck me very forcibly the other day, on reading a paper which came hither in the package of some books from London. It contained news from Hertfordshire, and informed me, among other things, that at Great Berkhamstead, the place of my birth, there is hardly a family left of all those with whom, in my early days, I was so familiar. The houses, no doubt remain, but the greater part of their former inhabitants are now to be found by their gravestones. And it is certain that I might pass through a town in which I was once a sort of principal figure, unknowing and unknown. They are happy who have not taken up their rest in a world fluctuating as the sea, and passing away with the rapidity of a river. I wish from my heart, that you and Mr. King, may long continue, as you have already long continued, exceptions from the general truth of this remark."

Lady Hesketh remained at Weston through the greater part of the winter of 1788–9, and contributed much to revive Cowper's drooping spirits, and to cheer and animate him in his important undertaking; which seemed to engage more of his time the nearer it approached to a finish. The close attention which he found it indispensably necessary to bestow upon it, compelled him almost entirely to relinquish his correspondence. And, as a letter from him was esteemed a treasure by all his friends, many of whom began to make complaints of being neglected, he was often compelled, in those he did write, to advert to these complaints. We find him thus excusing himself for his apparent neglect:—"The post brings me no letters that do not grumble at my silence. Had not you, therefore, taken me to task as roundly as others, I should perhaps, have concluded that you were more indifferent to my epistles than the rest of my correspondents; of whom one says: 'I shall be glad when you have finished Homer; then possibly you will find a little leisure for an old friend.' Another says, 'I don't choose to be neglected, unless you equally neglect every one else.' Thus I hear of it with both ears, and shall till I appear in the shape of two great quarto volumes, the composition of which, I confess engrosses me to a degree that gives my friends, to whom I feel myself much obliged for their anxiety to hear from me, but too much reason to complain. Johnson told Mr. Martyn the truth, when he said I had nearly completed Homer, but your inference from that truth is not altogether so just as most of your conclusions are. Instead of finding myself the more at leisure, because my long labour draws to a close, I find myself the more occupied. As when a horse approaches the goal, he does not, unless he be jaded, slacken his pace, but quickens it: even so it fares with me. The end is in view; I seem almost to have reached the mark, and the nearness of it inspires me with fresh alacrity. But be it known to you that I have still two books of the Odyssey before me, and when they are finished, shall have almost the whole eight-and-forty to revise. Judge then, my dear Madam, if it is yet time for me to play or to gratify myself with scribbling to those I love. No, it is necessary that waking I should be all absorpt in Homer, and that sleeping I should dream of nothing else."

Busily engaged, however, as Cowper was with his translation, he found time to compose several short, but beautiful poems, on various subjects, as they happened to occur to his mind. These were eagerly sought after by his correspondents, and were forwarded to them respectively, as opportunities offered, accompanied generally with the poet's acknowledgements of their comparative insignificance, at least in his own esteem. Several of these productions were written to oblige his friends, for whom Cowper always had the highest regard, and whom he felt pleased on all occasions to accommodate; others were written at the request of strangers, whom he was not unwilling, when it lay fairly in his way, to oblige. On one occasion, the parish clerk of Northampton, applied to him for some verses, to be annexed to some bills of mortality, which he was accustomed to publish at Christmas. This singular incident, so illustrative of Cowper's real generosity, he relates in the following most interesting and sprightly manner:—"On Monday morning last, Sam brought me word that there was a man in the kitchen, who desired to speak with me. I ordered him in. A plain, decent, elderly-looking figure, made its appearance, and being desired to sit, spoke as follows: 'Sir, I am clerk of the parish of All Saints, in Northampton; brother of Mr. C. the upholsterer. It is customary for the person in my office to annex to a bill of mortality, which he publishes at Christmas, a copy of verses. You will do me a great favour, Sir, if you would furnish me with one.' To this I replied; Mr. C. you have several men of genius in your town, why have you not applied to some of them? There is a namesake of yours in particular, Mr. C. the statuary, who every body knows is a first rate maker of verses. He surely is the man, of all the world, for your purpose. 'Alas! Sir,' replied he, 'I have heretofore borrowed help from him, but he is a gentleman of so much reading, that the people of our town cannot understand him.' I confess I felt all the force of the compliment implied in this speech, and was almost ready to answer, perhaps, my good friend, they may find me unintelligible for the same reason. But on asking him whether he had walked over to Weston on purpose to implore the assistance of my muse, and on replying in the affirmative, I felt my mortified vanity a little consoled, and pitying the poor man's distress, which appeared to be considerable, promised to supply him. The wagon has accordingly gone this day to Northampton, loaded in part with my effusions in the mortuary style. A fig for poets who write epitaphs upon individuals, I have written one that serves *two hundred* persons."

On another occasion, Cowper thus writes to Mr. Hill, adverting to the numerous entreaties he sometimes received for the assistance of his muse. "My muse were a vixen, if she were not always ready to fly in obedience to your commands. But what can be done? I can write nothing in the few hours that remain to me of this day, that will be fit for your purpose; and, unless I could dispatch what I write by to-morrow's post, it would not reach you in time. I must add, too, that my friend the vicar of the next parish, engaged me the day before yesterday, to furnish him by next Sunday with a hymn to be sung on the occasion of his preaching to the children of the Sunday-school; of which hymn I have not yet produced a syllable. I am somewhat in the case of Lawyer Dowling, in Tom Jones; and could I split myself into as many poets as there are muses, I could find employment for them all."

These numerous engagements, however, did not prevent the poet from recording his sentiments respecting any circumstance that occurred which he thought deserving notice. About this time the following melancholy event happened, which drew from him lines expressive of his entire abhorrence of cruelty, by whomsoever perpetrated, and whether practised upon man or upon the lower order of animals. John A——, Esq., a young gentleman of large fortune, who was passionately fond of cock-fighting, came to his death in the following awful manner. He had a favourite cock, upon which he had won many large sums. The last bet he laid upon it he lost, which so enraged him, that he had the bird tied to a spit, and roasted alive, before a large fire. The screams of the suffering animal were so affecting, that some gentlemen who were present attempted to interfere, which so exasperated Mr. A——, that he seized the poker, and with the most furious vehemence declared that he would kill the first man who interfered; but in the midst of his passionate assertions, awful to relate, he fell down dead upon the spot. Cowper was so deeply affected by the circumstance, that he composed a poetic obituary on the occasion, which was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1789, from which we extract the following lines.

"This man (for since the howling wild
Disclaims him, man he must be styled)
Wanted no good below:
Gentle he was, if gentle birth
Could make him such, and he had worth,
If wealth can worth bestow.

Can such be cruel? such can be
Cruel as hell, and so was he;
A tyrant entertain'd
With barb'rous sports, whose fell delight
Was to encourage mortal fight,
'Twixt birds to battle trained.

One feathered champion he possessed,
His darling far beyond the rest,
Which never knew disgrace,
Nor e'er had fought, but he made flow
The life blood of his fiercest foe—
The Cæsar of his race,

It chanced, at last, when, on a day,
He pushed him to the desp'rate fray,
His courage droop'd, he fled;
The master stormed, the prize was lost,
And, instant, frantic at the cost,
He doom'd his favourite dead.

He seized him fast, and from the pit
Flew to the kitchen, snatch'd the spit,
And, Bring me cord, he cried;
The cord was brought, and at his word,
To that dire implement, the bird,
Alive, and struggling, tied.

The horrid sequel asks a veil,
And all the terrors of the tale
That can be, shall be sunk;
Led by the sufferer's screams aright,
His shock'd companions view the sight,
And him with pity, drunk.

All, suppliant, beg a milder fate,
For the old warrior at the grate:
He, deaf to pity's call,
Whirl'd round him, rapid as a wheel,
His culinary club of steel,
Death menacing on all.

But vengeance hung not far remote,
For while he stretched his clamorous throat,
And heaven and earth defied;
Big with a curse too closely pent,
That struggled vainly for a vent,
He totter'd, reel'd, and died.

'Tis not for us, with rash surmise,
To point the judgment of the skies;
But judgments plain as this,
That, sent for men's instruction, bring
A written label on their wing,
'Tis hard to read amiss."

It was Cowper's intention, after finishing his translation, to publish a third volume of original poems, which was to contain, in addition to a poem he intended to compose, similar to the Task, entitled "The Four Ages," all the minor unpublished productions of his pen. And it is deeply to be regretted that he was not permitted to carry this design into completion, as the interesting subject of the different stages of man's existence would have been admirably adapted for a complete developement of his poetic talents.

The readiness of Cowper to listen to any alterations in his productions, suggested by his correspondents, ought not to go unrecorded. To the Rev. Walter Bagot he thus writes. "My verses on the Queen's visit to London, either have been printed, or soon will be in the world. The finishing to which you objected I have altered, and have substituted two new stanzas in the room of it. Two others also I have struck out, another friend having objected to them. I think I am a very tractable sort of a poet. Most of my fraternity would as soon shorten the noses of their children because they were said to be too long, as thus dock their compositions, in compliance with the opinions of others. I beg that when my life shall be written hereafter, my authorship's ductibility of temper may not be forgotten."

CHAPTER XIV.

Mrs. Unwin much injured by a fall—Cowper's anxiety respecting her—Continues incessantly engaged in his Homer—Expresses regret that it should, in some measure, have suspended his correspondence with his friends—Revises a small volume of poems for children—State of his mind—Receives, as a present from Mrs. Bodham, a portrait of his mother—Feelings on the occasion—Interesting description of her character—His affectionate attachment to her—Translates a series of Latin letters from a Dutch minister of the Gospel—Continuance of his depression—Is attacked with a nervous fever—Completion of his translation—Death of Mrs. Newton—His reflections on the occasion—Again revises his Homer—His unalterable attachment to religion.

In the commencement of 1789, a circumstance occurred, which occasioned Cowper considerable uneasiness. Mrs. Unwin, his amiable inmate, and faithful companion, received so severe an injury by a fall, which she got when walking on a gravel path, covered with ice, that she was confined to her room for several weeks. Though she neither dislocated any joint, nor broke any bones, yet such was the effect of the fall, that it crippled her completely, and rendered her as incapable of assisting herself as a child. It happened providentially, that Lady Hesketh was at Weston, when this painful event occurred. By her kind attention to Mrs. Unwin, and her no less tender care over her esteemed relative, lest his mind should be too deeply affected by this afflicting occurrence, she contributed greatly to the recovery of the former, and to the support of the latter. It was, however, several weeks before Mrs. Unwin recovered her strength sufficiently to attend to her domestic concerns. Her progress too, when she began to amend, was so slow, as to be almost imperceptible, and her lengthened affliction, notwithstanding the precautionary measures adopted by herself, and by Lady Hesketh to prevent it, tended, in a great degree, to depress the mind of Cowper.

Early in the ensuing spring, Lady Hesketh was compelled to return to town. Mrs. Unwin had not then wholly recovered her strength; she was, however, so far convalescent, as to resume the management of her domestic concerns, and to pay the same kind attention to the poet's comfort as had distinguished all her former conduct towards him. The greater part of the year 1789, Cowper was incessantly engaged, principally in translating Homer; but occasionally, and indeed frequently, in composing original poems for the gratification of his friends, or in the more difficult employment of revising the productions of less gifted poets. The few letters he wrote at this time abound with apologies for his seeming negligence, and with descriptions of the manner in which he employed his time. To one of his correspondents he thus writes: "I know that you are too reasonable a man to expect anything like punctuality of correspondence from a translator of Homer, especially from one who is a doer also of many other things at the same time; for I labour hard, not only to acquire a little fame for myself, but to win it for others, men of whom I know nothing, not even their names, who send me their poetry, that by translating it out of prose into verse, I may make it more like poetry than it was. I begin to perceive that if a man will be an author, he must live neither to himself nor to his friends so much as to others whom he never saw nor shall see. I feel myself in no small degree unworthy of the kind solicitude which you express concerning me and my welfare, after a silence so much longer than you had reason to expect. I should indeed account myself inexcusable, had I not to allege in my defence, perpetual engagements of such a kind as could by no means be dispensed with. Had Homer alone been in question, Homer should have made room for you; but I have had other work in hand at the same time, equally pressing and more laborious. Let it suffice to say, that I have not wilfully neglected you for a moment, and that you have never been out of my thoughts a day together. Having heard all this, you will feel yourself disposed not only to pardon my long silence, but to pity me for the causes of it. You may, if you please, believe likewise, for it is true, that I have a faculty of remembering my friends even when I do not write to them, and of loving them not one jot the less, though I leave them to starve for want of a letter from me."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, 16th August, 1789, Cowper thus describes the situation in which he was then placed, and the state of his mind at the time: "Mrs. Newton and you are both kind and just in believing that I do not love you the less when I am long silent; perhaps a friend of mine who wishes to be always in my thoughts, is never so effectually possessed of the accomplishment of that wish, as when I have been long his debtor; for *then* I think of him, not only every day, but day and night; and indeed all day long. But I confess at the same time that my thoughts of you will be more pleasant to myself, when I shall have exonerated my conscience by giving you the letter, so long your due. Therefore, here it comes,—little worth your having, but payment such as it is, that you have a right to expect, and that is essential to my own tranquillity. That the Iliad and the Odyssey should have proved the occasion of my suspending my correspondence with you, is a proof how little we see the consequences of what we publish. Homer, I dare say, hardly at all suspected, that at the fag end of time, two personages would appear, one ycleped, Sir Newton, and the other Sir Cowper, who loving each other heartily, would nevertheless suffer the pains of an interrupted intercourse,—his poems the cause. So, however, it has happened; and though it would not, I suppose, extort from the old bard a single sigh, if he knew it, yet to me it suggests the serious reflection above mentioned. An author by profession had need narrowly to watch his pen, lest a line should escape it, which by possibility may do mischief, when he has been long dead and buried. What we have done when we have written a book, will never be known till the day of judgment: then the account will be liquidated, and all the good that it has occasioned, and all the evil, will witness, either for or against us. I am now in the last book of the Odyssey, yet have still I suppose, half a year's work before me. The accurate revisal of two such voluminous poems can hardly cost me less. I rejoice, however, that the goal is in prospect; for though it has cost me years to run this race, it is only now that I begin to have a glimpse of its termination. That I shall never receive any proportionable pecuniary recompense for my long labours, is pretty certain; and as to any fame that I may possibly gain by it, that is a commodity that daily sinks in value, in measure as the consummation of all things approaches. In the day when the lion shall dandle the kid, and a little child shall lead them, the world will have lost all relish for the fabulous legends of antiquity, and Homer and his translator may budge off the stage together."

Some months afterwards, to the same correspondent Cowper thus writes: "On this fine first of December, under an unclouded sky, and in a room full of sunshine, I address myself to the payment of a debt, long in arrear, but never forgotten by me, however I may have seemed to forget it. I will not waste time in apologies; I have but one, and that one will suggest itself unmentioned. I will only add that you are the first to whom I write, of several to whom I have not written many months, who all have claims upon me; and who, I flatter myself, are all grumbling at my silence. In your case, perhaps I have been less anxious than in the case of some others; because, if you have not heard from myself, you have heard from Mrs. Unwin. From her you have learned that I live, that I am as well as usual, and that I translate Homer: three short items, but in which is comprised the whole detail of my present history. Thus I fared when you were here; thus I have fared ever since you were here; and thus, if it please God, I shall continue to fare for some time longer: for, though the work is done, it is not finished; a riddle which you, who are a brother of the press, will solve easily. I have been the less anxious on your behalf, because I have had frequent opportunities to hear from you; and have always heard that you are in good health, and happy. Of Mrs. Newton too, I have heard more favourable accounts of late, which has given us both the sincerest pleasure. Mrs. Unwin's case is, at present, my only subject of uneasiness, that is not immediately personal, and properly my own. She has almost constant head-aches; almost a constant pain in her side, which nobody understands; and her lameness, within the last half year, is very little amended. But her spirits are good, because supported by comforts which depend not on the state of the body; and I do not know that with all her pain, her appearance is at all altered, since we had the happiness to see you here, unless indeed it be altered a little for the better. I have thus given you as circumstantial an account of ourselves as I could: the most interesting matter, I verily believe, with which I could have filled my paper, unless I could have made spiritual mercies to myself the subject. In my next perhaps I shall find time to bestow a few lines on what is doing in France, and the Austrian Netherlands; though, to say the truth, I am much better qualified to write an essay on the seige of Troy, than to descant on any of these modern revolutions. I question if, in either of the countries just mentioned, full of bustle and tumult as they are, there be a single character, whom Homer, were he living, would deign to make his hero. The populace are the heroes now, and the stuff of which gentlemen heroes are made, seems to be all expended."

The year 1790, found Cowper still indefatigably engaged in preparing his translation for the press. In a letter to Mrs. King, 4th January, he thus writes: "Your long silence has occasioned me a thousand anxious thoughts about you. So long it has been, that whether I now write to a Mrs. King at present on earth, or already in heaven, I know not. I have friends whose silence troubles me less, though I have known them longer; because, if I hear not from themselves, I yet hear from others, that they are still living, and likely to live. But if your letters cease to bring me news of your welfare, from whom can I gain the desirable intelligence? The birds of the air will not bring it, and third person there is none between us by whom it might be conveyed. Nothing is plain to me in this subject, but that either you are dead, or very much indisposed, or which would perhaps affect me with as deep a concern, though of a different kind, very much offended. The latter of those suppositions I think the least probable, conscious as I am of an habitual desire to offend nobody, especially a lady, and a lady too who has laid me under so many obligations. But all the three solutions above mentioned are very uncomfortable; and if you live, and can send me one that will cause me less pain than either of them, I conjure you by the charity and benevolence which I know influence you on all occasions, to communicate it without delay. It is possible, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, that you are not become perfectly indifferent to me, and to what concerns me. I will therefore add a word or two on the subject which once interested you, and which is, for that reason, worthy to be mentioned, though truly for no other. I am well, and have been so (uneasiness on your part excepted) both in mind and body ever since I wrote to you last. I have still the same employment; Homer in the morning, and Homer in the evening, as constant as the day goes round. In the spring I hope to send the Iliad and the Odyssey to the press. So much for me and my occupations."

It would scarcely be supposed that a person performing such an Herculean task as that of translating Homer, would have troubled himself to compose, or even to revise, a volume of hymns for children. The following extract, however, will show that, anxious as Cowper was to finish his Homer, he could nevertheless, allow his attention to be, in a great measure, diverted from it, at least for a time, when he thought he could employ his talents usefully. "I have long been silent, but you have had the charity, I hope, and believe, not to ascribe my silence to a wrong cause. The truth is, I have been too busy to write to any body, having been obliged to give my early mornings to the revisal and correction of a little volume of hymns for children, written, by I know not whom; this task I finished yesterday, and while it was in hand, wrote only to my cousin, and to her rarely. From her, however, I knew that you would hear of my well being, which made me less anxious about my debts to you than I could have been otherwise. The winter has been mild; but our winters are in general such, that when a friend leaves us in the beginning of that season, I always feel in my heart a *perhaps*, importing that we may possibly have met for the last time, and that the robins may whistle on the grave of one of us before the return of summer. Though I have been employed as described above, I am still thrumming Homer's lyre; that is to say, I am still employed in my last revisal; and to give you some idea of the intenseness of my toils, I will inform you that it cost me all the morning yesterday, and all the evening, to translate a single simile to my mind. The transitions from one member of the subject to another, though easy and natural in the Greek, turn out often so intolerably awkward in an English version, that almost endless labour, and no little address, are requisite to give them grace and elegance. The under parts of the poem, (those, I mean, which are merely narrative,) I find the most difficult.—These can only be supported by the diction, and on these, for that reason, I have bestowed the most abundant labour. Fine similies, and fine speeches, are more likely to take care of themselves; but the exact process of slaying a sheep and dressing it, is not so easy in our language, and in our measure to dignify. But I shall have the comfort, as I before said, to reflect, that whatever may be hereafter laid to my charge, the sin of idleness will not,—justly, at least it never will. In the mean time, I must be allowed to say, that not to fall short of the original in everything, is impossible. I thank you for your German clavis, which has been of considerable use to me; I am indebted to it for a right understanding of the manner in which Achilles prepared pork, mutton, and goats' flesh, for the entertainment of his friends, on the night when they came deputed by Agamemnon to negotiate a reconciliation. A passage of which nobody in the world is perfectly master, myself only, and Schaulfelbergerus excepted, nor ever was, except when Greek was a living language."

About this time, Mrs. King appears to have been informed that it was Cowper's intention to leave Weston, and that Mrs. Unwin had been making inquiries after a house at Huntingdon. Adverting to this report, in a letter to that lady, he thus writes:—"The report that informed you of inquiries made by Mrs. Unwin, after a house at Huntingdon, was unfounded. We have no thought of quitting Weston, unless the same Providence that led us hither should lead us away. It is a situation the most eligible, perfectly agreeable to us both, and to me in particular, who write much, and walk much, and, consequently, love silence and retirement. If it has a fault, it is, that it seems to threaten us with a certainty of never seeing you. But may we not hope that when a milder season shall have improved your health, we may yet, notwithstanding the distance, be favoured with Mr. King's and your company? A better season will likewise improve the roads, and exactly in proportion as it does so, will, in effect, lessen the interval between us. I know not if Mr. Martyn be a mathematician, but most probably he is a good one, and he can tell you that this is a proposition mathematically true, though rather paradoxical in appearance."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, 5 February, 1790, Cowper again plaintively describes the state of his mind.—"Your kind letter deserved a speedier answer, but you know my excuse, which were I to repeat always, my letters would resemble the fag end of a newspaper, where we always find the price of stocks, detailed with little or no variation. When January returns, you have your feelings concerning me, and such as prove the faithfulness of your friendship. I have mine also concerning myself, but they are of a cast different from yours. Yours have a mixture of sympathy and tender solicitude, which makes them, perhaps, not altogether unpleasant. Mine, on the contrary, are of an unmixed nature, and consist simply, and merely, of the most alarming apprehensions. Twice has that month returned upon me, accompanied by such horrors, as I have no reason to suppose ever made part of the experience of any other man. I, accordingly, look forward to it, and meet it with a dread not to be imagined. I number the nights as they pass, and in the morning bless myself that another night is gone, and no harm has happened. This may argue, perhaps, some imbecility of mind, and, indeed, no small degree of it; but it is natural, I believe, and so natural as to be necessary and unavoidable. I know that God is not governed by secondary causes, in any of his operations; and that, on the contrary, they are all so many agents, in his hand, which strike only when he bids them. I know, consequently, that one month is as dangerous to me as another; and that in the middle of summer, at noonday, and in the clear sunshine, I am, in reality, unless guarded by Him, as much exposed as when fast asleep at midnight, and mid-winter. But we are not always the wiser for our knowledge, and I can no more avail myself of mine, in this case, than if it were in the head of any other man, and not in my own. I have heard of bodily aches and ails, that have been particularly troublesome when the season returned in which the hurt that occasioned them was received. The mind, I believe, (with my own, however, I am sure it is so,) is liable to similar periodical affection. But February is come; January, my terror, is passed; and some shades of the gloom that attended his presence have passed with him. I look forward with a little cheerfulness to the buds and the leaves that will soon appear, and say to myself, till they turn yellow, I will make myself easy. The year *will* go round, and January *will* approach. I *shall* tremble again, and I know it; but in the meantime I will be as comfortable as I can. Thus, with respect to peace of mind, such as it is, that I enjoy. I subsist, as the poor are vulgarly said to do, from hand to mouth; and of a Christian, such us you once knew me, am, by a strange transformation, become an epicurean philosopher, bearing this motto on my mind,—*Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærere.*"

Towards the end of this month, Cowper received as a present, from Mrs. Bodham, a cousin of his, then residing in Norfolk, his mother's portrait. The following extracts will show the powerful impression which this circumstance made upon his tender mind:—"My dearest Rose,* whom I thought withered and fallen from the stalk, but whom I find still alive: nothing could give me greater pleasure than to know it, and to learn it from yourself. I loved you dearly when you were a child, and love you not a jot the less for having ceased to be so. Every creature that bears any affinity to my mother is dear to me, and you, the daughter of her brother, are but one remove distant from her. I love you, therefore, and love you much, both for her sake, and for your own. The world could not have furnished you with a present so acceptable to me as the picture you have so kindly sent me. I received it the night before last, and received it with a trepidation of nerves and spirits, somewhat akin to what I should have felt had the dear original presented herself to my embraces. I kissed it, and hung it where it is the last object that I see at night, and, of course, the first that I open my eyes upon in the morning. She died when I had completed my sixth year, yet I remember her well, and am an ocular witness of the great fidelity of the copy. I remember too, a multitude of the maternal tendernesses which I received from her, and which have endeared her memory to me beyond expression. There is, I believe, in me, more of the Donne than of the Cowper, and though I love all of both names, and have a thousand reasons to love those of my own name, yet I feel the bond of nature draw me vehemently to your side. I was thought. in the days of my childhood, much to resemble my mother, and in my natural temper, of which, at the age of fifty-eight, I must be supposed a competent judge, can trace both her, and my late uncle, your father. Somewhat of his irritability, and a little. I would hope, both of his, and of her ——, I know not what to call it, without seeming to praise myself, which is not my intention; but speaking to *you*, I will even speak out, and say *good nature*. Add to all this, I deal much in poetry, as did our venerable ancestor, the Dean of St. Paul's, and I think I shall have proved myself a Donne at all points. The truth is, whatever I am, and wherever I am, I love you all."

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* Mrs. Bobham's name is Anne, but Cowper always called her *Rose*, when a child, and was aware that she would remember his doing so.

To Lady Hesketh he thus adverts to the circumstance.—"I am delighted with Mrs. Bodham's kindness in giving me the only picture of my mother that is to be found, I suppose, in all the world. I had rather possess it than the richest jewel in the British crown, for I loved her with an affection, that her death, fifty years since, has not in the least abated. I remember her too, young as I was when she died, well enough to know that it is a very exact resemblance of her, and as such it is to me invaluable. Everybody loved her, and with an amiable character so impressed on all her features, everybody was sure to do so."

To John Johnson, Esq., 28th February, 1790, he thus records his feelings on this occasion. "I was never more pleased in my life than to learn, and to learn from herself, that my dearest Rose is still alive. Had she not engaged me to love her by the sweetness of her character when a child, she would have done it effectually now, by making me the most acceptable present in the world, my own dear mother's picture. I am perhaps the only person living who remembers her, but remember her well, and can attest on my own knowledge, the truth of the resemblance. Amiable and elegant as the countenance is, such exactly was her own; she was one of the tenderest parents, and so just a copy of her, is therefore to me invaluable. I wrote yesterday to my Rose, to tell her all this, and to thank her for her kindness in sending it! Neither do I forget your kindness, who intimated to her that I should be happy to possess it. She invites me into Norfolk, but alas! she might as well invite the house in which I dwell: for, all other considerations and impediments apart, how is it possible that a translator of Homer should lumber to such a distance. But though I cannot comply with her kind invitation, I have made myself the best amends in my power, by inviting her, and all the family of Donnes, to Weston." To Mrs. King, on the same interesting occasion, he writes: "I have lately received from a female cousin of mine in Norfolk, whom I have not seen these five-and-twenty years, a picture of my own mother. She died when I wanted two days of being six years old; yet I remember her perfectly, find the picture a strong resemblance of her, and because her memory has been ever precious to me, I have written a poem on the receipt of it; a poem which, one excepted, I had more pleasure in writing than any that I ever wrote. That one was addressed to a lady whom I expect in a few minutes to come down to breakfast, and who has supplied to me the place of my own mother—my own invaluable mother, these six-and-twenty years. Some sons may be said to have had many fathers, but a plurality of mothers is not common."

In May of this year, 1790, Cowper thus describes the manner in which he was employed. "I am still at my old sport—Homer all the morning, and Homer all the evening. Thus have I been held in constant employment, I know not exactly how many, but I believe these six years, an interval of eight months excepted. It is now become so familiar to me to take Homer from my shelf at a certain hour, that I shall, no doubt, continue to take him from my shelf at the same time, even after I have ceased to want him. That period is not far distant. I am now giving the last touches to a work, which had I foreseen the difficulty of it, I should never have meddled with; but which, having at length nearly finished it to my mind, I shall discontinue with regret."

Perhaps no one was ever better qualified to give sound and judicious advice to persons in various conditions in life than Cowper, and no one certainly ever gave it more cheerfully, or in a manner more perfectly unassuming. An instance of this occurred in a letter which he wrote in June of this year, to his cousin, John Johnson, Esq., who was then pursuing his studies at Cambridge, who had recently been introduced to him, and for whom he entertained the most affectionate regard. "You never pleased me more than when you told me you had abandoned your mathematical pursuits. It grieved me to think that you were wasting your time merely to gain a little Cambridge fame; not scarcely worth your having. I cannot be contented that your renown should thrive nowhere but on the banks of the Cam. Conceive a nobler ambition, and never let your honour be circumscribed by the paltry dimensions of a University. It is well that you have already, as you observe, acquired sufficient information in that science to enable you to pass creditably such examinations as I suppose you must hereafter undergo. Keep what you have gotten, and be content: more is needless. You could not apply to a worse than I am to advise you concerning your studies. I was never a regular student myself, but lost the most valuable part of my life in an attorney's office, and in the Temple. I will not therefore give myself airs, and affect to know what I know not. The affair is of great importance to you, and you should be directed by a wiser than I. To speak, however, in very general terms on the subject, it seems to me that your chief concern is with history, natural philosophy, logic, and divinity; as to metaphysics, I know but little about them. But the very little I do know has not taught me to admire them. Life is too short to afford time even for serious trifles; pursue what you know to be attainable; make *truth* your object, and your studies will make you a wise man."

In the summer of 1790, much as Cowper's time was occupied in giving the finishing touch to his Homer, he nevertheless, at the suggestion of some friend, undertook to translate a series of Latin letters, received from a Dutch minister of the gospel, at the Cape of Good Hope. This occupation, though it left him but little time for writing to his numerous correspondents, afforded him considerable pleasure. There was a congeniality in it to the prevailing disposition of his mind, and in a letter to Mr. Newton, who requested him to publish these letters, he thus writes: "I have no objection at all to being known as the translator of Van Leer's letters, when they shall be published. Rather, I am ambitious of it as an honour. It will serve to prove that if I have spent much time to little purpose in the translation of Homer, some small portion of my time has, however, been well disposed of."

It will have been perceived, from the extracts we have already made, that Cowper's gloomy peculiarity of mind still prevailed, at least occasionally, to a painful extent. It is true, he adverts to it in his letters, at this time, less frequently than formerly; he introduces it, however, sufficiently often to show, that it had undergone no diminution, and that it was suppressed only by the intense application which his engagements required. The following extracts from his letters written towards the close of 1790, will describe the state of his mind in this respect, at that period. "I have singularities of which I believe, at present you know nothing; and which would fill you with wonder if you knew them. I will add, however, in justice to myself, that they would not lower me in your good opinion; though perhaps they might tempt you to question the soundness of my upper story. Almost twenty years have I been thus unhappily circumstanced; and the remedy is in the hands of God only. That I make you this partial communication on the subject, conscious at the same time that you are well worthy to be entrusted with the whole, is merely because the recital would be too long for a letter, and painful both to me and to you. But all this may vanish in a moment, and if it please God, it shall. In the mean time, my dear Madam, remember me in your prayers, and mention me at those times, as one whom it has pleased God to afflict with singular visitations. Twice I have been overwhelmed with the blackest despair; and at those times, everything in which I have been at any time of my life concerned, has afforded to the enemy a handle against me. I tremble, therefore, almost at every step I take, lest on some future similar occasion, it should yield him opportunity, and furnish him with means to torment me."

On another occasion he thus writes:—"A yellow shower of leaves is now continually falling from all the trees in the country. A few moments only seem to have passed since they were buds; and in a few moments more they will have disappeared! It is one advantage of a rural situation, that it affords many hints of the rapidity with which life flies, that do not occur in towns and cities. It is impossible for a man, conversant with such scenes as surround me, not to advert daily to the shortness of his existence here, admonished of it, as he must be, by ten thousand objects. There was a time when I could contemplate my present state, and consider myself as a thing of the day with pleasure; when I numbered the seasons, as they passed in swift rotation, as a schoolboy numbers the days that interpose between the next vacation, when he shall see his parents, and enjoy his home again. But to make so just an estimate of a life like this, is no longer in my power. The consideration of my short continuance here, which was once grateful to me, now fills me with regret. I would live, and live always, and am become such another wretch as Mæcenas was, who wished for long life—he cared not at what expense of sufferings. The only consolation left me on this subject is, that the voice of the Almighty can, in one moment, cure me of this mental infirmity. That He can, I know by experience; and there are reasons for which I ought to believe that he will. But from hope to despair is a transition that I have made so often, that I can only consider the hope that may come, and that sometimes I believe will, as a short prelude to joy, to a miserable conclusion of sorrow, that shall never end. Thus are my brightest prospects clouded; and thus, to me, is hope itself become like a withered flower, that has lost both its hue and its fragrance. I ought not to have written in this dismal strain to you, nor did I intend it; you have more need to be cheered than saddened; but a dearth of other themes constrained me to choose myself for a subject, and of myself I can write no otherwise."

Early in December, 1790, Cowper had a short but severe attack of that nervous fever to which he was very subject, and which he dreaded above all others, because it generally preceded a most severe paroxysm of melancholy. Happily, on this occasion, it lasted only for a short time; and in a letter to Mrs. King, dated the last day of the year, he thus records his feelings on the occasion:—"I have lately been visited with an indisposition much more formidable than that which I mentioned to you in my last—a nervous fever, a disorder to which I am subject, and which I dread above all others, because it comes attended by a melancholy perfectly insupportable. This is the first day of my complete recovery, the first in which I have perceived no symptoms of my terrible malady. I wish to be thankful to the Sovereign Dispenser both of health and of sickness, that, though I have felt cause enough to tremble, He gives me now encouragement to hope that I may dismiss my fears, and expect an escape from my depressive malady. The only drawback to the comfort I now feel, is the intelligence contained in yours, that neither Mr. King nor yourself are well. I dread always, both for my own health and for that of my friends, the unhappy influences of a year worn out. But, my dear Madam, this is the last day of it, and I resolve to hope that the new year shall obliterate all the disagreeables of the old one. I can wish nothing more warmly, than that it may prove a propitious year for you."

In the autumn of this year Cowper had sent his "Homer" to the press; and through the whole of the ensuing winter he was closely employed in correcting the proof-sheets, and making such alterations as he still thought desirable. The time which this consumed, and the indefatigable industry with which he engaged in it, will be seen by the following extracts:—"My poetical operations, I mean of the occasional kind, have lately been pretty much at a stand. I told you, I believe, in my last, that 'Homer,' in the present stage of the process, occupied me more intensely than ever. He still continues to do so, and threatens, till he shall be completely finished, to make all other composition impracticable. I am sick and ashamed of myself that I forgot my promise, but it is actually true that I did forget it. You, however, I did not forget; nor did I forget to wonder and be alarmed at your silence, being myself perfectly unconscious of my arrears. All this, together with various other trespasses of mine, must be set down to the account of Homer; and, wherever he is, he is bound to make his apology to all my correspondents, but to you in particular. True it is, that if Mrs. Unwin did not call me from that pursuit, I should forget, in the ardour with which I persevere in it, both to eat and to drink, if not to retire to rest! This zeal has increased in me regularly as I have proceeded, and in an exact ratio, as a mathematician would say, to the progress I have made towards the point at which I have been aiming. You will believe this, when I tell you that, not contented with my previous labours, I have actually revised the whole work, and have made a thousand alterations in it since it has been in the press. I have now, however, tolerably well satisfied myself at least, and trust that the printer and I shall trundle along merrily to the conclusion."

In the commencement of 1791, Cowper's long-tried friend, Mr. Newton, lost his wife. She died sometime in January, after many months' severe suffering, borne with exemplary fortitude and patience. She had always taken a lively interest in Cowper's welfare; and, when she resided at Olney, had frequently assisted Mrs. Unwin in the arduous duty of watching over the poet, during his painful mental depression. Her decease, therefore, was sure to affect him deeply; and the following extracts from his letters to Mr. Newton, on this trying occasion, will not fail to be interesting:—"Had you been a man of the world, I should have held myself bound, by the law of ceremonies, to have sent you long since my tribute of condolence. I have sincerely mourned with you; and though you have lost a wife, and I only a friend, yet do I understand too well the value of such a friend as Mrs. Newton, not to have sympathized with you very nearly. But you are not a man of the world; neither can you, who have the scripture, and the Giver of the scripture to console you, have any need of aid from others, or expect it from such spiritual imbecility as mine."

"It affords me sincere pleasure that you enjoy serenity of mind, after your great loss. It is well in all circumstances, even in the most afflictive, with those who have God for their comforter. You do me justice in giving entire credit to my expressions of friendship for you. No day passes in which I do not look back to the days that are fled, and consequently none in which I do not feel myself affectionately reminded of you, and of her whom you have lost for a season. I cannot even see Olney spire from any of the fields in the neighbourhood, much less can I enter the town, and still less the vicarage, without experiencing the force of those mementoes, and recollecting a multitude of passages to which you and yours were parties. The past would appear a dream, were the remembrance of it less affecting. It was, in the most important respects, so unlike my present moment, that I am sometimes almost tempted to suppose it a dream! But the difference between dreams and realities long since elapsed, seems to consist chiefly in this: that a dream, however painful or pleasant at the time, and perhaps for a few ensuing hours, passes like an arrow through the air, leaving no trace of its flight behind it; but our actual experiences make a lasting impression. We review those which interested us much when they occurred, with hardly less interest than in the first instance; and whether few years or many have intervened, our sensibility makes them still present—such a mere nullity is time, to a creature to whom God gives a feeling heart and the faculty of recollection."

In June, 1791, having completed his long and arduous undertaking—the translation of "Homer," he thus writes to Mr. Newton on the occasion:—"Considering the multiplicity of your engagements, and the importance, no doubt, of most of them, I am bound to set the higher value on your letters; and, instead of grumbling that they come so seldom, to be thankful to you that they come at all. You are now going into the country, where I presume you will have less to do; and I am rid of "Homer:" let us try, therefore, if in the interval between the present hour and the next busy season (for I too, if I live, shall probably be occupied again,) we can contrive to exchange letters more frequently than for some time past. You do justice to me, and to Mrs. Unwin, when you assure yourself that to hear of your health, will give us pleasure. I know not, in truth, whose health and well-being could give us more. The years that we have seen together will never be out of our remembrance; and, so long as we remember them, we must remember you with affection. In the pulpit, and out of the pulpit, you have laboured in every possible way to serve us; and we must have a short memory indeed for the kindness of a friend, could we by any means become forgetful of yours. It would grieve me more than it does, to hear you complain of the effects of time, were not I also myself the subject of them. While he is wearing out you and other dear friends of mine, he spares not me; for which I ought to account myself obliged to him, since I should otherwise be in danger of surviving all that I have ever loved—the most melancholy lot that can befal a mortal. God knows what will be my doom hereafter; but precious as life necessarily seems to a mind doubtful of its future happiness, I love not the world, I trust, so much, as to wish a place in it when all my beloved shall have left it. As to Homer, I am sensible that, except as an amusement, he was never worth my meddling with; but, as an amusement, he was to me invaluable. As such, he served me more than five years; and in that respect I know not, at present, where I shall find his equal. You oblige me by saying, that you will read him for my sake. I verily believe that any person of a spiritual turn may read him to some advantage. He may suggest reflections that may not be unserviceable, even in a sermon; for I know not where we can find more striking examples of the pride, the arrogance, and the insignificance of man; at the same time that, by ascribing all events to a divine interposition, he inculcates constantly the belief of a Providence; insists much on the duty of charity towards the poor and the stranger; on the respect that is due to superiors, and to our seniors in particular; and on the expedience and necessity of prayer and piety towards the gods; a piety mistaken indeed in its object, but exemplary for the punctuality of its performance.—Thousands who will not learn from scripture to ask a blessing, either on their actions or on their food, may learn it, if they please, from Homer."

It appears from the above extract that Cowper had no expectations of again seeing his Homer until it was actually before the public. Johnson, the publisher, however, unexpectedly to him, sent him an interleaved copy, and recommended him to revise it again before it was fully committed to the press. On this occasion, he thus writes to his friend Mr. Newton:—"I did not foresee, when I challenged you to a brisker correspondence, that a new engagement of all my leisure time was at hand,—a new, and yet an old one. An interleaved copy of my Homer arrived soon after from Johnson, in which he recommended it to me to make any alterations that might yet be expedient, with a view to another impression. The alterations that I make are, indeed, but few, and they are also short; not more, perhaps, than half a line in two thousand. But the lines are, I suppose, nearly forty thousand in all; and to revise them critically must consequently be a work of time and labour. I suspend it, however, for your sake, till the present sheet be filled, and that I may not seem to shrink from my own offer. Were I capable of envying, in the strict sense of the word, a good man, I should envy Mr. Venn, and Mr. Berridge, and yourself, who have spent, and while they last, will continue to spend, your lives in the service of the only Master worth serving; labouring always for the *souls* of men, and not to tickle their ears, as I do. But this I can say, God knows how much rather I would be the obscure tenant of a lath and plaster cottage, with a lively sense of my interest in a Redeemer, than the most admired object of public notice without it. Alas! what is a whole poem, even one of Homer's, compared with a single aspiration that finds its way immediately to God, though clothed in ordinary language, or perhaps, not articulated at all.—These are my sentiments as much as ever they were, though my days are all running to waste among Greeks and Trojans. The night cometh when no man can work; and if I am ordained to work to better purpose, that desirable period cannot be far distant. My day is beginning to shut in, as every man's must, who is on the verge of sixty."

CHAPTER XV.

Publication of his Homer—Anxiety respecting it—To whom dedicated—Benefits he had derived from it—Feels the want of employment—Prepares materials for a splendid edition of Milton's poetic works—Vindicates his character—Attempts of his friends to dissuade him from his new engagement—His replies—The commencement of his acquaintance with Mr. Hayley—Pleasure it afforded Mr. Hayley—Mrs. Unwin's first attack of paralysis—Manner in which it affected Cowper—Remarks on Milton's labours—Reply to Mr. Newton's letter for original composition—Continuance of his depression—First letter from Mr. Hayley—Unpleasant circumstances respecting it—Mr. Hayley's first visit to Weston—Kind manner in which he was received—Mrs. Unwin's second severe paralytic attack—Cowper's feelings on the occasion—Mr. Hayley's departure—Cowper's warm attachment to him—Reflections on the recent changes he had witnessed—Promises to visit Eartham—Makes preparations for the journey—Peculiarity of his feelings on the occasion.

On the 1st July, 1791, Cowper's Homer appeared.—After so many years of incessant toil, it was not to be expected that he would feel otherwise than anxious respecting the reception it met with from the public. He had laboured indefatigably to produce a faithful and free translation of the inimitable original, and he could not be indifferent to the result. To Mrs. King he thus writes on the occasion:—"My Homer is gone forth, and I can sincerely say,—joy go with it! What place it holds in the estimation of the generality I cannot tell, having heard no more about it since its publication than if no such work existed. I must except, however, an anonymous eulogium from some man of letters, which I received about a week ago. It was kind in a perfect stranger, as he avows himself to be, to relieve me in some degree, at least, at so early a day, from much of the anxiety that I could not but feel on such an occasion: I should be glad to know who he is, only that I might thank him."

Cowper, very properly, dedicated the Illiad to his noble relative Earl Cowper, and the Odyssey to the dowager Countess Spencer, whom, in one of his letters he thus describes:—"We had a visit on Monday from one of the first women in the world; I mean, in point of character and accomplishments,—the Dowager Lady Spencer! I may receive, perhaps, some honours hereafter, should my translation speed according to my wishes, and the pains I have taken with it; but shall never receive any that I esteem so highly; she is indeed, worthy, to whom I should dedicate, and may but my Odyssey prove as worthy of her, I shall have nothing to fear from the critics."

Whether it arose from the unreasonable expectations of the public, or from the utter impossibility of conveying all the graces and the beauties of these unrivalled poems, in a translation, it is certain that the volumes, when they appeared, did not give that satisfaction, either to the author, or to his readers, which had been anticipated. It would, perhaps, be difficult, if not impossible, to assign a better reason, for the imperfection of Cowper's translation, if imperfection it deserves to be called, than that mentioned by his justly admired biographer, Mr. Hayley.—"Homer is so exquisitely beautiful in his own language, and he has been so long an idol in every literary mind, that any copy of him, which the best of modern poets can execute, must probably resemble in its effect, the portrait of a graceful woman, painted by an excellent artist for her lover; the lover, indeed, will acknowledge great merit in the work, and think himself much indebted to the skill of such an artist, but he will never acknowledge, as in truth he never can feel, that the best of resemblances exhibits all the graces that he discerns in the beloved original. So fares it with the admirers of Homer; his very translators themselves, feel so perfectly the power of this predominant affection, that they gradually grow discontented with their own labour, however approved in the moment of its supposed completion. This was so remarkably the case with Cowper, that in process of time we shall see him employed upon what may almost be called his second translation, so great were the alterations he made in a deliberate revisal of the work, for a second edition. And in the preface to that edition, he has spoken of his own labour with the most frank and ingenuous veracity. Yet of the first edition it may, I think, be fairly said, that it accomplished more than any of his poetical predecessors had achieved before him. It made the nearest approach to that sweet majestic simplicity which forms one of the most attractive features in the great prince and father of poets."

If Cowper had derived no other benefit from his translation, than that of constant employment, for so long a time, when he stood so much in need of it, it would have been to him invaluable, as the best and most effectual remedy for that inordinate sensibility to which he was subject. Besides this, however, it procured him other advantages of paramount importance; it improved the general state of his health; it introduced him to a circle of literary friends, whom he would otherwise never have known, and who, when they once knew him, could not fail to feel affectionately interested in his welfare; it brought him into closer contact with those with whom he had previously been acquainted, by inducing him to avail himself of their kind offers and assistance in the transcribing way,[*] which to a mind like his could not fail to become a source of almost uninterrupted enjoyment; it established his reputation as a most accomplished scholar, and unquestionably ranked him among the highest class of poets.

A living writer has well remarked, that "to Cowper's translation of Homer, we are beholden, not only for the pleasure which a perusal will be sure to afford to reasonable and patient readers, but we may attribute to its happy possession of his mind all the beautiful and inimitable letters which appear in his correspondence, during the progress of that work. The toil of daily turning over the thoughts of the greatest of poets, in every form of English that his ingenuity could devise, occupied, for many years, that very portion of his time which, with a person of no profession, and having no stated duties to perform, lies heaviest upon the spirit. The salutary exercise of his morning studies made him relish with keener zest, the relaxation of his social hours, or those welcome opportunities of epistolary converse with the absent, in which it is evident that much of the little happiness allowed to him lay; he is never more at home, consequently never more amiable, sprightly, and entertaining, and even poetical, than in his correspondence, when he pours out all the treasures of his mind and the affections of his heart, upon the paper which is to be the speaking representative of himself to those he loves. It has often been regretted that instead of this labour in vain, as the translation of Homer has sometimes seemed to many, he had not spent an equal portion of time and talent on original composition. The regret is at least as much bestowed in vain, as was that labour, for there is no well-founded reason to suppose, from the momentary jeopardy in which he lived, of being plunged into sudden, irretrievable despondence, that if he had been otherwise employed, he could have maintained even that small share of health and cheerfulness which he enjoyed.

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[*] It is said that Broome assisted Pope very largely in his *translation* of Homer; but Cowper had no assistant in that way. All the Throckmorton family, Lady Hesketh, Mrs. Johnson, and many others, helped him as transcribers, and only as such.

It is not to be expected that a mind like Cowper's could remain for any lengthened period unemployed. Accustomed as he had long been to intense application, when he had completed his great work, he immediately felt the want of some other engagement. To a mind less active than his, replying to his correspondents, which had now become most extensive, would have been employment amply sufficient—especially as he was considerably in arrears with them, owing to his previous labours. This, however, was not enough for Cowper. He wanted something more worthy of his powers; something that required more vigour of thought, and demanded more severe application. Several of his friends again urged him for original composition, and in all probability they would have been successful, had he not, about this time, received a letter from his publisher, of whose judgment and integrity he had always entertained a high opinion, recommending him to prepare materials for a splendid edition of Milton. To this proposal Cowper immediately assented. He had always expressed himself delighted with Milton's poetry, and on one occasion, in a letter to his friend Mr. Unwin, had thus ventured to defend his character from the severe censures cast upon him by Johnson, in his "Lives of the Poets:"—"I have been well entertained with Johnson's biography, for which I thank you; with one exception, and that a swinging one, I think he has acquitted himself with his usual good sense and sufficiency. His treatment of Milton is unmerciful to the last degree. He has belaboured that great poet's character with the most industrious cruelty. As a man, he has hardly left him the shadow of one good quality. Churlishness in his private life, and a rancorous hatred of everything royal in his public, are the two colours with which he has smeared all the canvas. If he had any virtues, they are not to be found in the Doctor's picture of him, and it is well for Milton, that some sourness in his temper is the only vice, with which his memory has been charged; it is evident enough, that if his biographer could have discovered more, he would not have spared him. As a poet he has treated him with severity enough, and has plucked one or two of the most beautiful feathers out of his muse's wing, and trampled them under his great foot. He has passed sentence of condemnation upon Lycidas, and has taken occasion from that charming poem, to expose to ridicule (what is indeed ridiculous enough) the childish prattlings of pastoral compositions, as if Lycidas was the prototype and pattern of them all. The liveliness of the description, the sweetness of the numbers, the classical spirit of antiquity that prevails in it, go for nothing. I am convinced by the way, that he has no ear for poetical numbers, or that it was stopped by prejudice against the harmony of Milton's. Was there ever any thing so delightful as the music of the Paradise lost? It is like that of a fine organ; has the fullest and the deepest tones of majesty, with all the sofness and elegance of the Dorian flute. Variety without end, and never equalled, unless perhaps by Virgil. Yet the Doctor has little or nothing to say upon this copious theme, but talks something about the unfitness of the English language for blank-verse, and how apt it is, in the mouth of some readers, to degenerate into declamation."

Cowper had no sooner made up his mind on the subject of his new engagement, than he communicated it to his correspondents. To one he writes, "I am deep in a new literary engagement, being retained by my bookseller as editor of an intended most magnificent edition of Milton's Poetical Works. This will occupy me as much as Homer did, for a year or two to come; and when I have finished it, I shall have run through all the degrees of my profession, as author, translator, and editor. I know not that a fourth could be found; but if a fourth can be found, I dare say I shall find it. I am now translating Milton's Latin poems. I give them, as opportunity offers, all the variety of measures that I can. Some I render in heroic rhymes, some in stanzas, some in seven, some in eight syllable measure, and some in blank verse. They will altogether, I hope, make an agreeable miscellany for the English reader. They are certainly good in themselves, and cannot fail to please, but by the fault of their translator."

One of his most esteemed correspondents, the Rev. Walter Bagot, attempted to dissuade him from entering upon his new engagement, and urged him to publish in a third volume, what original pieces he had already composed, added to a translation of Milton's Latin and Italian poems. Had this plan been suggested to him earlier, he would, in all probability, have pursued it, as he thus writes to his friend on the subject. "As to Milton, the die is cast. I am engaged, have bargained with Johnson, and cannot recede. I should otherwise have been glad to do as you advise, to make the translation of his Latin and Italian poems, part of another volume, for with such an addition, I have nearly as much verse in my budget, as would be required for the purpose."

From some expressions in a letter to Rev. Mr. Hurdis, the author of The Village Curate, with whom Cowper had entered into a correspondence, a few months previous to this, and to whom he had written several most interesting letters; it would appear as if he entered upon his new engagement, rather precipitately, and without due consideration. "I am much obliged to you for wishing that I were employed in some original work, rather than in translation. To tell the truth, I am of your mind; and unless I could find another Homer, I shall promise (I believe) and vow, when I have done with Milton, never to translate again. But my veneration for our great countryman is equal to what I feel for the Grecian; and consequently I am happy, and feel myself honourably employed, whatever I do for Milton. I am now translating his *Epitaphium Damonis;* a pastoral, in my judgment, equal to any of Virgil's Bucolics, but of which Dr. Johnson (so it pleased him) speaks, as I remember, contemptuously. But he who never saw any beauty in a rural scene, was not likely to have much taste for a pastoral. *In pace quiescat!*"

Among other consequences resulting from his new undertaking, one of the most gratifying to himself was, its becoming the means of introducing him to an acquaintance with his esteemed friend, and future biographer, Mr. Hayley. This important event in Cowper's life,—so it afterwards proved,—is related with so much beauty and simplicity by Mr. Hayley, in his life of Cowper, and reflects a lustre so bright on both the biographer and the poet, that we cannot do better that give it in his own words. Mr. Hayley thus relates the circumstance. "As it is to Milton that I am in a great measure indebted for what I must ever regard as a signal blessing, the friendship of Cowper, the reader will pardon me for dwelling a little on the circumstances that produced it: circumstances which often lead me to repeat those sweet verses of my friend, on the casual origin of our valuable attachments."

"Mysterious are His ways whose power
Brings forth that unexpected hour,
When minds that never met before
Shall meet, unite, and part no more:
It is the allotment of the skies,
The hand of the supremely wise,
That guides and governs our affections,
And plans and orders our connections."

"These charming lines strike with peculiar force on my heart, when I recollect that it was an idle endeavour to make us enemies, which gave rise to our intimacy, and that I was providentially conducted to Weston at a season when my presence there afforded peculiar comfort to my affectionate friend, under the pressure of a very heavy domestic affliction which threatened to overwhelm his very tender spirits. The entreaty of many persons whom I wished to oblige, had engaged me to write a life of Milton, before I had the slightest suspicion that my work could interfere with the projects of any man; but I was soon surprised and concerned in hearing that I was represented in a newspaper as an antagonist of Cowper. I immediately wrote to him on the subject, and our correspondence soon endeared us to each other in no common degree. The series of his letters to me I value, not only as memorials of a most dear and honourable friendship, but as exquisite examples of epistolary excellence."

The above interesting extract will have informed the reader that Mr. Hayley paid Cowper a visit at Weston; this visit, however, so gratifying to both parties, did not take place till the beginning of May, 1792. In the December previous, Cowper met with one of the heaviest domestic calamities he had ever experienced. Mrs. Unwin, his affectionate companion who had watched over him, with so much tenderness and anxiety, for so many years, was suddenly attacked with strong symptoms of paralysis. In a letter to his friend, Mr. Rose, dated 21st December, 1791, Cowper thus relates this painful event:—"On Saturday last, while I was at my desk, near the window, and Mrs. Unwin at the fire-side opposite to it, I heard her suddenly exclaim, 'Oh! Mr. Cowper, don't let me fall!' I turned, and saw her actually falling, and started to her side just in time to prevent her. She was seized with a violent giddiness, which lasted, though with some abatement, the whole day, and was attended with some other very, very alarming symptoms. At present, however, she is relieved from the vertigo, and seems, in all respects, better. She has been my faithful and affectionate nurse for many years, and consequently has a claim on all my attentions. She has them, and will have them, as long as she wants them, which will probably be, at the least, a considerable time to come. I feel the shock, as you may suppose, in every nerve. God grant that there may be no repetition of it. Another such a stroke upon her would, I think, overset me completely; but, at present, I hold up bravely."

Notwithstanding the interruption of Cowper's studies, occasioned by Mrs. Unwin's indisposition, and by the extreme slowness of her recovery, he had now become so much accustomed to regular employment, and had derived from it so many advantages, that he could not possibly remain inactive. In the month of February we find him thus employed. "Milton, at present, engrosses me altogether. His Latin pieces I have translated, and have begun with the Italian. These are few, and will not detain me long. I shall proceed immediately to deliberate upon, and to settle the plan of my commentary, which I have hitherto had but little time to consider. I look forward to it, for this reason, with some anxiety. I trust, at least, that this anxiety will cease, when I have once satisfied myself about the best manner of conducting it. But, after all, I seem to fear more the labour to which it calls, than any great difficulty with which it is likely to be attended. To the labours of versifying I have no objection, but to the labours of criticism I am new, and apprehend that I shall find them wearisome. Should that be the case I shall be dull, but must be contented to share the censure of being so, with almost all the commentators that have ever existed. I will, however, have no *horrida bella*, if I can help it. It is, at least, my present purpose to avoid them if possible; for which reason, I shall confine myself merely to the business of an annotator, which is my proper province, and shall sift out of Warton's notes every tittle that relates to the private character, political or religious principles of my author. These are properly subjects for a biographer's handling, but by no means, as it seems to me, for a commentator's."

In reply to a pressing letter from his friend, Mr. Newton, for original composition, written about this time, Cowper thus expresses himself:—"Your demand for more original composition from me will, if I live, and it please God to afford me health, in all probability, be sooner or later gratified. In the meantime you need not, and if you turn the matter over in your thoughts a little, you will perceive that you need not, think me unworthily employed in preparing a new edition of Milton. His two principal poems are of a kind that call for an editor who believes the gospel, and is well grounded in evangelical doctrine. Such an editor they have never had, though only such an one can be qualified for the office."

The peculiarity of Cowper's religious feelings still continued to exist; and it seemed impossible for him to divest himself entirely of those gloomy apprehensions, of his own personal interest in the blessings of the gospel, which had harassed and distressed him for so many years. On every other subject he could write, and converse, with ease to himself, and with pleasure to others; but the morbid tendency of his mind to despondency, tinged all his remarks with midnight gloom whenever he adverted to this. An instance of this occurred in one of his letters to Mr. Newton about this time. After describing, in his own playful manner, some changes that had recently taken place in the circle of his immediate acquaintance, he thus closes his letter, which, notwithstanding the excellence of the remarks, evinces the existence of considerable depression. "Such is this variable scene, so variable, that, had the reflections I sometimes make upon it a permanent influence, I should tremble at the thought of a new connection; and to be out of the reach of its mutability, lead almost the life of a hermit. It is well with those, who, like you, have God for their companion; death cannot deprive them of *him*, and *he* changes not the place of his abode. Other changes, therefore, to them are all supportable; and what you say of your own experience is the strongest possible proof of it. Had you lived without God, *you* could not have endured the loss you mention. May he preserve *me* from a similar one; at least, till he shall be pleased to draw me to himself again. Then, *if ever that day come*, it will make *me* equal to my burden; at present, I can bear nothing *well*. I, however, generally manage to pass my time comfortably, as much so, at least, as Mrs. Unwin's frequent indisposition, and my no less frequent troubles of mind, will permit. When I am much distressed, any company but her's distresses me more, and makes me doubly sensible of my sufferings, though sometimes, I confess, it falls out otherwise; and by the help of more general conversation, I recover that elasticity of mind which is able to resist the pressure. On the whole, I believe, I am situated exactly as I should wish to be, were my situation determined by my own election; and am denied no comfort that is compatible with the *total absence* of the chief of all. I rejoiced, and had great reason to do so, in your coming to Weston, for I think the Lord came with you. Not, indeed, to *abide* with me, nor to restore me to that intercourse which I had with him, and which I enjoyed twenty years ago, but to awaken in me, however, more spiritual feeling than I have experienced, except in two instances, all that time. The comforts that I had received under your ministry in better days, all rushed upon my recollection; and, during two or three transient moments, seemed to be in a degree renewed. You will tell me that, transient as they were, they were yet evidences of a love that is not so; and I am desirous to believe it."

We have already informed our readers, that Cowper's engagement as the editor of Milton, became the means of introducing him to Mr. Hayley. He received the first letter from that gentleman in March, 1792. An incident occurred respecting this letter which ought not to go unrecorded; as it might have proved fatal to that friendship, which became to both the poets, a source of the purest enjoyment. Neither of these talented individuals, had, at that time, any knowledge of each other. Mr. Hayley had read Cowper's productions with no ordinary emotions of delight, and had consequently conceived the highest respect for their unknown author; and nothing could have occasioned him greater surprise, as well as uneasiness, than to be represented as the opponent of one whom he so highly respected. No sooner was he apprized of it than he wrote to Cowper, generously offering him any materials that he had collected, with as much assistance as it was in his power to afford, and being unacquainted with his address, directed his letter to the care of Johnson, his publisher. Either through the carelessness or inadvertence of Johnson, this letter remained in his hands for a considerable time, and was not delivered to Cowper till six weeks after it had been written. Immediately on receiving it Cowper wrote to Mr. Hayley, explaining the cause of his long delayed reply, and from that time, an interchange of many most interesting letters took place, which subsequently led to a friendship the most cordial and ardent, which it was only in the power of death to dissolve. In a letter to Lady Hesketh, Cowper thus adverts to this circumstance:—"Mr. Hayley's friendly and complimentary letter, from some unknown cause, at least to me, slept six weeks in Johnson's custody. It was necessary I should answer it without delay, accordingly I answered it the very evening on which I received it, giving him to understand, among other things, how much vexation the bookseller's folly had cost me, who had detained it so long, especially on account of the distress that I knew it must have occasioned to him also. From his reply, which the return of the post brought me, I learn that in the long interval of my non-correspondence he had suffered anxiety and mortification enough; so much so that I dare say he made twenty vows never to hazard again either letter or compliment to an unknown author. What, indeed, could he imagine less, than that I meant by such obstinate silence to tell him that I valued neither him nor his praises, nor his proffered friendship; in short, that I considered him as a rival, and, therefore, like a true author, hated and despised him. He is now, however, convinced that I love him, as indeed I do, and I account him the chief acquisition that my verse has ever procured me. Brute should I be if I did not, for he promises me every assistance in his power."

To Mr. Hayley, at the commencement of Cowper's correspondence with him, and after the above unpleasant occurrence had been satisfactorily accounted for, and amicably settled, he thus expresses his anxiety that the friendship thus formed might be lasting:—"God grant that this friendship of ours may be a comfort to us all the rest of our days, in a world where true friendships are rarities, and especially, where suddenly formed, they are apt soon to terminate. But, as I said before, I feel a disposition of heart towards you that I never felt for one whom I had never seen; and that shall prove itself, I trust, in that event, a propitious omen. It gives me the sincerest pleasure that I hope to see you at Weston; for as to any migrations of mine, they must, I fear, notwithstanding the joy I should feel in being a guest of yours, be still considered in the light of impossibilities. Come, then, my friend, and be as welcome, as the country people say here, as the flowers in May. I am happy, I say, in the expectation, but the fear or rather the consciousness, that I shall not answer on a nearer view, makes it a trembling kind of happiness, and invests it with many doubts. Bring with you any books that you think may be useful to my commentatorship, for with you for an interpreter, I shall be afraid of none of them. And in truth if you think you shall want them, you must bring books for your own use also, for they are an article with which I am *heinously unprovided*; being much in the condition of the man whose library Pope describes, as—

"No mighty store!
His own works neatly bound, and little more."

Mr. Hayley's projected visit, anticipated so fondly, both by himself and by Cowper, took place in May, 1792.—The interview between these talented individuals proved reciprocally delightful. Though Cowper was now in his sixty-first year, he felt none of the infirmities of advanced life, but was as active and vigorous, both in mind and body, as his best friends could wish him. Mrs. Unwin had nearly recovered from her late severe attack, and as her health was every day progressively improving, there seemed every probability of their enjoying a long continuance of domestic comfort. Mr. Hayley thus describes the manner in which he was received, and his sensations on the occasion.—"Their reception of me was kindness itself; I was enchanted to find that the manners and conversation of Cowper resembled his poetry, charming by unaffected elegance, and the graces of a benevolent spirit. I looked with affectionate veneration and pleasure on the lady, who, having devoted her life and fortune to the service of this tender and sublime genius, in watching over him with maternal vigilance, through so many years of the darkest calamity, appeared to be now enjoying a reward justly due to the noblest exertions of friendship, in contemplating the health, and the renown of the poet, whom she had the happiness to preserve. It seemed hardly possible to survey human nature in a more touching, and a more satisfactory point of view. Their tender attention to each other, their simple, devout gratitude for the mercies which they had experienced together, and their constant but unaffected propensity to impress on the mind and heart of a new friend, the deep sense which they incessantly felt, of their mutual obligations to each other; afforded me very singular gratification."

This scene of exquisite enjoyment to all parties, as is frequently the case in a world like ours, was suddenly exchanged for one of the deepest melancholy and distress. Mr. Hayley has related the painful event with so much tenderness and simplicity, that we cannot do better than present it to our readers in his own words.—"After passing our mornings in social study, we usually walked out together at noon; in returning from one of our rambles round the pleasant village of Weston, we were met by Mr. Greethead, an accomplished minister of the gospel, who resides at Newport Pagnel, and whom Cowper described to me in terms of cordial esteem. He came forth to meet us, as we drew near the house, and it was soon visible from his countenance and manner, that he had ill news to impart. After the most tender preparation that humanity could devise, he informed Cowper, that Mrs. Unwin was under the immediate pressure of a paralytic attack. My agitated friend, rushed to the sight of the sufferer; he returned to me in a state that alarmed me in the highest degree for his faculties: his first speech was wild in the extreme; my answer would appear little less so, but it was addressed to the predominant fancy of my unhappy friend, and with the blessing of heaven, it produced an instantaneous calm in his troubled mind. From that moment he rested on my friendship with such mild and cheerful confidence, that his affectionate spirit regarded me as sent providentially to support him in a season of the severest affliction."

The best means to promote the recovery of Mrs. Unwin, that could have been used under similar circumstances, were resorted to. Happily, they proved to a considerable degree successful, and she gradually recovered both her strength and the use of her faculties. The effect of this attack, however, upon Cowper's tender mind, was in the highest degree painful. This will not perhaps be surprising, when it is recollected how sincerely he was attached to his afflicted inmate, and how deeply he interested himself in everything that related to her welfare. The following beautiful lines will convey to the reader some idea of the exalted opinion he had formed of her character."

"Mary! I want a lyre with other strings,
Such aid from heaven as some have feigned they drew,
An eloquence scarce given to mortals, new
And undebased by praise of meaner things!
That ere through age or woe I shed my wings,
I may record thy worth, with honour due,
In verse as musical as thou art true—
Verse that immortalizes whom it sings!
But thou hast little need: there is a book,
By seraphs writ, with beams of heavenly light,
On which the eyes of God not rarely look!
A chronicle of actions just and bright!
There all thy deeds, my faithful Mary, shine,
And since thou own'st that praise, I spare thee mine."

The following extracts from Cowper's correspondence, immediately after this painful event, describe satisfactorily the state of his mind:—"I wish with all my heart, my dearest cousin, that I had not ill news for the subject of this letter: my friend, my Mary, has again been attacked by the same disorder that threatened me last year with the loss of her, of which you were yourself a witness. The present attack has been much the severest. Her speech has been almost unintelligible from the moment that she was struck: it is with difficulty she can open her eyes; and she cannot keep them open, the muscles necessary for that purpose being contracted; and as to self-moving powers from place to place, and the right use of her hand and arm, she has entirely lost them. I hope, however, she is beginning to recover: her amendment is indeed but very slow, as must be expected at her time of life. I am as well myself, and indeed better than you have ever known me in such trouble. It has happened well for me that, of all men living, the man best qualified to assist and comfort me, is here; though, till within these few days, I never saw him, and a few weeks since had no expectation that I ever should. You have already guessed that I mean Hayley—Hayley, who loves me as if he had known me from my cradle. When he returns to town, as he must, alas! he will pay his respects to you. He has, I assure you, been all in all to us, on this very afflictive occasion. Love him, I charge you, dearly, for my sake. Where could I have found a man, except himself, so necessary to me, in so short a time, that I absolutely know not how to live without him?"

Mr. Hayley left Weston early in June, at which time many pleasing symptoms of Mrs. Unwin's ultimate recovery began to appear. Cowper's letters to his friend after his departure, which were written almost daily, afford ample proofs of the warmth of his affection for him, and of the deep interest he took in promoting Mrs. Unwin's recovery. He thus commences his first letter to Mr. Hayley:—"ALL'S WELL! which words I place as conspicuously as possible, and prefix them to my letter, to save you the pain, my friend and brother, of a moment's anxious speculation. Poor Mary proceeds in her amendment, and improves, I think, even at a swifter rate than when you left her. The stronger she grows, the faster she gathers strength, which is perhaps the natural course of recovery. Yesterday was a noble day with her: speech, almost perfect—eyes, open almost the whole day, without any effort to keep them so,—and her step, wonderfully improved! Can I ever honour you enough for your zeal to serve me! Truly I think not. I am, however, so sensible of the love I owe to you on this account, that I every day regret the acuteness of your feelings for me, convinced that they expose you to much trouble, mortification and disappointment. I have, in short, a poor opinion of my destiny, as I told you when you were here; and though I believe, if any man living can do me good, you will, I cannot yet persuade myself that even you will be successful in attempting it. But it is no matter: you are yourself a good which I can never value enough; and, whether rich or poor in other respects, I shall always account myself better provided for than I deserve, with such a friend as you, than I can call my own. Let it please God to continue to me my William and Mary, and I shall be more reasonable than to grumble. I rose this morning, wrapt round with a cloud of melancholy, and with a heart full of fears; but if I see my Mary's amendment a little advanced, I shall be better."

"Of what materials can you suppose me made, if, after all the rapid proofs you have given me of your friendship, I do not love you with all my heart, and regret your absence continually. But you must permit me to be melancholy now and then; or, if you will not, I must be so without your permission; for that sable thread is so interwoven with the very thread of my existence as to be inseparable from it, at least while I exist in the body. Be content, therefore: let me sigh and groan, but always be sure that I love you. You will be well assured that I should not have indulged myself in this rhapsody about myself and my melancholy, had my present state of mind been of that complexion, or had not our poor Mary seemed still to advance in her recovery. It is a great blessing to us both, that, feeble as she is, she has a most invincible courage, and a trust in God's goodness that nothing shakes. She is certainly, in some degree, better than she was yesterday; but how to measure the degree I know not, except by saying—that it is just perceptible."

In a letter dated 11th June, 1792, Cowper thus discloses his state of mind to Lady Hesketh. "My dearest cousin, thou art ever in my thoughts, whether I am writing to thee or not, and my correspondence seems to grow upon me at such a rate, that I am not able to address thee so often as I would. In fact, I live only to write letters. Hayley is, as you see, added to the number of my correspondents, and to him I write almost as duly as I rise in the morning. Since I wrote last, Mrs. Unwin has been continually improving in strength, but at so gradual a rate, that I can only mark it by saying that she moves every day with less support than the former. On the whole, I believe she goes on as well as can be expected, though not quite so well as to satisfy me."

"During the last two months I seem to myself to have been in a dream. It has been a most eventful period, and fruitful to an uncommon degree, both in good and in evil. I have been very ill, and suffered excruciating pain. I recovered, and became quite well again. I received within my doors a man, but lately, an entire stranger, and who now loves me as his brother, and forgets himself to serve me. Mrs. Unwin has been seized with an illness, that for many days threatened to deprive me of her, and to cast a gloom, an impenetrable one, on all my future prospects. She is now granted to me again. A few days since I should have thought the moon might have descended into my purse as likely as any emolument, and now it seems not impossible. All this has come to pass with such rapidity as events move with in romance indeed, but not often in real life. Events of all sorts creep or fly exactly as God pleases."

While Mr. Hayley was at Weston, he had persuaded Cowper and Mrs. Unwin to promise him a visit at Eartham, some time in the summer. Believing that it would greatly improve Mrs. Unwin's health, and be an agreeable relaxation to Cowper, after the anxiety of mind he had felt respecting his esteemed invalid. Mr. Hayley wrote several pressing invitations to induce them to come as early as possible. The following extracts will show the state of Cowper's mind respecting it. To Mr. Bull he writes, "We are on the eve of a journey, and a long one. On this very day se'nnight we set out for Eartham, the seat of my brother bard, Mr. Hayley, on the other side of London, nobody knows where, a hundred and twenty miles off. Pray for us, my friend, that we may have a safe going and return. It is a tremendous exploit, and I feel a thousand anxieties when I think of it. But a promise made to him when he was here, that we would go if we could, and a sort of persuasion that we can if we will, oblige us to it. The journey and the change of air, together with the novelty to us of the scene to which we are going, may, I hope, be useful to us both; especially to Mrs. Unwin, who has most needof restoratives."

To Mr. Newton he thus discloses his feelings on the subject. "You may imagine that we, who have been resident in one spot for so many years, do not engage in such an enterprise without some anxiety. Persons accustomed to travel would make themselves merry with mine; it seems so disproportioned to the occasion. Once I have been on the point of determining not to go, and even since we fixed the day, my troubles have been almost insupportable. But it has been made a matter of much prayer, and at last it has pleased God to satisfy me, in some measure, that his will corresponds with our purpose, and that he will afford us his protection. You, I know, will not be unmindful of us during our absence from home; but will obtain for us, if your prayers can do it, all that we would ask for ourselves—the presence and favour of God, a salutary effect of our journey, and a safe return."

Anxious to enjoy the pleasure of Cowper's company at Eartham, Mr. Hayley, in his letters to the poet, urged him, by no means to defer his visit till late in the summer. From Cowper's replies we select the following interesting extracts. "The weather is sadly against my Mary's recovery; it deprives her of many a good turn in the orchard, and fifty times have I wished this very day, that Dr. Darwin's scheme of giving rudders and sails to the icelands, that spoil all our summers, were actually put into practice. So should we have gentle airs instead of churlish blasts, and those everlasting sources of bad weather, being once navigated into the southern hemisphere, my Mary would recover as fast again. We are both of your mind respecting the journey to Eartham, and think that July, if by that time she have strength for the journey, will be better than August. This, however, must be left to the Giver of all Good. If our visit to you be according to his will, he will smooth our way before us, and appoint the time of it; and I thus speak not because I wish to seem a saint in your eyes, but because my poor Mary actually is one, and would not set her foot over the threshold, unless she had, or thought she had, God's free permission. With that she would go through floods and fire, though without it she would be afraid of everything—afraid even to visit you, dearly as she loves, and much as she longs to see you."

In another letter to Mr. Hayley, he writes, "The progress of the old nurse in Terence is very much like the progress of my poor patient in the road to recovery. I cannot indeed say that she moves but advances not, for advances are certainly made, but the progress of a week is hardly perceptible. I know not, therefore, at present, what to say about this long postponed journey; the utmost that it is safe for me to say at this moment is this,—you know that you are dear to us both; true it is that you are so, and equally true, that the very instant we feel ourselves at liberty, we will fly to Eartham. You wish me to settle the time, and I wish with all my heart so to do; living in hopes, meanwhile, that I shall be able to do it soon. But some little time must necessarily intervene. Our Mary must be able to walk alone, to cut her own food, and to feed herself, and to wear her own shoes, for at present she wears mine. All these things considered, my friend and brother, you will see the expediency of waiting a little before we set off to Eartham. We mean, indeed, before that day arrives, to make a trial of her strength; how far she may be able to bear the motion of a carriage, a motion that she has not felt these seven years. I grieve that we are thus circumstanced, and that we cannot gratify ourselves in a delightful and innocent project, without all these precautions; but when we have leaf-gold to handle, we must do it tenderly."

The day was at length fixed for this long-intended journey; and the following letter to Mr. Hayley, written a day or two previously, describes Cowper's feelings respecting it:—

"Through floods and flames to your retreat
I win my desp'rate way,
And when we meet, if e'er we meet,
Will echo your huzza!"

"You will wonder at the word *desperate* in the second line, and at the *if* in the third; but could you have any conception of the fears I have had to bustle with, of the dejection of spirits I have suffered concerning this journey, you would wonder much that I still courageously persevere in my resolution to undertake it. Fortunately for my intention, it happens that as the day approaches my terrors abate; for had they continued to be, what they were a week ago, I must, after all, have disappointed you; and was actually once, on the very verge of doing it. I have told you something of my nocturnal experiences, and assure you now, that they were hardly ever more terrific than on this occasion. Prayer has, however, opened my passage at last, and obtained for me a degree of confidence, that I trust will prove a comfortable viaticum to me all the way. The terrors that I have spoken of, would appear ridiculous to most, but to you they will not, for you are a reasonable creature, and know well that to whatever cause it be owing, (whether to constitution or to God's express appointment) I am hunted by spiritual hounds in the night season. I cannot help it. You will pity me, and wish it were otherwise; and though you may think there is much of the imaginary in it, will not deem it, for that reason, an evil less to be lamented. So much for fears and distresses. Soon I hope they will all have a joyful termination, and I and my Mary be skipping with delight at Eartham."

The protracted indisposition of Mrs. Unwin, and the preparation which Cowper thought it necessary to make for his journey, had entirely diverted his mind from his literary undertaking. To Mr. Hayley, on this point, he thus writes:—"I know not how you proceed in your Life of Milton, but I suppose not very rapidly, for while you were here, and since you left us, you have had no other theme but me. As for myself, except my letters, and the nuptial song I sent you in my last, I have literally done nothing, since I saw you. Nothing, I mean, in the writing way, though a great deal in another; that is to say, in attending my poor Mary, and endeavouring to nurse her up for a journey to Eartham. In this I have hitherto succeeded tolerably well, and I had rather carry this point completely than be the most famous editor of Milton the world has ever seen, or shall see. As to this affair, I know not what will become of it. I wrote to Johnson a week since to tell him, that the interruption of Mrs. Unwin's illness still continued, and being likely to continue, I knew not when I should be able to proceed. The translations I said were finished, except the revisal of a part. I hope, or rather wish, that at Eartham I may recover that habit of study, which, inveterate as it once seemed, I now seem to have lost—lost to such a degree, that it is even painful for me to think of what it will cost me to acquire it again."

About this time, at the request of a much esteemed relative, Cowper sat to Abbot, the painter, for his portrait; and the following playful manner in which he adverts to the circumstance, exhibits the peculiarity of his case, and shows, that though he was almost invariably suffering under the influence of deep depression, he frequently wrote to his correspondents, in a strain the most sprightly and cheerful:—"How do you imagine I have been occupied these last ten days? In sitting, not on cockatrice eggs, nor yet to gratify a mere idle humour, nor because I was too sick to move, but because my cousin Johnson has an aunt who has a longing desire of my picture, and because he would, therefore, bring a painter from London to draw it. For this purpose I have been sitting, as I say, these ten days; and am heartily glad that my sitting time is over. The likeness is so strong, that when my friends enter the room where the picture is, they start, astonished to see me where they know I am not."

"Abbot is painting me so true,
That (trust me) you would stare,
And hardly know, at the first view,
If I were here, or there."

Miserable man that you are, to be at Brighton, instead of being here, to contemplate this prodigy of art, which, therefore, you can never see, for it goes to London next Monday to be suspended awhile at Abbot's, and then proceeds to Norfolk, where it will be suspended for ever."

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey to Eartham—Incidents of it—Safe arrival—description of its beauties—Employment there—Reply to a letter from Mr. Hurdis, on the death of his sister—State of Cowper's mind at Eartham—His great attention to Mrs. Unwin—Return to Weston—Interview with General Cowper—Safe arrival at their beloved retreat—Violence of his depressive malady—Regrets the loss of his studious habit—Ineffectual efforts to obtain it—Warmth of his affection for Mr. Hayley—Dread of January—Prepares for a second edition of Homer—Commences writing notes upon it—Labour it occasioned him—His close application—Continuance of his depression—Judicious consolatory advice he gives to his friends—Letter to Rev. J. Johnson on his taking orders—Pleasure it afforded him to find that his relative entered upon the work with suitable feelings—Reply to Mr. Hayley respecting a joint literary undertaking.

Cowper and Mrs. Unwin set out for Eartham in the beginning of August, 1792. It pleased God to conduct them thither in safety; and though considerably fatigued with their journey, they were much less so than they had anticipated. Cowper's letters to his friends after his arrival, describe his feelings on the occasion, in a manner the most pleasing:—"Here we are, at Eartham, in the most elegant mansion that I have ever inhabited, and surrounded by the most beautiful pleasure-grounds that I have ever seen; but which, dissipated as my powers of thought are at present, I will not undertake to describe. It shall suffice me to say that they occupy three sides of a hill, which in Buckinghamshire might well pass for a mountain, and from the summit of which is beheld a most magnificent landscape, bounded by the sea, and in one part by the Isle of Wight, which may also be seen plainly from the window of the library, in which I am writing. It pleased God to carry us both through the journey with far less difficulty and inconvenience than I expected; I began it indeed with a thousand fears, and when we arrived the first evening at Barnet, found myself oppressed in spirit to a degree that could hardly be exceeded. I saw Mrs. Unwin weary, as well she might be, and heard such noises, both within the house and without, that I concluded she would get no rest. But I was mercifully disappointed. She rested, though not well, yet sufficiently. Here we found our friend Rose, who had walked from his house in Chancery-lane, to meet us, and to greet us with his best wishes. At Kingston, where we dined, the second day, I found my old and much valued friend, General Cowper, whom I had not seen for thirty years, and but for this journey should never have seen again: when we arrived at Ripley, where we slept the second night, we were both in a better condition of body and of mind, than on the day preceding. Here we found a quiet inn, that housed, as it happened, that night, no company but ourselves; we slept well and rose perfectly refreshed, and except some terrors that I felt at passing over the Sussex Hills at moonlight, met with little to complain of, till we arrived about ten o'clock, at Eartham. Here we are as happy as it is in the power of earthly good to make us. It is almost a paradise in which we dwell; and our reception has been the kindest that it was possible for friendship and hospitality to contrive."

While at Eartham, Cowper and Mr. Hayley employed the morning hours that they could bestow upon books, in revising and correcting Cowper's translation of Milton's Latin and Italian poems. In the afternoon they occasionally amused themselves by forming together a rapid metrical version of Andreini's Adamo. Cowper's tender solicitude for Mrs. Unwin, however, rendered it impossible for them to be very attentive to these studies. Adverting to the anxiety of Cowper respecting Mrs. Unwin, Mr. Hayley thus writes:—"I have myself no language sufficiently strong or sufficiently tender, to express my just admiration of that angelic, compassionate sensibility with which Cowper watched over his aged invalid. With the most singular and most exemplary tenderness of attention, he incessantly laboured to counteract every infirmity, bodily and mental, with which sickness and age had conspired to load the interesting guardian of his afflicted life."

Cowper had been at Eartham but a few days, when he received a letter from his friend, Mr. Hurdis, informing him of the loss he had sustained by the death of a beloved sister. His compassionate heart immediately prompted him to write the following reply:—"Your kind, but very affecting letter, found me not at Weston, to which place it was directed, but in a bower of my friend Hayley's garden, at Eartham, where I was sitting with Mrs. Unwin. We both knew, the moment we saw it, from whom it came; and observing a red seal, both comforted ourselves that all was well at Burwash; but we soon felt that we were called not to rejoice, but to mourn with you; we do, indeed, sincerely mourn with you; and, if it will afford you any consolation to know it, you may be assured that every eye here has testified what our hearts have suffered for you. Your loss is great, and your disposition, I perceive, such as exposes you to feel the whole weight of it. I will not add to your sorrow by a vain attempt to assuage it; your own good sense, and the piety of your principles, will, of course, suggest to you the most powerful motives of acquiescence in the will of God. You will be sure to recollect, that the stroke, severe as it is, is not the stroke of an enemy, but of a Friend and a Father; and will find, I trust, hereafter, that, like a Father, he has done you good by it. Thousands have been able to say, and myself as loud as any of them, it has been good for me that I have been afflicted; but time is necessary to work us to this persuasion; and in due time it will, no doubt, be yours."

The following extracts from letters to Lady Hesketh, dated Eartham, describe his feelings while he remained there:—"I know not how it is, my dearest cousin, but in a new scene like this, surrounded by strange objects, I find my powers of thinking dissipated to a degree, that makes it difficult for me even to write a letter, and even a letter to you; but such a letter as I can, I will, and I have the fairest chance to succeed this morning; Hayley, Romney, and Hayley's son, being all gone to the sea for bathing. The sea, you must know, is nine miles off, so that, unless stupidity prevent, I shall have opportunity to write, not only to you, but to poor Hurdis also, who is broken-hearted for the loss of his favourite sister, lately dead. I am, without the least dissimulation, in good health; my spirits are about as good as you have ever seen them; and if increase of appetite, and a double portion of sleep, be advantageous, such are the benefits I have received from this migration. As to that gloominess of mind which I have felt these twenty years, it cleaves to me even here; and could I be translated to paradise, unless I left my body behind me, would cleave to me even there also. It is my companion for life, and nothing will ever divorce us. Mrs. Unwin is evidently the better for her jaunt, though by no means as she was before her last attack, still wanting help when she would rise from her seat, and a support in walking, but she is able to take more exercise than when at home, and move with rather a less tottering step. God knows what he designs for me; but when I see those who are dearer to me than myself, distempered and enfeebled, and myself as strong as in the days of my youth, I tremble for the solitude in which a few years may place *me*."

"This is, as I have already told you, a delightful place; more beautiful scenery I have never beheld, nor expect to behold; but the charms of it, uncommon as they are, have not, in the least, alienated my affections from Weston. The genius of that place suits me better; it has an air of snug concealment, in which a disposition like mine feels peculiarly gratified; whereas here, I see from every window woods like forests, and hills like mountains, a wilderness in short, that rather increases my natural melancholy, and which, were it not for the agreeables I find within, would convince me that mere change of place can avail but little."

On the 17th September, 1792, Cowper, and Mrs. Unwin, left Eartham, for their beloved retreat at Weston. Their parting interview with their friends at Eartham, who had heaped upon them everything that the most affectionate kindness could invent, was deeply interesting to all parties, but particularly affecting to the sensitive mind of Cowper. According to a previous arrangement, the poet and Mrs. Unwin dined, and spent the day with General Cowper, at Kingston, who had come there on purpose to have the pleasure of Cowper's company, probably for the last time. A recollection of this so powerfully affected the poet's mind, that the pleasure of the interview was hardly greater than the pain he felt at parting with his venerable and beloved kinsman. The peculiar and burdened state of Cowper's mind respecting this visit, he thus describes:—"The struggles that I had with my own spirit, labouring, as I did, under the most dreadful dejection, are never to be told. I would have given the world to have been excused. I went, however, and carried my point against myself, with a heart riven asunder. I have reason for all this anxiety, which I cannot relate now; the visit, however, passed off well, and I returned with a lighter heart than I have known since my departure from Eartham, and we both enjoyed a good night's rest afterwards."

The good providence of God conducted these interesting travellers in safety to their home, where they arrived in the evening of the second day after they set out from Eartham. The unusual excitement occasioned by so long a journey, and by such a profusion of interesting objects, would, in ordinary cases, and in minds of almost any form, who had been so long confined to one spot, be very likely to be succeeded by considerable depression. Such was, however, much more likely to be the case on a mind like Cowper's. Accordingly we find, that when he arrived at Weston, he was, for a considerable time, subject to an unusual degree of depression. The following extracts from his letters to his friend Hayley, describe the state of his mind, and show how much he was then under the influence of his depressive malady:—"Chaos, himself, even the chaos of Milton, is not surrounded with more confusion, nor has a mind more completely in a hubbub, than I experience at the present moment. A bad night, succeeded by an east wind, and a sky all in sables, have such an effect on my spirits, that if I did not consult my own comfort more than yours, I should not write to-day, for I shall not entertain you much: yet your letter, though containing no very pleasant tidings, has afforded me some relief. It tells me, indeed, that you have been dispirited yourself; all this grieves me, but then there is warmth of heart, and a kindness in it, that do me good. I will endeavour not to repay you in notes of sorrow and despondence, though all my sprightly chords seem broken. In truth, one day excepted, I have not seen the day when I have been cheerful since I left you. My spirits, I think, are almost constantly lower than they were; the approach of winter is perhaps the cause, and if it be, I have nothing better to expect for a long time to come. I began a long letter to you yesterday, and proceeded through two sides of the sheet, but so much of my nervous fever found its way into it, that, looking over it this morning, I determined not to send it. Your wishes to disperse my melancholy would, I am sure, prevail, did that event depend on the warmth and sincerity with which you frame them; but it has baffled both wishes and prayers, and those the most fervent that could be made, so many years, that the case seems hopeless."

These frequent, and, indeed, almost continual attacks of depression, combined with the attention that Cowper paid to promote the comfort, and facilitate the recovery of Mrs. Unwin, prevented him entirely from persevering in his literary undertaking. In his letters he makes this a subject of particular regret. The benefits he had derived from his regular habits of study during his translation of Homer, made him anxious to be again regularly employed. To his friend Mr. Rose he thus describes the state of his mind in this respect:—"I wish that I were as industrious, and as much occupied as you, though in a different way, but it is not so with me. Mrs. Unwin's great debility is of itself a hinderance, such as would effectually disable me. Till she can work and read, and fill up her time as usual, (all which is at present entirely out of her power) I may now and then find time to write a letter, but I shall write nothing more. I cannot sit, with my pen in my hand, and my books before me, while she is in effect, in solitude, silent, and looking at the fire. To this hinderance that other has been added, of which you are aware, a want of spirits, such as I have never known when I was not absolutely laid by, since I commenced an author. How long I shall be continued in these uncomfortable circumstances is known only to Him, who, as he will, disposes of us all."

"I may yet be able, perhaps, to prepare the first book of Paradise Lost for the press, before it will be wanted, and Johnson himself seems to think there will be no haste for the second. But poetry is my favourite employment, and my poetical operations are in the meantime suspended; for while a work, to which I have bound myself, remains unaccomplished, I can do nothing else. Johnson's plan of prefixing my phiz to the edition of my poems is by no means a pleasant one to me, and so I told him in a letter I sent him from Eartham, in which I assured him that my objections to it would not be easily surmounted. But, if you judge that it may really have an effect in advancing the sale, I would not be so squeamish as to suffer the spirit of prudery to prevail on me to his disadvantage. Somebody told an author, I forget whom, that there was more vanity in refusing his picture than in granting it, on which he instantly complied. I do not perfectly feel all the force of the argument, but it shall content me that he did."

To his kinsman he writes:—"The successor of the clerk defunct, for whom I used to write, arrived here this morning, with a recommendatory letter from Joe Rye, and an humble petition of his own, entreating me to assist him, as I had assisted his predecessor. I have undertaken the service, although with no little reluctance, being involved in many arrears on other subjects, and very little dependance at present on my ability to write at all. I proceed exactly as when you were here—a letter now and then before breakfast, and the rest of my time all holiday, if holiday it may be called, that is spent chiefly in moping and musing, and '*forecasting the fashion of uncertain evils.*' The fever on my spirits has harassed me much, and I have never had so good a night, nor so quiet a rising, since you went, as on this very morning. A relief that I account particularly seasonable and propitious, because I had, in my intentions, devoted this morning to you, and could not have fulfilled those intentions, had I been as spiritless as I generally am. I am glad that Johnson is in no haste for Milton, for I seem myself not likely to address myself presently to that concern with any prospect of success, yet something, now and then, like a secret whisper, assures and encourages me that it will yet be done."

To his friend Hayley he thus writes:—"Yesterday was a day of assignation with myself, a day of which I had said, some days before it came, when that day comes, I will, if possible, begin my dissertations. Accordingly, when it came, I prepared to do so; filled a letter case with fresh paper, furnished myself with a pretty good pen, and replenished my ink bottle; but partly from one cause, and partly from another, chiefly, however, from distress and dejection, after writing and obliterating about six lines, in the composition of which I spent near an hour, I was obliged to relinquish the attempt. An attempt so unsuccessful could have no other effect than to dishearten me, and it has had that effect to such a degree, that I know not when I shall find courage to make another. At present I shall certainly abstain from it, since I cannot well afford to expose myself to the danger of a fresh mortification."

Adverting to this subject, he thus again writes to Mr. Hayley, 25 Nov. 1792.—"How shall I thank you enough for the interest you take in my future Miltonic labours, and the assistance you promise me in the performance of them? I will some time or other, if I live, and live a poet, acknowledge your friendship in some of my best verses, the most suitable return one poet can make to another; in the mean time, I love you, and am sensible of all your kindness. You wish me warm in my work, and I ardently wish the same, but when I shall be so, God only knows. My melancholy, which seemed a little alleviated for a few days, has gathered about me again, with as black a cloud as ever; the consequence is, absolute incapacity to begin. Yet I purpose, in a day or two, to make another attempt, to which, however, I shall address myself with fear and trembling, like a man, who having sprained his wrist, dreads to use it. I have not, indeed, like such a man, injured myself by any extraordinary exertion, but seem as much enfeebled as if I had. The consciousness that there is so much to do, and nothing done, is a burden I am not able to bear. Milton especially is my grievance, and I might almost as well be haunted by his ghost, as goaded with continual reproaches for neglecting him. I will, therefore, begin; I will do my best, and if, after all, that best prove good for nothing, I will even send the notes, worthless as they are, that I have already; a measure very disagreeable to myself, and to which nothing but necessity shall compel me."

To his friend, Mr. Newton, who had ventured to express his apprehensions lest his Miltonic labours should become too severe, he thus writes, 9 Dec. 1792.—"You need not be uneasy on the subject of Milton; I shall not find that labour too heavy for me, if I have health and leisure. The season of the year is unfavourable to me respecting the former, and Mrs. Unwin's present weakness allows me less of the latter than the occasion seems to call for. But the business is in no haste; the artists employed to furnish the embellishments are not likely to be very expeditious; and a small portion only of the work will be wanted from me at once, for the intention is, to deal it out to the public piece-meal. I am, therefore, under no great anxiety on that account. It is not, indeed, an employment that I should have chosen for myself, because poetry pleases and amuses me more, and would cost me less labour, properly so called. All this I felt before I engaged with Johnson, and did, in the first instance, actually decline the service, but he was urgent, and at last I suffered myself to be persuaded. The season of the year, as I have already said, is particularly adverse to me; yet not in itself, perhaps, more adverse than any other; but the approach of it always reminds me of the same season in the dreadful seventy-three, and the more dreadful eighty-six. I cannot help terrifying myself with doleful misgivings and apprehensions; nor is the enemy negligent to seize all the advantage that the occasion gives him. Thus, hearing much from him, and having little or no sensible support from God, I suffer inexpressible things till January is over. And even then, whether increasing years have made me more liable to it, or despair, the longer it lasts, grows naturally darker, I find myself more inclined to melancholy than I was a few years since. God only knows where this will end; but where it is likely to end, unless he interpose powerfully in my favour, all may know."

On another occasion, to the same correspondent, he again writes:—"Oh for the day when your expectations of my final deliverance shall be verified! At present it seems very remote, so distant, indeed, that hardly the faintest streak of it is visible in my horizon. The glimpse with which I was favoured about a month ago, has never been repeated, but the depression of my spirits has. The future appears as gloomy as ever, and I seem to myself to be scrambling always in the dark, among rocks and precipices, without a guide, but with an enemy ever at my heels, prepared to push me headlong. Thus I have spent twenty years, but thus I shall not spend twenty years more: long before that period arrives, the grand question concerning my everlasting weal or woe will be decided."

To a lady, with whom he occasionally corresponded, he thus discloses his feelings:—"I would give you consolation, madam, were I not disqualified for that delightful service by a great dearth of it in my own experience. I too often seek, but cannot find it. I know, however, there are seasons when, look which way we will, we see the same dismal gloom enveloping all objects. This is itself an affliction; and the worse, because it makes us think ourselves more unhappy than we are. I was struck by an expression in your letter to Hayley, where you say that you 'will endeavour to take an interest in green leaves again.' This seems the sound of my own voice reflected to me from a distance; I have so often had the same thought and desire. A day scarcely passes, at this season of the year, when I do not contemplate the trees so soon to be stript, and say, 'perhaps I shall never see you clothed again.' Every year, as it passes, makes this expectation more reasonable: and the year with me cannot be very distant, when the event will verify it. Well, may God grant us a good hope of arriving, in due time, where the leaves never fall, and all will be right!"

Notwithstanding his gloomy forebodings, Cowper escaped any very severe attack of depression, in his dreaded month of the ensuing January, and as the spring advanced he became as busily engaged as he had ever been, partly in his Miltonic labours, but chiefly in preparing materials for a second edition of Homer. He had long been carefully revising the work, and had judiciously availed himself of the remarks of his friends, as well as of the criticisms of the reviewers. As soon, therefore, as it was determined to republish it, he made the best use of these materials, and in a few weeks prepared the work a second time for the press, in its new and much improved form. It was, however, thought advisable, in the second edition, to publish notes, for the assistance of unlearned readers; and the labour and research required to furnish these, occasioned Cowper much severe application, as the following extracts will show:—19 March, 1793. "I am so busy every morning before breakfast, strutting and stalking in Homeric stilts, that you must account it an instance of marvellous grace and favour that I write even to you. Sometimes I am seriously almost crazed with the multiplicity of matters before me, and the little or no time that I have for them; and sometimes I repose myself after the fatigue of that distraction, on the pillow of despair; a pillow which has often served me in time of need, and is become, by frequent use, if not very comfortable, at least, convenient. So reposed, I laugh at the world and say,—Yes, you may gape, and expect both Homer and Milton from me, but I 'll be hanged if ever you get them. In Homer, however, you must know, I am advanced as far as the fifteenth book of the Iliad, leaving nothing behind that can reasonably offend the most fastidious; and I design him for a new dress as soon as possible, for a reason which any poet may guess if he will but thrust his hand into his pocket. My time, therefore, the little that I have, is now so entirely engrossed by Homer, that I have, at this time, a bundle of unanswered letters by me, and letters likely to be so. Thou knowest, I dare say, what it is to have a head weary with thinking; mine is so fatigued by breakfast time, three days out of four, that I am utterly incapable of sitting down to my desk again for any purpose whatever. I rise at six every morning, and fag till near eleven, when I breakfast; the consequence is, that I am so exhausted as not to be able to write when the opportunity offers. You will say, breakfast before you work, and then your work will not fatigue you. I answer, perhaps I might, and your counsel would probably prove beneficial; but I cannot spare a moment for eating in the early part of the morning, having no other time for study; all this time is constantly given to Homer, not to correcting and amending him, for that is all over, but in writing notes. Johnson has expressed a wish for some, that the unlearned may be a little illuminated concerning classical story, and the mythology of the ancients; and his behaviour to me has been so liberal, that I can refuse him nothing. Poking into the old Greek commentators, however, blinds me. But it is no matter, I am the more like Homer. I avail myself of Clarke's excellent annotations, from which I select such as I think likely to be useful, or that recommend themselves by the amusement they afford, of which sorts there are not a few.—Barnes also affords me some of both kinds, but not so many, his notes being chiefly paraphrastical or grammatical. My only fear is, lest between them both, I should make my work too voluminous."

In a letter to Mr. Newton, written 12th June, 1793, Cowper thus expresses himself respecting the state of his own mind, and that of Mrs. Unwin. "You promise to be contented with a short line, and a short one you must have, hurried over in the little interval I have happened to find, between the conclusion of my morning task and breakfast. Study has this good effect, at least: it makes me an early riser, a wholesome practice from which I have never swerved since March. The scanty opportunity I have, I shall employ in telling you what you principally wish to be told, the present state of mine and Mrs. Unwin's health. In her I cannot perceive any alteration for the better; and must be satisfied, I believe, as indeed I have great reason to be, if she does not alter for the worse. She uses the orchard-walk daily, but always supported between two, and is still unable to employ herself as formerly. But she is cheerful, seldom in much pain, and has always strong confidence in the mercy and faithfulness of God. As to myself, I have invariably the same song to sing—well in body, but sick in spirit; sick, nigh unto death."

> 'Seasons return, but not to me returns
> God, or the sweet approach of heavenly day,
> Or sight of cheering truth, or pardon seal'd,
> Or joy, or hope, or Jesus' face divine,
> But clouds or ——.'

I could easily set my complaint to Milton's tone, and accompany him through the whole passage on the subject of a blindness more deplorable than his; but time fails me.

During this year, several of Cowper's correspondents were visited either with domestic affliction, or with painful bereavements. On such occasions, all the sensibility and sympathy of his peculiarly tender mind never failed to be called into lively exercise. The deep depression of his own mind, did not deter him from attempting at least, to alleviate the distress of others. To Mr. Hayley, who had recently lost a friend, he thus writes:—"I truly sympathize with you under your weight of sorrow, for the loss of our good Samaritan. But be not broken-hearted my friend; remember, the loss of those we love is the condition on which we live ourselves; and that he who chooses his friends wisely, from among the excellent of the earth, has a sure ground to hope concerning them when they die, that a merciful God will make them far happier than they could be here, and that we shall join them soon again: this is solid comfort, could we but avail ourselves of it, but I confess the difficulty of doing so always. Sorrow is like the deaf adder, that hears not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely; and I feel so myself for the death of Austen, that my own chief consolation is, that I had never seen him. Live yourself, I beseech you, for I have seen so much of you, that I can by no means spare you, and I will live as long as it shall please God to permit. I know you set some value upon me, therefore let that promise comfort you, and give us not reason to say, like David's servant, 'We know that it would have pleased thee more if all we had died, than this one, for whom thou art inconsolable.' You have still Romney, and Carwardine, and Grey, and me, and my poor Mary, and I know not how many beside; as many I suppose as ever had an opportunity of spending a day with you. He who has the most friends, must necessarily lose the most; and he whose friends are numerous as yours, may the better spare a part of them. It is a changing transient scene: yet a little while, and this poor dream of life will be over with all of us. The living, and they who live unhappy, they are indeed the subjects of sorrow."

To his esteemed friend, Rev. Mr. Hurdis, who, as above related, had lost one beloved sister, and was in great danger of losing another, he thus writes, June, 1793: "I seize a passing moment, merely to say that I feel for your distresses, and sincerely pity you, and I shall be happy to learn from your next that your sister's amendment has superseded the necessity you feared of a journey to London. Your candid account that your afflictions have broken your spirits and temper, I can perfectly understand, having laboured much in that fire myself, and perhaps more than any man. It is in such a school that we must learn, if we ever truly learn it, the natural depravity of the human heart, and of our own in particular, together with the consequence that necessarily follows such wretched premises; our indispensable need of the atonement, and our inexpressible obligations to Him who made it. This reflection cannot escape a thinking mind, looking back on those ebullitions of fretfulness and impatience to which it has yielded in a season of great affliction."

Early in the spring of this year, 1793, Cowper's esteemed relative, Rev. John Johnson, after much mature and solemn deliberation, had resolved to take holy orders. Cowper had always regarded him with the most paternal affection, and had wished that he should enter upon the important office of a christian minister, with a high sense of the greatness of the work, and with suitable qualifications for a proper discharge of its solemn duties. In accordance with these wishes, when Mr. Johnson, in a previous year, had relinquished his intentions of taking orders at that time, Cowper had thus addressed him. "My dearest of all Johnnys, I am not sorry that your ordination is postponed. A year's learning and wisdom, added to your present stock, will not be more than enough to satisfy the demands of your function. Neither am I sorry that you find it difficult to fix your thoughts to the serious point at all times. It proves, at least, that you attempt, and wish to do it, and these are good symptoms. Woe to those who enter on the ministry of the gospel without having previously asked, at least from God, a mind and spirit suited to their occupation, and whose experience never differs from itself, because they are always alike vain, light, and inconsiderate. It is therefore matter of great joy to me to hear you complain of levity, as it indicates the existence of anxiety of mind to be freed from it."

The gratification it afforded Cowper to find that his beloved relative entered into the ministry with scriptural views and feelings, is thus expressed: "What you say of your determined purpose, with God's help, to take up the cross, and despise the shame, gives us both great pleasure: in our pedigree is found one, at least, who did it before you. Do you the like, and you will meet him in heaven, as sure as the scripture is the word of God. The quarrel that the world has with evangelic men and doctrines, they would have with a host of angels in human form, for it is the quarrel of owls with sunshine; of ignorance with divine illumination. The Bishop of Norwich has won my heart by his kind and liberal behaviour to you, and if I knew him I would tell him so. I am glad that your auditors find your voice strong, and your utterance distinct; glad, too, that your doctrine has hitherto made you no enemies. You have a gracious Master, who, it seems, will not suffer you to see war in the beginning. It will be a wonder, however, if you do not find out, sooner or later, that sore place in every heart, which can ill endure the touch of apostolic doctrine. Somebody will smart in his conscience, and you will hear of it. I say not this to terrify you, but to prepare you for what is likely to happen, and which, troublesome as it may prove, is yet devoutly to be wished; for, in general, there is little good done by preachers till the world begins to abuse them. But understand me right. I do not mean that you should give them unnecessary provocation, by scolding and railing at them, as some, more zealous than wise, are apt to do. That were to deserve their anger. No; there is no need of it. The self-abasing doctrines of the gospel will, of themselves, create you enemies; but remember this for your comfort—they will also, in due time, transform them into friends, and make them love you as if they were your own children. God give you many such; as, if you are faithful to his cause I trust he will."

About this time Mr. Hayley appears to have applied to Cowper for his assistance, in a joint literary undertaking of some magnitude, with himself and two other distinguished literary characters. Anxious, however, as Cowper was on all occasions to oblige his friend, he could not give his consent to this measure. His reply, given partly in poetry and partly in prose, while it shows the peculiar state of his mind, exhibits, at the same time, so much of that amiable modesty by which he was always distinguished, that it cannot be read without interest.

> "Dear architect of fine *chateaux* in air,
> Worthier to stand for ever if they could,
> Than any built of stone, or yet of wood,
> For back of royal elephant to bear!
> Oh, for permission from the skies to share,
> Much to my own, though little to thy good,
> With thee (not subject to the jealous mood!)
> A partnership of literary ware!
> But I am bankrupt now, and doomed henceforth
> To drudge in descant dry, or other's lays—
> Bards, I acknowledge, of unequalled'd worth!
> But what is commentator's happiest praise?
> That he has furnished lights for other eyes,
> Which they who need them use, and then despise."

"What remains for me to say on this subject, my dear brother, I will say in prose. There are other impediments to the plan you propose, which I could not comprise within the bounds of a sonnet. My poor Mary's infirm condition makes it impossible for me, at present, to engage in a work such as you propose. My thoughts are not sufficiently free; nor have I, nor can I, by any means find opportunity; added to it comes a difficulty which, though you are not at all aware of it, presents itself to me under a most forbidding appearance. Can you guess it? No, not you: neither, perhaps, will you be able to imagine that such a difficulty can possibly exist. If your hair begins to bristle, stroke it down again; for there is no need why it should erect itself. It concerns me, not you. I know myself too well not to know that I am nobody in verse, unless in a corner and alone, and unconnected in my operations. This is not owing to want of love to you, my brother, or in the most consummate confidence in you—I have both in a degree that has not been exceeded in the experience of any friend you have or ever had. But I am so made up—I will not enter into a philosophical analysis of my strange constitution, in order to detect the true cause of the evil; but, on a general view of the matter, I suspect that it proceeds from that shyness which has been my effectual and almost total hinderance on many other important occasions, and which I should feel, I well know, on this, to a degree that would perfectly cripple me. No! I shall neither do, nor attempt, anything of consequence more, unless my poor Mary get better: nor even then, unless it should please God to give me another nature. I could not thus act in concert with any man, not even with my own father or brother, were they now alive! Small game must serve me at present, and till I have done with Homer and Milton. The utmost that I aspire to, and Heaven knows with how feeble a hope, is to write, at some future and better opportunity, when my hands are free, *The Four Ages*. Thus I have opened my heart unto thee." On another occasion he thus plaintively writes:—"I find that much study fatigues me, which is a proof that I am somewhat stricken in years. Certain it is that, ten or sixteen years ago, I could have done as much, and did actually do much more, without suffering the least fatigue, than I can possibly accomplish now. How insensibly old age steals on us, and how often it is actually arrived before we suspect it! Accident alone; some occurrence that suggests a comparison of our former with our present selves, affords the discovery. Well, it is always good to be undeceived, especially in an article of such importance."

To a person less intimately acquainted with Cowper than Mr. Hayley was, the above reply would have been amply sufficient to have prevented him from making any further application of a similar nature. He, however, was not to be thus easily diverted from his purpose. Of the talents of Cowper he had justly formed the highest opinion, and had wisely concluded, that if they could only be again brought fairly and fully into exercise, in the composition of original poetry, the result would be everything that could be wished. Immediately, therefore, on receiving the above letter, he proffered Cowper his own assistance, and the assistance of two other esteemed friends, in composing the projected poem, "The Four Ages," and proposed that it should be their joint production. His principal object was, unquestionably, to induce Cowper to employ his unrivalled talents. The pleasure he anticipated in having such a coadjutor, gratifying as it must have been to his feelings, was only a secondary consideration. Averse as Cowper was to the former proposal, he immediately consented to this, and the following extract will show what were his feelings on the occasion:—"I am in haste to tell you how much I am delighted with your projected quadruple alliance, and to assure you that, if it please God to afford me health, spirits, ability and leisure, I will not fail to devote them all to the production of my quota in "The Four Ages." You are very kind to humour me as you do, and had need be a little touched yourself with all my oddities, that you may know how to administer to mine. All whom I love do so, and I believe it to be impossible to love heartily those who do not. People must not do me good in *their* way, but in my *own*, and then they do me good indeed. My pride, my ambition, and my friendship for you, and the interest I take in my own dear self, will all be consulted and gratified, by an arm-in-arm appearance with you in public; and I shall work with more zeal and assiduity at Homer; and when Homer is finished, at Milton, with the prospect of such a coalition before me. I am at this moment, with all the imprudence natural to poets, expending nobody knows what, in embellishing my premises, or rather the premises of my neighbour Courtenay, which is more poetical still. Your project, therefore, is most opportune, as any project must needs be, that has so direct a tendency to put money into the pocket of one so likely to want it."

"Ah, brother poet! send me of your shade,
And bid the zephyr's hasten to my aid;
Or, like a worm unearthed at noon, I go,
Despatched by sunshine to the shades below."

It is deeply to be regretted that the pleasing anticipations of both Mr. Hayley and Cowper, respecting this joint production, were never realized. Had this poem been written, it would, in all probability, have been equal to any that had ever been published. Cowper was, however, at this time, rapidly sinking into that deep and settled melancholy which it now becomes our painful duty to relate, and in which he continued during the remaining period of his life, notwithstanding the united and indefatigable exertions of his friends to afford him relief.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Hayley's second visit to Weston—Finds Cowper busily engaged—Great apprehensions respecting him—Mrs. Unwin's increasing infirmities—Cowper's feelings on account of it—Vigour of his own mind at this period—Severe attack of depression—Deplorable condition to which he was now reduced—Management of his affairs kindly undertaken by Lady Hesketh—Mr. Hayley's anxieties respecting him—Is invited by Mr. Greathead to pay Cowper another visit—Complies with the invitation—Arrival at Weston—How he is received by Cowper—Inefficiency of the means employed to remove his depressson—Handsome pension allowed him by his Majesty—His removal from Weston to Norfolk, under the care of the Rev. J. Johnson—Death of Mrs. Unwin—How it affected Cowper—Recovers sufficiently to resume his application to Homer—Finishes his notes—Letter to Lady Hesketh descriptive of his feelings—Composes some original poems—Translates some of Gay's fables into Latin—Rapid decay of his strength—Last illness—Death.

In the beginning of November, 1793, Mr. Hayley made his second visit to Weston. He found Cowper in the enjoyment of apparent health; and though incessantly employed, either on Homer or Milton, pleasing himself with the society of his young kinsman, from Norfolk, and his esteemed friend Mr. Rose, who had arrived from the seat of Lord Spencer, in Northamptonshire, with an invitation from his lordship to Cowper and his guests, to pay him a visit. All Cowper's friends strongly recommended him to avail himself of this mark of respect from an accomplished nobleman whom he cordially respected. Their entreaties, however, were entirely in vain; his constitutional shyness again prevailed, and he commissioned his friends, Rose and Hayley, to make an apology to his Lordship for declining so honourable an invitation.

The manner in which Cowper employed his time during the continuance of his friend Mr. Hayley at Weston, is pleasingly described in the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Courtenay, 4th Nov. 1793:—"I am a most busy man, busy to a degree that sometimes half distracts me; but if complete distraction be occasioned by having the thoughts too much and too long attached to any single point, I am in no danger of it, with such perpetual whirl are mine whisked about from one subject to another. When two poets meet, there are fine doings, I can assure you. My 'Homer' finds work for Hayley, and his 'Life of Milton' work for me; so that we are neither of us one moment idle. Poor Mrs. Unwin in the mean time sits quiet in her corner, occasionally laughing at us both, and not seldom interrupting us with some question or remark, for which she is continually rewarded by me with a 'hush!' Bless yourself, my dear Catherina, that you are not connected with a poet, especially that you have not two to deal with!"

During Mr. Hayley's visit, he saw, with great concern, that the infirmities of Mrs. Unwin were rapidly sinking her into a state of the most pitiable imbecility. Unable any longer to watch over the tender health of him whom she had guarded for so many years, and unwilling to relinquish her authority, her conduct at this period presented that painful spectacle, which we are occasionally called to witness, of declining nature seeking to retain that power which it knows not how to use nor how to resign. The effect of these increasing infirmities on her whom Cowper justly regarded as the guardian of his life, added to apprehensions which he now began to feel that his increasing expenses, occasioned by Mrs. Unwin's protracted illness, would involve him in difficulties, filled him with the. greatest uneasiness; and the depressing influence it had upon his mind, became painfully evident to all his friends. So visibly was such the case, that Mr. Hayley felt fully persuaded that, unless some speedy and important change took place in Cowper's circumstances, his tender mind would inevitably sink under the multiplicity of its cares. To effect this desirable object, as far as was in his power, he embraced the earliest opportunity, after leaving Weston, of having an interview with Lord Spencer, and of stating to him the undisguised condition of the afflicted poet. His lordship entered feelingly into the case, and shortly afterwards mentioned it to his majesty. It was owing to this that his majesty, some time afterwards, granted to Cowper such a pension as was sufficient to secure to him a comfortable competence for the remainder of his life. It is however deeply to be regretted that this seasonable and well-merited bounty was not received till the poet's mind was enveloped in that midnight gloom from which it never afterwards wholly emerged.

The increasing infirmities of Mrs. Unwin did not, in the slightest degree, dimish Cowper's regard for her; on the contrary, they seemed rather to augment it, as the following beautiful poem, written about this time, will show:—

TO MARY.

"The twentieth year is well nigh past
Since first our sky was overcast,
And would that this might be the last,
My Mary!

Thy spirits have a fainter glow;
I see thee daily weaker grow;
'Twas my distress that brought thee low,
My Mary!

Thy needles once a shining store,
For my sake restless heretofore;
Now rust disused, and shine no more,
My Mary!

For though thou gladly wouldst fulfil
The same kind office for me still,
Thy sight now seconds not thy will,
My Mary!

But well thou play'dst the huswife's part,
And all thy threads, with magic art,
Have wound themselves about my heart,
My Mary!

Thy indistinct expressions seem
Like language uttered in a dream;
Yet me they charm whate'er the theme,
My Mary!

Thy silver locks, once auburn bright,
Are still more lovely in my sight
Than golden beams of orient light,
My Mary!

For could I view nor them nor thee,
What sight worth seeing could I see?
The sun would rise in vain for me,
My Mary!

Partakers of thy sad decline,
Thy hands their little force resign,
Yet gently prest, press gently mine,
My Mary!

Such feebleness of limbs thou prov'st,
That now, at every step thou mov'st,
Upheld by two, yet still thou lov'st,
My Mary!

And still to love, though prest with ill,
In wintry age to feel no chill,
With me is to be lovely still,
My Mary!

But, ah! by constant heed I know
How oft the sadness that I show
Transforms thy smiles to looks of woe,
My Mary!

And should my future lot be cast
With much resemblance of the past,
Thy worn-out heart will break at last,
My Mary!

Cowper retained his admirable powers in their full vigour, during the whole of 1793, and till the middle of January, of the following year. His letters, written subsequently to Mr. Hayley's visit, though but few, afford unquestionable proofs, that his talents had not suffered the slightest diminution. The following extract, in reply to some remarks on a disputed passage in his Homer, will show that his faculties were then unimpaired. To Mr. Hayley, 5th January, 1794, he writes. "If my old friend would look into my preface, he would find a principle laid down there which perhaps it would not be easy to invalidate, and which, properly attended to, would equally secure a translation from stiffness, and from wildness. The principle I mean is this—'Close, but not so close as to be servile! free, but not so free as to be licentious! A superstitious fidelity loses the spirit, and a loose deviation the sense of the translated author—a happy moderation in either case is the only possible way of preserving both."

"Imlac, in Rasselas, says—I forget to whom, 'You have convinced me that it is impossible to be a poet.' In like manner, I might say to his Lordship, you have convinced me that it is impossible to be a translator—to be one, on his terms at least, is, I am sure, impossible. On his terms, I would defy Homer himself, were he alive, to translate the Paradise Lost into Greek. Yet Milton had Homer much in his eye when he composed that poem. Whereas, Homer never thought of me, or my translation. There are minutiæ in every language, which, translated into another, would spoil the version. Such extreme fidelity is, in fact, unfaithful. Such close resemblance takes away all likeness. The original is elegant, easy, natural; the copy is clumsy, constrained, and unnatural. To what is this owing? To the adoption of terms not congenial to your purpose, and of a context, such as no man writing an original would make use of. Homer is everything that a poet should be. A translation of him, so made, will be everything a translation of Homer should not be. Because it will be written in no language under heaven. It will be English, and it will be Greek, and therefore it will be neither. He is the man, whoever he may be, (I do not pretend to be that man myself)—he is the man best qualified as a translator of Homer, who has drenched, and steeped, and soaked himself in the effusions of his genius, till he has imbibed their colour to the bone, and who, when he is thus dyed, through and through, distinguishing what is essentially Greek, from what may be habited in English, rejects the former, and is faithful to the latter, as far as the purposes of fine poetry will permit, and no farther; this, I think, may be easily proved. Homer is everywhere remarkable for ease, dignity, energy of expression, grandeur of conception, and a majestic flow of numbers. If we copy him so closely as to make every one of these excellent properties of his absolutely unattainable, which will certainly be the effect of too close a copy, instead of translating, we murder him. Therefore, after all his Lordship has said, I still hold freedom to be an indispensable. Freedom, I mean, with respect to the expression; freedom so limited as never to leave behind the *matter*, but at the same time indulged with a sufficient scope, to secure the spirit, and as much as possible of the manner; I say as much as possible, because an English manner must differ from a Greek one, in order to be graceful, and for this there is no remedy. Can an ungraceful awkward translator of Homer be a good one? No; but a graceful, easy, natural, faithful version of him, will not that be a good one? Yes: allow me but this, and I insist upon it, that such a one may be produced on my principles, and can be produced on no other. Reading his Lordship's sentiments over again, I am inclined to think that in all I have said, I have only given him back the same in other terms. He disallows both the absolute *free*, and the absolute *close;* so do I, and if I understand myself, have said so in my preface. He wishes to recommend a medium, though he will not call it so; so do I; only we express it differently. What is it then that we dispute about? I confess my head is not good enough today to discover."

This was almost the last letter Cowper wrote to Mr. Hayley, and with a very few exceptions, the last that he ever wrote at all. Shortly after he had forwarded this, he experienced a more severe attack of depression than he had ever before felt, which paralyzed all his powers, and continued almost wholly unmitigated, through the remaining period of his life. The situation to which he was now reduced, was deeply affecting; imagination can scarcely picture to itself a scene of wretchedness more truly deplorable. Mrs. Unwin's infirmities had reduced her to a state of second childhood; a deep-seated melancholy, which nothing could remove, preyed upon Cowper's mind, and caused him to shun the sight of all except the individual who was utterly incapable of rendering him any assistance; his domestic expenses were daily increasing, and as his capabilities of preventing it were now entirely suspended, there was every probability of his being involved in considerable embarrassment. The providence of God, however, which had watched over, and preserved him during the whole of his life, and had appeared on his behalf in several instances of peculiar distress, in a manner truly striking and affecting, did not abandon him in his present painful emergency. Lady Hesketh, his amiable cousin, and favourite correspondent, now generously undertook the arduous task of watching over the melancholy poet and his feeble associate. The painful duties of this important office, which every one who is at all acquainted with the great anxiety of mind required in all cases of mental aberration, will admit to be in no ordinary degree arduous, she discharged with the utmost christian tenderness and affection. Nor did she discover any disposition to relinquish her charge, though it made considerable inroads upon her health, owing to the confinement and exertion it required, until an opportunity offered of placing these interesting invalids under the care of those who she knew would feel the greatest pleasure in laying themselves out for their comfort.

Hearing nothing from Cowper for several days beyond the time when he was accustomed to write, Mr. Hayley began to fear that his apprehensions respecting his friend's health were realized. He did not, however, receive the painful intelligence of his relapse until some time afterwards, when he was informed of it by a letter from Lady Hesketh, detailing the particulars of his distressing case. About this time the Rev. Mr. Greatheed, with whom Cowper had long been on terms of intimacy, and whom he very highly esteemed, paid him a visit. Such, however, was the distressing state to which Cowper was now reduced, that he refused to see any one, but his own domestics, on whatever friendly terms he might have been with them formerly. The hopes that his friends had cherished, of his recovery, in some degree, at least, as the summer advanced, were now entirely cut off; and they were all fully persuaded that unless some improvement took place in the state of his mind, the worst consequences were to be apprehended. The best advice had been taken without the slightest benefit, and the case began to appear altogether hopeless. It occurred to Lady Hesketh that probably the presence of Mr. Hayley would cheer the poet's mind, and rouse him from his present state of almost absolute despair. She suggested this to Mr. Greatheed, but said she could not venture to mention the subject in her letters to Mr. Hayley, as it appeared unreasonable to request a person to come so great a distance with so little real chance of success. Mr. Greatheed immediately wrote the following letter to Mr. Hayley, on the subject, which describes the melancholy condition to which Cowper was then reduced, and the great anxiety of mind manifested by his friends on his behalf:—"Dear Sir, Lady Hesketh's correspondence has acquainted you with the melancholy relapse of our dear friend at Weston; but I am uncertain whether you know that within the last fortnight, he has refused food of every kind, except now and then a very small piece of toasted bread, dipped generally in water, sometimes mixed with a little wine. This, her Ladyship informs me, was the case till last Saturday, since then he has eaten a little at each family meal. He persists in refusing to take such medicines as are indispensable to his state of body. In such circumstances his long continuance in life cannot be expected. How devoutly to be wished is the alleviation of his sufferings and distress! You, dear Sir, who know so well the worth of our beloved and admired friend, sympathize with us in this affliction, and deprecate his loss doubtless in no ordinary degree. You have already most effectually expressed and proved the warmth of your friendship. I cannot think that anything but your society would have been sufficient, during the infirmity under which his mind has long been oppressed, to have supported him against the shock of Mrs. Unwin's paralytic attack. I am certain that nothing else could have prevailed upon him to undertake the journey to Eartham. You have succeeded where his other friends knew they could not, and where they apprehended no one could. How natural, therefore, is it, for them to look to you, as most likely to be instrumental, under the blessing of God, to bring him relief in the present distressing and alarming crisis. It is, indeed, not a little unreasonable to ask any person to take such a journey, to witness so melancholy a scene, with an uncertainty of the desired success, increased as the present difficulty is, by dear Mr. Cowper's aversion to all company. On these accounts Lady Hesketh does not ask it of you, rejoiced as she would be at your arrival. Am not I, dear Sir, a very presumptuous person, who, in the face of all opposition, dare do this? I am emboldened by these two powerful supporters—conscience, and experience. Were I at Eartham, I would certainly undertake the journey I have presumed to recommend, for the bare possibility of restoring Mr. Cowper to himself, to his friends, and to the public."

Mr. Hayley was too affectionately attached to Cowper, to hesitate for a moment, what steps he should take on the receipt of this letter. The remotest probability of his being useful to his afflicted friend, was amply sufficient to have induced him to undertake a much longer journey than this, to whatever dangers and inconveniences it might have exposed him. He accordingly made immediate arrangements for a visit to Weston, where he arrived a few days afterwards, with his talented son, a youth of great promise, to whom Cowper was most affectionately attached. Little or no benefit, however, resulted from this visit. The suffering invalid was too deeply overwhelmed by his depressive malady to show even the slightest symptoms of satisfaction at the appearance of one whom he had ever been accustomed to welcome with such affectionate delight. His acute anguish had nearly extinguished all the finest faculties of his mind, and annihilated, at least for a time, all the best affections of his heart. He seemed to shrink from every human creature, and if he allowed any one, except his own domestics, to approach him, it was with so much obvious reluctance and aversion, that no benefit could be expected to arise from the interview. The only exception was in the case of Mr. Hayley's son, in whose company he would occasionally, for a short time, seem pleased; which Mr. Hayley "attributed partly to the peculiar charm which is generally found in the manners of tender ingenuous children; and partly to that uncommon sweetness of character which had inspired Cowper with a degree of parental partiality towards this highly promising youth." The united efforts, however, of both father and son, could not produce the slightest alleviation of Cowper's sufferings.

Shortly after Mr. Hayley's arrival at Weston, Lady Hesketh embraced the opportunity of leaving her interesting invalids for a few days in his charge, that she might, by a personal interview, consult the eminent Dr. Willis, who had prescribed so successfully in the case of his Majesty George III., on the subject of Cowper's malady. Lord Thurlow had written to the Doctor in Cowper's behalf, and at his and Lady Hesketh's request, he was induced to visit the interesting sufferer at Weston. Here again, however, the expectations of his friends were greatly disappointed; as the Doctor's skill on this occasion proved wholly unsuccessful.

Mr. Hayley remained at Weston for some weeks, exerting all the means that ingenuity could invent, or that affection could dictate, to afford some relief to his suffering friend; he had, however, the mortification to perceive that his well-directed efforts were entirely useless. The circumstances in which Cowper was now placed, were exceedingly unfavourable to mental relief. Associated with one whose daily increasing infirmities were rapidly reducing her to a state of the most affecting imbecility; the constant sight of which was of itself, almost sufficient to have produced melancholy in a tender mind like Cowper's, it was hardly probable that, under such circumstances, he should recover from his most depressive malady. And yet to have separated him from the being with whom he had been so long associated, would have been an act of cruelty, which he would not, in all probability, have survived. All that could be done was to mitigate, as much as possible, the sufferings of each individual, and to persevere in the use of such means, as would be most likely, under such circumstances, to promote the poet's recovery, leaving the event at His disposal who, in a manner altogether unexpected, had formerly appeared for him on several distressing occasions.

One morning in April, 1794, while Mr. Hayley was at Weston, musing, as he and Lady Hesketh were sometimes accustomed to do, over the melancholy scene of Cowper's sufferings, with aching and almost broken hearts, at the utter inefficacy of every measure that had been taken to afford him relief, they were suddenly almost overjoyed at the receipt of a letter from Lord Spencer, announcing it to be his Majesty's gracious intention to allow Cowper the grant of such a pension for life as would secure to him an honourable competence. The only subject of regret, at this pleasing circumstance, was that he whom it was chiefly intended to benefit, and who, if he had been free from his depressive malady, would have been gratified in the highest degree at this instance of royal generosity, was in a condition that rendered it impossible for him to receive, even the faintest glimmering of joy on the occasion. It was, however, fondly hoped by his friends, that he would ultimately recover, and that the day would at length arrive, when he would be able gratefully to acknowledge this princely beneficence. Well was it, indeed, for his friends, that they supported their minds by indulging these hopes of amendment. Had they known that he was doomed to pass six years in the same depressed and melancholy condition, with scarcely a single alleviation, and was, at the expiration of that lengthened period, to leave the world under the influence of this midnight gloom, they would themselves have almost become the subjects of despair. Such, however, was the case; and it is doubtful, though Cowper subsequently recovered in some slight degree from his depression, whether he was ever in a condition fully to appreciate the value of his Majesty's grant.

Mr. Hayley's departure from Weston, which was now become to him as much a scene of suffering, as it had formerly been of enjoyment, he thus affectingly records:—"After devoting a few weeks at Weston, I was under the painful necessity of forcing myself away from my unhappy friend, who, though he appeared to take no pleasure in my society, expressed extreme reluctance to let me depart. I hardly ever endured an hour more dreadfully distressing than the hour in which I left him. Yet the anguish of it would have been greatly increased, had I been conscious that he was destined to years of this dark depression, and that I should see him no more. I still indulged the hope, from the native vigour of his frame, that as he had formerly struggled through longer fits of the depressive malady, his darkened mind would yet emerge from this calamitous eclipse, and shine forth again with new lustre. These hopes were considerably increased at a subsequent period: but, alas! they were delusive! for though he recovered sufficient command of his faculties to write a few occasional poems, and to retouch his 'Homer,' yet the prospect of his perfect recovery was never realized; and I had beheld the poet of unrivalled genius, the sympathetic friend, and the delightful companion, for the last time!"

Cowper remained in the same most distressing state, from the time of Mr. Hayley's departure, which was in the spring of 1794, till the summer of 1795. During the whole of this time he was most affectionately watched over by his amiable cousin: she procured for him the best medical advice, and employed every means that promised the slighest chance of proving beneficial. All these, however, were ineffectual to lighten that ponderous burden which incessantly pressed upon and weighed down his spirits. He had now been eighteen months in this deplorable state, and, instead of becoming better, if any alteration had taken place at all, it was evidently for the worse. Lady Hesketh's health was beginning to fail, owing to the intense anxiety of mind she had experienced for so long a period; and it became at length desirable to try what effect a change of air and of scene would have upon him. Almost all his friends recommended this measure, which was no sooner determined upon, than his highly esteemed relative of Norfolk, the Reverend J. Johnson, who had been several weeks at Weston, assisting Lady Hesketh, voluntarily and generously undertook the charge of both these suffering but interesting individuals. Their removal from Weston to North Tuddenham, in Norfolk, took place under the immediate guidance of Mr. Johnson, on the 28th July, 1795. They performed their journey in safety and ease in three days. Here they were accommodated with a commodious parsonage-house, by the kindness of the Rev. Leonard Shelford, with whom Mr. Johnson had previously made arrangements for their reception, fearing lest the activity and bustle that occasionally prevailed in the vicinity of his own house, situated in the market-place at East Dereham, should harass and perplex the tender mind of Cowper.

They continued in their new residence only a very short time. In the following August Mr. Johnson conducted them to Mundesley, a village on the Norfolk coast, hoping that a situation by the sea-side might prove amusing to Cowper, and become ultimately the means of reviving his spirits. Here they remained till the following October, without appearing to derive any benefit whatever. While in this situation Cowper, who had long discontinued all correspondence with his friends, ventured to write the following letter to the Reverend Mr. Buchanan, which, while it shows the melancholy depression under which he still laboured, proves that he was not without some occasional intermissions of pleasure:—"I will forget for a moment that, to whomsoever I may address myself, a letter from me can no otherwise be welcome than as a curiosity. To you, Sir, I address this, urged to it by extreme penury of employment, and the desire I feel to learn something of what is doing, and has been done, at Weston (my beloved Weston) since I left it.

"The coldness of these blasts, even in the hottest days, has been such, that, added to the irritation of the salt spray, with which they are always charged, they have occasioned me an inflammation in the eyelids, which threatened, a few days since, to confine me entirely; but by absenting myself as much as possible from the beach, and guarding my face with an umbrella, that inconvenience is in some degree abated. My chamber commands a very near view of the ocean, and the ships, at high water, approach the coast so closely, that a man, furnished with better eyes than mine, might I doubt not discern the sailors from the window. No situation, at least when the weather is clear, can be more pleasant; which you will easily credit, when I add, that it imparts something a little resembling pleasure, even to me. Gratify me with news of Weston! If Mr. Gregor, and your neighbours the Courtenays, are there, mention me to them in such terms as you see good. Tell me, if my poor birds are living? I never see the herbs I used to give them, without a recollection of them, and sometimes am ready to gather them, forgetting that I am not at home."

In the beginning of October, 1795, Mr. Johnson took the two interesting invalids to his own residence at Dereham, where they remained about a month, when they removed to Dunham Lodge, which was then unoccupied, and was pleasantly situated in a park, a few miles from Swaffham, and which from that time became their settled residence. Here they were constantly attended by two of the most interesting females that could possibly have been selected, Miss Johnson and Miss Perowne. The latter took so lively an interest in Cowper's welfare, and exerted so much ingenuity, in attempting to produce some alleviation of his sufferings, that he ever afterwards honoured her with his peculiar regard, and preferred her attendance to that of every other individual by whom he was surrounded; and she continued her kind attention to him to the close of his life. The providence of God (as Mr. Hayley justly remarks) was strikingly displayed towards Cowper, in supplying him with attendants, during the whole of his life, peculiarly suited to the exigencies of mental dejection."

Cowper's melancholy depression still remained unalleviated. In June, 1796, however, an incident occurred, which for a time, though it removed not his dejection, revived the spirits of his friends, and cheered them with the hope of his ultimate recovery. Mr. Johnson invariably procured copies of all such new publications as were likely to interest the mind of Cowper; and as Cowper had discontinued the use of his pen, and manifested considerable disinclination to read himself, Mr. Johnson kindly undertook to read these publications to his relative whenever suitable opportunities offered. About this time Mr. Wakefield published his edition of Pope's Homer. It occurred to Mr. Johnson, who always readily embraced the slightest incident that seemed likely to diminish the anguish of his afflicted relative, that this work might probably excite the poet's attention sufficiently to rouse him, in some degree, from his dejection. He immediately, therefore, procured a copy, and ingeniously placed it in a conspicuous part of a large unfrequented room, through which he knew Cowper would have to pass, in his way from Mrs. Unwin's apartments, and in which, he was aware, it was Cowper's practice, daily, to take some turns, observing previously to his afflicted relative, that the work contained some occasional comparison of Pope with Cowper. The plan succeeded far beyond Mr. Johnson's expectation: to his agreeable surprise, he discovered, the next day, that Cowper had not only found the passages to which he had adverted, but had corrected his translation at the suggestion of some of them. Perceiving that the poet's attention was arrested, it was vigilantly cherished by the utmost efforts of Mr. Johnson; and from that time Cowper regularly engaged in a revisal of his own version, and for some weeks produced almost sixty new lines a-day. He continued this occupation so steadily, and with so much deliberation, that all his friends began to rejoice, at the prospect of his almost immediate recovery. Their hopes, however, were of short duration. In a few weeks he again relapsed into the same state of hopeless depression. In the ensuing autumn, Mr. Johnson again made trial of a change of air, and of scene, and removed the family to the delightful village of Mundesley. No apparent benefit, however, resulted from this change, and towards the close of October, 1796, it was thought desirable to remove the family to Mr. Johnson's house at Dereham, and to remain there during the winter, as the Lodge was at too great a distance from Mr. Johnson's churches.

In the following December it became evident that Mrs. Unwin's life was rapidly drawing to a close; she had been gradually sinking for a considerable time; and on the seventeenth day of this month, in the 72d year of her age, she peacefully, and without a groan, or a sigh, resigned her happy spirit into the hands of God. Her life had been eminently distinguished by the most fervent and unaffected piety, which she had displayed in circumstances the most trying and afflicting, and her end was peace. The day before she expired, Cowper, as he had long been accustomed to do at regular periods, spent a short time with his afflicted and long-tried friend; and though to his inmates he appeared so absorbed in his own mental anguish, as to take little, if any notice of her condition, it was evident afterwards that he clearly perceived how fast she was sinking; for, as a faithful servant of himself and his afflicted friend, was opening the window of his chamber the following morning, he addressed her in a tone the most plaintive and affecting, "Sally, is there life above stairs!" a convincing proof that the acuteness of his own anguish had not prevented him from bestowing great attention to the sufferings of his aged friend. He saw her, for the last time, about an hour before she expired; and, notwithstanding the intensity of his own distress, he was much affected, though he clearly perceived that she enjoyed the utmost tranquillity. He saw the corpse once after her decease; and after looking at it attentively for a short time, he suddenly withdrew, under the influence of the strongest emotions. She was buried in Dereham church, on the 23d December, 1796, and a marble tablet was raised to her memory, with the following inscription:

"IN MEMORY OF

MARY,

WIDOW OF THE REV. MORLEY UNWIN,

AND

MOTHER OF THE REV. WILLIAM CAWTHORN UNWIN,

BORN AT ELY, 1724.

BURIED IN THIS CHURCH, 1796.

Trusting in God with all her heart and mind,
This woman proved magnanimously kind,
Endured affliction's desolating hail,
And watched a poet through misfortune's vale.
Her spotless dust, angelic guards defend!
It is the dust of Unwin, Cowper's friend!
That single title in itself is fame,
For all who read his verse revere her name."

Had Cowper been in the enjoyment of health, and had his mind been entirely free from his gloomy forebodings, at the time of Mrs. Unwin's decease, so tender and lively were his feelings, that it would undoubtedly have proved to him one of the severest shocks he had ever experienced. Such, however, was the influence of his melancholy depression, that he never afterwards adverted to the event, even in the most distant way, nor did he even make the slightest inquiries respecting her funeral. A more striking proof of the intense anguish of his own sufferings cannot possibly be given. Dreadful, indeed, must have been those feelings that could have produced an insensibility so great in his tender mind, for the loss of such a friend!

In the summer of 1797, Cowper's health appeared in some measure to improve, and in the following September, at the earnest entreaty of his kinsman, he again resumed the revisal of his Homer; and, notwithstanding the severity of his mental anguish, he persevered in it, with some occasional interruption, till the eighth of May, 1799, on which day he completed the work. It was evidently owing to the rare talents exerted by Mr. Johnson on the mind of Cowper, that he was induced to bring this great work to a successful close. And it would have been exceedingly difficult, if not utterly impossible, to have found an individual who could, with so much tenderness, have exerted an influence so beneficial over the distressed mind of the poet. He was, however, indefatigable in his efforts to divert his mind from the melancholy depression which spread its pernicious influence over his soul. And, during the whole of the summer of 1798, he endeavoured, by frequent change of scene, sometimes residing for a week or two at Mundesley, and then returning to Dereham, to restore the mind of his revered relative to its proper tone. And though he had not the satisfaction to see his efforts crowned with complete success, yet he was pleased to perceive them prove in some degree, at least, beneficial to the interesting sufferer. In his sketch of Cowper's life, published in the last edition of the poet's works, he "records it as a subject of much gratitude, that a merciful providence should again have appointed his afflicted relative the employment alluded to, as, more than anything else, it diverted his mind from a contemplation of its miseries, and seemed to extend his breathing, which was at other times short, to a depth of respiration more compatible with ease."

The happy means pursued by Mr. Johnson to induce Cowper to complete the revisal of his Homer, and its successful result, ought not to go unrecorded. He thus relates it in the excellent sketch above referred to:—"His kinsman resolved, if it were possible, to reinstate him in the revisal of his Homer. One morning, therefore, after breakfast, in the month of September, 1797, he placed the commentaries on the table one by one, namely, Villoison, Barnes, and Clarke, opening them all, together with the poet's translation, at the place where he had left off a twelvemonth before; but, talking with him as he paced the room, upon a very different subject, namely, the impossibility of the things befalling him, which his imagination had represented; when, as his companion had wished, Cowper said to him, 'And are you sure that I shall be here till the book you are reading is finished.' Quite sure, replied his kinsman, and that you will also be here to complete the revisal of your Homer, pointing to the books, if you will resume it to-day. As he repeated these words, he left the room, rejoicing in the well-known token of their having sunk deep into the poet's mind, namely, his seating himself on the sofa, taking up one of the books, and saying, in a low and plaintive voice, 'I may as well do this, for I can do nothing else.'"

In July, 1798, the Dowager Lady Spencer paid the afflicted poet a visit. Had he been in the enjoyment of health, he would undoubtedly have received her with the greatest respect and affection, and the conversation between them would have been equally pleasing to both parties; such, however, was his melancholy depression, that he seemed not to derive any pleasure from the visit, and on no occasion could he be prevailed upon to converse with his distinguished visitor with any apparent pleasure.

While residing at Mundesley, in October, 1798, Cowper felt himself so far relieved from his depressive malady as to undertake, without solicitation, to write to Lady Hesketh. The following extract from this letter, will show the severity of his mental anguish, even at that period:—"You describe delightful scenes, but you describe them to one, who, if he even saw them, could receive no delight from them, who has a faint recollection, and so faint as to be like an almost forgotten dream, that once he was susceptible of pleasure from such causes. The country that you have had in prospect, has been always famed for its beauties; but the wretch who can derive no gratification from a view of nature, even under the disadvantage of her most ordinary dress, will have no eyes to admire her in any. In one day,—in one minute, I should rather have said,—she became an universal blank to me, and though from a different cause, yet with an effect as difficult to remove as blindness itself."

Mr. Johnson again removed from Mundesley to Dereham, towards the end of October, and pursuing their journey, on this occasion, with himself, Miss Perowne, and Cowper, in the postchaise, they were overturned. Cowper discovered no particular alarm on the occasion, and through the blessing of Providence, they all escaped unhurt.

As soon as Cowper had finished the revisal of his Homer, Mr. Johnson laid before him the papers containing the commencement of his projected poem—*The Four Ages.* He, however, declined undertaking it, as a work far too important for him to attempt in his present situation. Several other literary projects, of easier accomplishment, were then suggested to him by his kinsman, who was aware of the great benefit he had derived from employment, and was seriously apprehensive that the want of it would add to his depression: all of them, however, were objected to by the poet, who, at length, replied, that he had just thought of six Latin verses, and if he could do anything, it must be in pursuing something of that description. He, however, gratified his friends, by occasionally employing the powers of his astonishing mind, which still remained in full vigour, in the composition of some short original poems. In this way he produced the poem entitled Montes Glaciales, founded upon an incident, which he had heard read from the Norwich paper, several months previous; to which, at the time, owing to his depression, he appeared to pay no attention. This poem he afterwards, at the request of Miss Perowne, translated into Latin. Translation was his principal amusement; sometimes from Latin and Greek into English, and occasionally from English into Latin. In this way he translated several of Gay's Fables, and communicated to them, in their new dress, all that ease and vivacity which they have in the original. Thus elegantly employed, he continued, with some intermissions, almost to the close of his life.

The last original poem he composed was entitled *The Castaway*, and was founded upon an incident, related in Anson's Voyage, of a mariner who was washed overboard in the Atlantic, and lost, which he remembered to have read in that work many years ago, and which, according to the following stanzas, selected from it, he appears to have regarded as an illustration of his own case:

"Obscurest night involved the sky,
  The Atlantic billows roared,
When such a destined wretch as I,
  Washed headlong from on board,
Of friends, of hope, of all bereft,
His floating home for ever left.

He long survives who lives an hour
  In ocean self-upheld,
And so long he, with unspent power,
  His destiny repelled;
And ever, as the minutes flew,
Entreated help, or cry'd 'Adieu!'

No poet wept him, but the page
  Of narrative sincere,
That tells his name, his worth, his age,
  Is wet with Anson's tear:
And tears, by bards or heroes shed,
Alike immortalize the dead.

I therefore purpose not, or dream,
  Descanting on his fate!
To give the melancholy theme
  A more enduring date.
But misery still delights to trace
Its semblance in another's case.

No voice divine the storm allay'd,
  No light propitious shone,
When snatched from all effectual aid,
  We perished, each alone;
But I beneath a rougher sea,
And whelmed in deeper gulphs than he!"

Anxious as all his friends now were, that he should be constantly employed, as this proved the best remedy for his depression, they were frequently pained to see him reduced to a state of hopeless inactivity, owing to the severity of his mental anguish. At these seasons, what suited him best, was, Mr. Johnson's reading to him, which he was accustomed to do, almost invariably for a length of time, every day. And so industriously had he persevered in this method of relieving the poet's mind, that after having exhausted numerous works of fiction, which had the power of attracting his attention, he began to read to his afflicted relative the poet's own works. Cowper evinced no disapprobation to this till the reader arrived at the history of John Gilpin, when he entreated his relative to desist.

It became evident towards the close of 1799, that his bodily strength was rapidly declining, though his mental powers, notwithstanding the unmitigated severity of his depression, remained unimpaired. In January, 1800, Mr. Johnson observed in him many symptoms which he thought very unfavourable. This induced him to call in additional medical advice. His complaint was pronounced to be, not as has been generally stated, dropsical, but a breaking up of the constitution. Remedies, however, were tried, and he was recommended to take as much gentle exercise as he could bear. To this recommendation he discovered no particular aversion, and Mr. Johnson took him for a ride in a postchaise, as often as circumstances would permit; it was, however, with considerable difficulty he could be prevailed upon to use such medicines as it was thought necessary to employ.

About this time his friend Mr. Hayley wrote to him, expressing a wish that he would new-model a passage in his translation of the Iliad, where mention is made of the very ancient sculpture in which Dædalus had represented the Cretan dance for Ariadne. "On the 31st January," says Mr. Hayley, "I received from him his improved version of the lines in question, written in a firm and delicate hand. The sight of such writing from my long-silent friend, inspired me with a lively, but too sanguine hope, that I might see him once more restored. Alas! the verses which I surveyed as a delightful omen of future letters from a correspondent so inexpressibly dear to me, proved the last effort of his pen."

Cowper's weakness now very rapidly increased, and by the end of February it had become so great as to render him incapable of enduring the fatigue of his usual ride, which was hence discontinued. In a few days he ceased to come down stairs, though he was still able, after breakfasting in bed, to adjourn to another room, and to remain there till the evening. By the end of the ensuing March, he was compelled to forego even this trifling exercise. He was now entirely confined to his bed-room; he was, however, still able to sit up to every meal, except breakfast.

His friend Mr. Rose, about this time, paid him a visit. Such, however, was the melancholy change which his complicated maladies had produced upon his mind, that he expressed no pleasure at the arrival of one whom he had previously been accustomed to greet with the most cordial reception. Mr. Rose remained with him till the first week in April, witnessing with much sorrow the sufferings of the afflicted poet, and kindly sympathising with his distressed relations and friends. Little as Cowper had appeared to enjoy his company, he evinced symptoms of considerable regret at his departure.

Both Lady Hesketh, and Mr. Hayley, would have followed the humane example of Mr. Rose, in visiting the dying poet, had they not been prevented by circumstances over which they had no control. The health of the former, had suffered considerably by her long confinement with Cowper, at the commencement of his last attack, and the latter was detained by the impending death of a darling child.

Mr. Johnson informs us, in his sketch of the poet's life, that, "on the 19th April the weakness of this truly pitiable sufferer had so much increased that his kinsman apprehended his death to be near. Adverting, therefore, to the affliction, as well of body as of mind, which his beloved inmate was then enduring, he ventured to speak of his approaching dissolution as the signal of his deliverance from both these miseries. After a pause of a few moments, which was less interrupted by the objections of his desponding relative than he had dared to hope, he proceeded to an observation more consolatory still—namely, that in the world to which he was hastening, a merciful Redeemer, who had prepared unspeakable happiness for all his children, and therefore for *him* ——. To the first part of this sentence he had listened with composure, but the concluding words were no sooner uttered than his passionately expressed entreaties that his companion would desist from any further observations of a similar kind, clearly proving that though he was on the eve of being invested with angelic light, the darkness of delusion still veiled his spirit."

On the following day, which was Sunday, he revived a little. Mr. Johnson, on repairing to his room, after he had discharged his clerical duties, found him in bed and asleep. He did not, however, leave the room, but remained watching him, expecting he might, on awaking, require his assistance. Whilst engaged in this melancholy office, and endeavouring to reconcile his mind to the loss of so dear a friend, by considering the gain which that friend would experience, his reflections were suddenly interrupted by the singularly varied tone in which Cowper then began to breathe. Imagining it to be the sound of his immediate summons, after listening to it for several minutes, he arose from the foot of the bed on which he was sitting, to take a nearer, and, as he supposed, a last view of his departing relative, commending his soul to that gracious Saviour, whom, in the fulness of mental health, he had delighted to honour. As he put aside the curtains, Cowper opened his eyes, but closed them again without speaking, and breathed as usual. On Monday he was much worse; though, towards the close of the day, he revived sufficiently to take a little refreshment. The two following days he evidently continued to sink rapidly. He revived a little on Thursday, but, in the course of the night, he appeared exceedingly exhausted; some refreshment was presented to him by Miss Perowne, but, owing to a persuasion that nothing could afford him relief, though without any apparent impression that the hand of death was already upon him, he mildly rejected the cordial with these words, the last he was heard to utter: "*What can it signify?*"

Early on Friday morning, the 25th, a decided alteration for the worse was perceived to have taken place. A deadly change appeared in his countenance. In this insensible state he remained till a few minutes before five in the afternoon, when he gently, and without the slightest apparent pain, ceased to breathe, and his happy spirit escaped from his body, in which, amidst the thickest gloom of darkness, it had so long been imprisoned, and took its flight to the regions of perfect purity and bliss. In a manner so mild and gentle did death make its approach, that though his kinsman, his medical attendant, and three others were standing at the foot of the bed, with their eyes fixed upon his dying countenance, the precise moment of his departure was unobserved by any.

"From this mournful period," writes Mr. Johnson, "till the features of his deceased friend were closed from his view, the expression which the kinsman of Cowper observed in them, and which he was affectionately delighted to suppose an index of the last thoughts and enjoyments of his soul in its gradual escape from the depths of despondence, was that of calmness and composure, mingled, as it were, with holy surprise."

He was buried in that part of Dereham Church, called St. Edmund's Chapel, on Saturday, the 2d May, 1800; and his funeral was attended by several of his relatives. In a literary point of view, his long and painful affliction had ever been regarded as a national calamity; a deep and almost universal sympathy was felt in his behalf; and by all men of learning and of piety, his death was looked upon as an event of no common importance.

As he died without a will, his amiable and beloved relation, Lady Hesketh, kindly undertook to become his administratrix. She raised a tablet monument to his memory with the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF

WILLIAM COWPER, Esq.

BORN IN HERTFORDSHIRE,

1731.

BURIED IN THIS CHURCH,

1800.

Ye who with warmth the public triumph feel
Of talents, dignified by sacred zeal,
Here, to devotion's bard, devoutly just,
Pay your fond tribute, due to Cowper's dust!
England, exulting in his spotless fame,
Ranks with her dearest sons his favourite name!
Sense, fancy, wit, suffice not all to raise
So clear a title to affection's praise:
His highest honours to the heart belong—
His virtues formed the magic of his song.

The following lines have been kindly handed to the author by a friend, in manuscript. He is not sure they have never been in print, though he rather inclines to think such is the case.

And is the spirit of the Poet fled?
Yes, from its earthly tenement 'tis flown;
And death at length hath added to the dead
The sweetest minstrel that the world has known.

Too nice, too great, his sympathy of soul;
For, oh! his feelings were so much refined,
That sense became impatient of control,
And darkness seized the empire of his mind.

But when Reflection threw her eagle eye
Athwart the gloom of unpropitious fate,
Faith op'd a splendid vista to the sky,
And gave an earnest of a happier state:

To see, whilst sceptics to the effects of chance
Ascribe creation's ever-varying form;
To see distinctly, at the first slight glance,
Who wings the lightning, and who drives the storm,

To brush the cobweb follies from the great,
Which Art, with all her sophistry has spread
Uphold the honour of a sinking state,
And bid Religion raise her drooping head.

Such were the objects of the enraptured bard,
In such his lucid intervals he passed;
And knowing Virtue was her own reward,
Wooed, and revered, and loved her to the last.

Know, then, that Death has added to his list
As sweet a bard as ever swept a lyre:
In Death's despite his memory shall exist
In numbers pregnant with celestial fire.

Yes, Cowper! with thy own expressive lays,
Lays which have haply many a mind illum'd,
Thy name shall triumph o'er the lapse of days,
And only perish when the world 's consumed!

CHAPTER XVIII.

Description of his person, his manners, his disposition, his piety —His attachment to the Established Church—His attainments —Originality of his poetry—His religious sentiments—The warmth of his friendship—His attachment to the British constitution—His industry and perseverance—Happy manner in which he could console the afflicted—His occasional intervals of enjoyment—Character as a writer—Powers of description—Beauty of his letters—His aversion to flattery, to affectation, to cruelty—His love of liberty, and dread of its abuse—Strong attachment to, and intimate acquaintance with the scriptures—Pleasure with which he sometimes viewed the works of creation —Contentment of his mind—Extract from an anonymous critic—Poetic tribute to his memory.

It is scarcely necessary to add anything on the subject of Cowper's character, after the ample delineation that has already been given of it in this memoir; we shall, however, subjoin the following brief remarks, which could not so conveniently be introduced in any other part of the narrative.

Cowper was of the middle stature; he had a fine, open, and expressive countenance; that indicated much thoughtfulness, and almost excessive sensibility. His eyes were more remarkable for the expression of tenderness than of penetration. The general expression of his countenance partook of that sedate cheerfulness, which so strikingly characterizes all his original productions, and which never failed to impart a peculiar charm to his conversation. His limbs were more remarkable for strength than for delicacy of form. He possessed a warm temperament; and he says of himself, in a letter to his cousin Mrs. Bodham, dated February 27, 1790, that he was naturally "somewhat irritable," but, if he was, his religious principle had so subdued that tendency, that a near relation, who was intimately acquainted with him the last ten years of his life, never saw his temper ruffled in a single instance.

His manners were generally somewhat shy and reserved, particularly to strangers: when, however, he was in perfect health, and in such society as was quite congenial to his taste, they were perfectly free and unembarrassed; his conversation was unrestrained and cheerful, and his whole deportment was the most polite and graceful, especially to females, towards whom he conducted himself, on all occasions, with the strictest delicacy and propriety.

Much as Cowper was admired by those who knew him only as a writer, or as an occasional correspondent, he was infinitely more esteemed by his more intimate friends; indeed, the more intimately he was known, the more he was beloved and revered. Nor was this affectionate attachment so much the result of his brilliant talents, as it was of the real goodness of his disposition, and gentleness of his conduct.

Cowper was emphatically, in the strictest and most scriptural sense of the term, *a good man*. His goodness, however, was not the result of mere effort, unconnected with Christian principles, nor did it arise from the absence of those evil dispositions of which all have reason, more or less, to complain; on the contrary, all his writings prove that he felt and deplored the existence of evil affections, and was only able to suppress them by a cordial reception of the gospel of Christ, and the diligent use of those means enforced under that pure and self-denying dispensation. Nor was the goodness of Cowper a mere negative goodness, inducing him only to avoid doing evil; it is evident, from many passages, both from his poetic and prose productions, that he ever looked upon his talents, not as his own, but as belonging to Him from whom he had received them. Under the influence of this impression, all his best and most important original productions were unquestionably written. Desirous of communicating to his fellow-men the same invaluable benefits which he had himself received from the simple yet sublime truths of Christianity, and incapable of attempting it in any other way than that of becoming an author, he took up his pen and produced those unrivalled poems, which, while they delight the mere literary reader for their elegance, beauty, and sublimity, are no less interesting to the Christian for the accurate and striking delineations of real religion, with which they abound. As long as the English language exists, they will be most eagerly sought after, both by the scholar and by the Christian.

Cowper was warmly attached to the religion of the established church, in which he had been trained up, and which, like his friend Mr. Newton, he calmly and deliberately preferred to any other. His attachment, however, was not that of the narrow-minded bigot which blinds the mind to the excellencies of every other religious community; on the contrary, it was the attachment of the firm and steady friend of religious liberty, in the most liberal sense of the term. Of a sectarian spirit he was ever the open and avowed opponent. He sincerely and very highly respected the conscientious of all parties. In one of his letters to Mr. Newton, adverting to a passage in his writings that was likely to expose him to the charge of illiberality, he thus writes. "When I wrote the passage in question, I was not at all aware of any impropriety in it. I am, however, glad you have condemned it; and though I do not feel as if I could presently supply its place, shall be willing to attempt the task, whatever labour it may cost me; and rejoice that it will not be in the power of the critics, whatever else they may charge me with, to accuse me of bigotry, or a design to make a certain denomination odious at the hazard of the public peace. I had rather my book should be burnt, than a single line guilty of such a tendency should escape me."

Cowper's attainments as a scholar were highly respectable; he was master of four languages, besides his own: Greek, Latin, Italian, and French; and though his reading was by no means so extensive as that of some, it was turned to better account, as he was a most thoughtful and attentive reader, and it was undoubtedly amply sufficient for every purpose, with a genius so brilliant and a mind so original as his.

The productions of Cowper were eminently and entirely his own; he had neither borrowed from nor imitated any one. He copied from none either as to his subjects, or the manner of treating them. All was the creation of his own inventive genius. Adverting to this circumstance, in one of his letters, he thus writes:—"I reckon it among my principal advantages as a composer of verses that I have not read an English poet these thirteen years, and but one these twenty years. Imitation even of the best models is my aversion; it is a servile and mechanical trick, that has enabled many to usurp the name of author, who could not have written at all if they had not written upon the pattern of some original. But when the ear, and the taste have been much accustomed to the style and manner of others, it is almost impossible to avoid it, and we imitate, in spite of ourselves, just in the same proportion as we admire." Cowper's mode of expressing his thoughts was entirely original. His blank-verse is not the blank-verse of Milton, or of any other poet. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are all of his own growth, without transcription, and without imitation. If he thinks in a peculiar train, it is always as a man of genius, and, what is better still, as a man of ardent and unaffected piety. His predecessors had circumscribed themselves, both in the choice and management of their subjects, by the observance of a limited number of models, who were thought to have exhausted all the legitimate resources of the art. "But Cowper," says a great modern critic, "at once ventured to cross this enchanted circle, and thus regained the natural liberty of invention, and walked abroad in the open field of observation as freely as those by whom it was originally trodden. He passed from the imitation of poets to the imitation of nature, and ventured boldly upon the representation of objects that none before him had imagined could be employed in poetic imagery. In the ordinary occupations, occurrences, and duties of domestic life, he found a multitude of subjects for ridicule and reflection, for pathetic and picturesque description, for moral declamation and devotional rapture, that would have been looked upon with disdain or despair by all his predecessors. He took as wide a range in language too, as in matter; and shaking off the tawdry incumbrance of that poetical diction which had nearly reduced poetry to a skilful collection of a set of appropriated phrases, he made no scruple to set down in verse every expression that would have been admitted in prose; and to take advantage of all the varieties and changes of which our language is susceptible."

It has been justly remarked, "that between the poetry of Cowper and that of Dryden and Pope, and some of their successors, there is an immense difference. It would be easy to show how little he owed to his immediate forerunners, and how much his immediate followers have been indebted to him. All the cant phrases, all the technicalities of the former school, he utterly threw away; and by his rejection of them, they became obsolete. He boldly adopted cadences of verse unattempted before, which, though frequently uncouth, and sometimes scarcely reducible to rhyme, were not seldom ingeniously significant and signally energetic. He feared not to employ colloquial, philosophical, judicial idioms, and forms of argument and illustration, which enlarged the vocabulary of poetical terms, less by recurring to obsolete ones, than by hazardous, and generally happy innovations of his own invention, which have since become dignified by usage; but which Pope and his imitators durst not have touched. The eminent adventurous revivers of English poetry, about thirty years ago, Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, in their blank-verse, trode directly in the steps of Cowper; and, in their early productions at least, were each in a measure what he had made them. Cowper may be legitimately styled the father of this triumvirate, who are, in truth, the living fathers of an innumerable company of modern poets, whom no ingenuity can well classify and arrange."

The poetry of Cowper is in the highest degree deserving the honourable appellation of *Christian Poetry*. He consecrated his muse to the service of that pure and self-denying religion, taught by Christ and his apostles. In this respect his poems differed from the productions of any writers that had then appeared, with the exception of Milton and Young. Both these individuals, though they wrote on religious subjects, yet in all probability wrote principally for fame; with Cowper, however, the desire of doing good predominated over every other feeling; and the hope of emolument, nay, even the love of fame itself, was looked upon as subordinate to this great object, the last to which poets generally pay any consideration. To YOUNG, Cowper was evidently superior, in everything that constitutes real poetic excellence; and equal to MILTON in the ease and elegance of his compositions, and in the vivacity and beauty of his imagery, though seldom, and perhaps never, rising to that majestic sublimity to which the author of Paradise Lost sometimes soared, and in which he stands unrivalled among modern, if not among ancient poets. Milton's matchless poem is a most sublime description of the great facts of the Christian system; every line of it fills the reader with surprise. Hurried on through a profusion of imagery splendid and grand, and never inelegant, tawdry or ungraceful, the mind becomes astonished, and is much more powerfully affected than the heart. We look in vain for those touching appeals to the affections with which Cowper's poetry abounds, which come home to the bosoms and hearts of all.

"Poet and Saint, to him is justly given,
The two most sacred names of earth and heaven."

In the productions of Milton and Young, there is not much of practical, and still less of experimental, piety. They confined themselves chiefly to the theory of religion. Cowper, on the contrary, whose views of the great leading truths of Christianity were equally, if not more comprehensive, describes, with unequalled simplicity and beauty, those less splendid, but not less useful, parts of religion, which his predecessors had left almost untouched: hence the superiority of his muse to theirs in these respects. No uninspired orator ever so happily and so strikingly described the operations of Divine grace upon the human soul. The gospel had come home to him, not in word only, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and in power. He not only possessed a comprehensive knowledge of the Christian system, which enabled him, whenever he had occasion for it, to describe and illustrate, with all the force and beauty of poetic enchantment, that solid foundation on which the Christian builds his hopes, but he had himself felt the astonishing efficacy of these truths on the heart, when truly and cordially received. This accounts for the unrivalled felicity with which he describes the happy influence of Christianity in all cases where it is rightly embraced, unless, as in his own case, its influence be prevented by some unaccountable bodily distemper. Treating the great peculiarities of the Christian system—the depravity of man—the necessity of regeneration—the efficacy of the atonement—access to God, through the Divine Spirit—justification by faith, with others of a like kind, not merely as subjects of inquiry, but as things which had been to him matters of actual experience, it is no wonder that his muse sometimes carried him to a depth of Christian feeling, unsung, and even unattempted before. As he himself, in his poem on Charity, beautifully sings—

> "When one that holds communion with the skies
> Has fill'd his urn, where these pure waters rise,
> And once more mingles with us meaner things,
> 'Tis e'n as if an angel shook his wings;
> Immortal fragrance fills the circuit wide,
> That tells us whence his treasures are supplied."

"Cowper," as Mr. Hayley justly observes, "accomplished, as a poet, the sublimest object of ambition,—he has dissipated the general prejudice that held it hardly possible for a modern author to succeed in sacred poetry. He has proved that verse and devotion are natural allies. He has shown that true poetical genius cannot be more honourably or more delightfully employed than in diffusing through the heart and mind of man a filial affection for his Maker, with a firm and cheerful trust in his word. He has sung in a strain, in some degree at least equal to the great subject, the blessed advent of the Messiah; and perhaps it will not be saying too much, to assert that his poetry will have no inconsiderable influence in preparing the world for the cordial reception of all the rich blessings which this event was intended to introduce."

Up to the period when Cowper's productions were given to the world, it was foolishly imagined impossible successfully to employ the graces and beauties of poetry on the side of virtue. A great modern critic had inconsiderately declared that "contemplative piety cannot be poetical." Had he asserted only, that it had very rarely been so, the assertion would not have been unjust. It would, indeed, have coincided with the views entertained by Cowper himself; for, of his predecessors' productions, with few exceptions, no one could have formed a more correct opinion, as will appear by the following lines:

> "Pity religion has so seldom found
> A skilful guide into poetic ground!
> The flowers would spring where'er she deigned to stray,
> And every muse attend her in her way.
> Virtue indeed meets many a rhyming friend,
> And many a compliment politely penned;
> But unattired in that becoming vest
> Religion weaves for her, and half undressed,
> Stands in the desert, shivering and forlorn,
> A wintry figure, like a withered thorn."

This censure, severely as it may fall on most of Cowper's predecessors, is not unjust. His muse, however, was the first to show that poetry, may be made the handmaid to religion. When he gave to the world the productions of his unrivalled pen, they saw, indeed,

> ——————————"a bard all fire,
> Touched with a coal from heaven, assume the lyre,
> And tell the world, still kindling as he sung,
> With more than mortal music on his tongue,
> That he who died below, and reigns above,
> Inspires the song, and that his name was love."

Cowper's religious sentiments were undoubtedly Calvinistic, and though his views of divine truth were generally unexceptionable, they were sometimes rather strongly tinged with the peculiarities of that system. On no occasion, however, that comes within our recollection, do we find him speaking of the character of God in such terms as would lead any, who were sincerely desirous of approaching Him in the way of his own appointment, to doubt of gracious reception at his hands. His own case, indeed, must be excepted, as his melancholy depression ever led him to regard himself as a solitary instance of the rejection of God and of the reversal of his decree. It could seldom, if ever, be inferred from any of his representations, that he thought the Divine Being, by the mere exercise of his sovereignty, continued any of his creatures, except, indeed, it were himself, in a state of suffering in the present life, or placed them beyond the means of escaping from misery, in the future. His views of the atonement and of the infinite extent of its efficacy, were such as led him, whenever he had occasion to advert to it, to represent it truly, as a solid ground of hope and comfort, to every converted sinner, whatever might have been his character. He felt an entire conviction that he whose infinite compassion had prompted him to make provision for the restoration of fallen man to his favour, intended it to be universally beneficial; and that the perverseness and obstinacy of men were the only reasons why it was not so. That he should have regarded his own case as an exception, and should, consequently, have passed the greater part of his life in the bitterness of despair, is a difficulty which we are persuaded will, in the present life, for ever remain unaccounted for. To assert, as some have done, on no other foundation than that of mere opinion, that had he not been religious he would never have been melancholy, is utterly at variance with all the leading facts of his history. To every well regulated mind it will be abundantly evident, that whatever reasons may be assigned for the affecting peculiarity of his case, the deep concern he felt for religion could never have been the cause. On the contrary, it will appear clearly to have been much more likely to become the best preventive, as, in fact, the events of his life prove it to have been, though, owing to some unaccountable organic conformation, much less completely than might have been hoped.

No person was ever more alive to the benefits of real friendship, or had ever formed more correct conceptions of its obligations and delights. His inimitable stanzas, on this most interesting subject, which are perhaps superior to anything that has ever been written upon it, prove incontestibly that he understood what were its indispensable prerequisites, and his whole conduct through life shows that he felt the full force of that friendship which he so admirably described. It is difficult to make extracts from a poem, every line of which is almost alike excellent, we cannot, however, deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting our readers with the following admirable lines:—

> "Who hopes a friend, should have a heart
> Himself, well furnished for the part
>   And ready on occasion,
> To show the virtue that he seeks;
> For 'tis an union that bespeaks
>   A just reciprocation.
>
> A man renowned for repartee
> Will seldom scruple to make free
>   With friendship's finest feeling;
> Will thrust a dagger at your breast,
> And tell you 'twas a special jest,
>   By way of balm for healing.
>
> Beware of tatlers! keep your ear
> Close stopt against the tales they bear,
>   Fruits of their own invention!
> The separation of chief friends
> Is what their business most intends,
>   Their sport is your dissension.
>
> Religion should extinguish strife,
> And make a calm of human life:
>   But even those who differ
> Only on topics left at large,
> How fiercely will they meet, and charge;
>   No combatants are stiffer.
>
> Then judge, before you choose your man,
> As circumspectly as you can;
>   And having made election,
> See that no disrespect of yours,
> Such as a friend but ill endures,
>   Enfeeble his affection.
>
> As similarity of mind,
> Or something not to be defined,
>   First rivets our attention;
> So manners decent and polite,
> The same we practised at first sight,
>   Must save it from declension.
>
> The man who hails you Tom, or Jack,
> And proves, by thumping on your back,
>   His sense of your great merit;
> Is such a friend, that one had need
> Be very much his friend indeed,
>   To pardon, or to bear it.
>
> Some friends make this their prudent plan,
> Say little, and hear all you can;
>   Safe policy, but hateful!
> So barren sands imbibe the shower,
> But render neither fruit nor flower
>   Unpleasant and ungrateful.
>
> They whisper trivial things, and small;
> But to communicate at all
>   Things serious, deem improper.

Their feculence and froth they show,
But keep their best contents below,
Just like a simmering copper.

Pursue the theme, and you will find
A disciplin'd and furnish'd mind
To be at least expedient;
And, after summing all the rest,
Religion ruling in the breast,
A principal ingredient.

True friendship has, in short, a grace,
More than terrestrial in its face,
That proves it heav'n-descended:
Man's love of woman not so pure,
Nor when sincerest, so secure,
To last till life is ended."

Cowper was, through life, the warm, though not the blind admirer of the British constitution; and though he made no pretensions to the character of a politician, yet he took the liveliest interest in all that related to the honour and prosperity of his country. In one of his letters to Mr. Newton, he thus writes:—"I learned when I was a boy, being the son of a staunch Whig, and a man that loved his country, to glow with that patriotic enthusiasm which is apt to break forth into poetry, or at least to prompt a person, if he has any inclination that way, to poetical endeavours. After I was grown up, and while I lived in the Temple, I produced several halfpenny ballads, two or three of which had the honour of being popular. But unhappily, the ardour I felt upon the occasion, disdaining to be confined within the bounds of fact, pushed me upon uniting the prophetical with the poetical character, and defeated its own purpose. I am glad it did. The less there is of this sort in my productions the better. The stage of national affairs is such a fluctuating scene, that an event which seems probable to-day becomes impossible to-morrow; and unless a man were indeed a prophet, he cannot, but with the greatest hazard of losing his labour, bestow his rhymes upon future contingencies, which perhaps are never to take place, but in his own wishes and in the reveries of his own fancy."

The time which Cowper bestowed upon his translation of Homer, and the indefatigable diligence with which he laboured in this great work, notwithstanding his melancholy depression, until he had completed it, prove that he was not easily to be diverted from what he had once undertaken; and that few men were equal, and perhaps none superior, to him, in those essential qualities of a truly great mind,—industry and perseverance.

It might be imagined that Cowper's very retired manner of life, had deprived him of that manly independence of mind, which is a prime constituent in the character of every great man. Several incidents, however, are related of him, which go to prove that such was very far from being the case. His conduct to Mr. Unwin and Mr. Newton, who both in their turns, at different times, thought themselves entitled to complain of some neglect, proves that he allowed not the affection of friendship to intrench upon his right to judge at all times for himself. Alluding to Mr. Newton's displeasure, he remarks to another friend:—"If he says more on the subject, I shall speak freely, and perhaps please him less than I have already done." Almost in the same breath, however, evincing his deep knowledge of human nature, he adds:—"But we shall jumble together again, as people, who have an affection for each other at the bottom, never fail to do." On one occasion, some friend having remarked to Cowper, that he knew a person who wished to see a sample of his verse, before subscribing for his edition of Homer, he replied,—"that when he dealt in wine, or cloth, or cheese, he would give samples, but of verse never." The same independence he evinced on another occasion, writing to the friend whom he had employed to negotiate for the publication of his second volume of poetry, he remarks:—"If Johnson should stroke his chin, look up to the ceiling, and cry nymph! anticipate him, I beseech you, at once, by saying, that you know I should be very sorry he should undertake for me to his own disadvantage, or that my volume should be in any degree pressed upon him."

The depressive malady under which Cowper laboured through the greater part of his life, might naturally be supposed to have disqualified him entirely for the kind office of comforting those who were in distress: in truth, however, no one had better learned the divine skill of strengthening the weak mind, of encouraging the timid and trembling believer, of lifting up the weak hands that were hanging down, wiping the tear of sorrow from the mournful eye, and directing the Christian to look alone to heaven for support in all his difficulties. His poems abound with passages the most tender and consolatory; enforcing with an eloquence, persuasive and almost irresistible, humble submission to the Divine will, in circumstances the most discouraging. The following lines, forming part of a poetic epistle to a lady in France, show how admirably he could pour the healing oil of comfort into the wounded spirits of others, though he was unable to assuage the grief of his own.

"The path of sorrow, and that path alone,
Leads to the land where sorrow is unknown;
No trav'ller ever reached that blessed abode
Who found not thorns and briars on the road.
The world may dance along the flowery plain,
Cheer'd as they go by many a sprightly strain.

* * * * * * *

But He, who knew what human hearts would prove
How slow to learn the dictates of his love;
That hard by nature, and of stubborn will,
A life of ease would make them harder still;
In pity to a chosen few, designed
To escape the common ruin of their kind,
And said—Go spend them in the vale of tears!
Oh balmy gales of soul-reviving air,
Oh salutary streams that murmur there,
These flowing from the fount of grace above!
Those breathed from lips of everlasting love!
The flinty soil indeed their feet annoys,
Chill blasts of trouble nip their springing joys,
An envious world will interpose its frown,
To mar delights superior to its own,
And many a pang, experienced still within,
Reminds them of their hated inmate, sin!
But ills of every shape, of every name,
Transformed to blessings, miss their cruel aim,
And every moment's calm that soothes the breast,
Is given in earnest to eternal rest.
Ah! be not sad! although thy lot be cast
Far from the flock, and in a boundless waste;
No shepherd's tents within thy view appear,
But the Chief Shepherd even there is near.
Thy tender sorrows and thy plaintive strain
Flow in a foreign land, but not in vain;
Thy tears all issue from a source divine,
And every drop bespeaks a Saviour thine."

Notwithstanding the almost unmitigated severity of Cowper's sufferings, there were seasons in which he enjoyed some internal tranquillity, and was enabled to exercise a trembling, if not an unshaken confidence in the Almighty. It was undoubtedly on one of these occasions that he penned the following lines—

"I see, or think I see,
A glimmering from afar—
A beam of day that shines for me
To save me from despair.
Forerunner of the sun,
It marks the pilgrim's way:
I'll gaze upon it while I run,
And watch the rising day."

Had it not been for Cowper's depressive malady, he would certainly have been, on all occasions, the most lively and agreeable companion. Even as it was, it must not be imagined that in his conversation he was never sprightly and cheerful. Frequently, when his own heart was suffused with grief, arising from the severity and peculiarity of his malady, such an air of innocent pleasantry and humour, delicate and perfectly natural, ran through his conversation and correspondence, as could not fail to delight all who happened to be in his company, or who were occasionally favoured with the productions of his pen. It would be easy to produce proofs of this, both from his poetic and prose productions. His rhyming letter, to Mr. Newton, in which there is such a happy mixture of the grave and the gay, as no other writer could produce, evinces the occasional sprightliness of of his mind.—"My very dear friend, I am going to send, what, when you have read, you may scratch your head, and say, I suppose there's nobody knows, whether what I have got, be verse or not; by the tune and the time, it ought to be rhyme, but if it be, did ever you see, of late or yore, such a ditty before?

"I have writ charity, not for popularity, but as well as I could, in hopes to do good; and if the reviewer, should say, to be sure, the gentleman's muse, wears Methodist shoes, you may know by her pace, and talk about grace, that she and her bard, have little regard, for taste and fashions, and ruling passions, and hoydening play, of the modern day; and though she assume a borrowed plume, and now and then wear a tittering air, 'tis only her plan to catch if she can, the giddy and gay, as they go that way, by a production on a new construction; she has baited her trap, in hopes to snap, all that may come, with a sugar-plum.—His opinion in this will not be amiss; 'tis what I intend, my principal end, and if I succeed, and folks should read till a few are brought to a serious thought, I shall think I am paid, for all I have said, and all I have done, though I have run, many a time, after a rhyme, as far as from hence, to the end of my sense, and by hook or by crook, write another book, if I live and am here another year.

"I have heard before, of a room with a floor, laid upon springs, and such like things, with so much art, in every part, that when you went in, you were forced to begin a minuet pace, with an air and a grace, swimming about, now in and now out, with a deal of state, in a figure of eight, without pipe or string, or any such thing; and now I have writ, in a rhyming fit, what will make you dance, and as you advance, will keep you still, though against your will, dancing away, alert and gay, till you come to an end, of what I have penned, which that you may do, ere madam and you, are quite worn out, with jigling about, I take my leave, and here you receive, a bow profound, down to the ground, from your humble me, W. C."

The following jeu d' esprit, written by the poet, as descriptive of one of his rural excursions, through the whole of which runs a strain of pleasantry, innocent, and perfectly natural, shows that his life was not one unbroken series of despair, but that he enjoyed, occasionally, at least, some lucid intervals, when, to gratify his friends, he would trifle in rhyme with an affectionate and endearing gaiety. As it has never been published in any of his works, the reader will not regret its having a place here.

I sing of a journey to Clifton,*
We would have performed if we could;
Without cart or barrow to lift on
Poor Mary or me through the mud.
Sle, sla, slud,
Stuck in the mud,
Oh, it is pretty to wade through a flood.

So away we went slipping and sliding,
Hop, hop,—a la mode de deux frogs;
'Tis near as good walking as riding,
When ladies are dressed in their clogs.
Wheels no doubt,
Go briskly about,
But they clatter, and rattle, and make such a rout.

DIALOGUE.

SHE.

"Well—now I protest it is charming,
How finely the weather improves;
That *cloud*, though, is rather alarming,
How slowly and stately it moves."

HE.

"Pshaw! never mind,
'Tis not in the wind,
We are travelling south and shall leave it behind."

SHE.

"I am glad we are come for an airing,
For folks may be pounded and penn'd,
Until they grow rusty, not caring
To stir half a mile to an end."

HE.

"The longer we stay,
The longer we may;
It 's a folly to think about weather or way."

SHE.

"But now I begin to be frighted,
If I fall what a way I should roll!
I am glad the bridge was indicted,
Stay! stop! I am sunk in a hole."

HE.

"Nay, never care,
'Tis a common affair;
You 'll not be the last that will set a foot there."

SHE.

"Let me breathe now a little and ponder,
On what it were better to do;
That terrible lane I see yonder,
I think we shall never get through."

HE.

"So think I,—
But by the bye,
We shall never know, if we never should try."

SHE.

"But should we get there, how shall we get home;
What a terrible deal of bad road we have pass'd,
Slipping and sliding; and if we should come
To a difficult state, I am ruined at last.
Oh, this lane!
Now it is plain,
That struggling and striving is labour in vain."

HE.

"Stick fast there, while I go and look."

SHE.

"Don't go away for fear I should fall;"

HE.

"I have examined it every nook,
And what you have here is a sample of all:
Come wheel around,
The dirt we have found,
Would by an estate at a farthing a pound."

Now sister Ann,* the guitar you must take,
Set it and sing it, and make it a song;
I have varied the verse for variety's sake,
And cut it off short because it was long.
'Tis hobbling and lame,
Which critics won't blame,
For the sense and the sound they say should be the same.

As a writer, Cowper's powers of description, both in poetry and prose, were of the highest order; equalled by few, and excelled by none. His richly cultivated mind, united to an imagination as brilliant as it was chaste, enabled him to paint the visible beauties of the material, as well as the ideal charms of the moral world, with an ease and felicity equally delightful. No one could describe the feelings of the heart with more vivid force, or knew better how to levy contributions on the rich and varied scenes of nature. He possessed all the requisite qualifications for a poet of the highest class;—a familiar acquaintance with the ancient classics; a comprehensive mind, well stored with accurate information on almost every subject; a fertile genius; a rich fancy; an excursive, but *chaste* imagination to all which were added, an extensive knowledge of the varied feelings of the human heart, and a most devout regard to the solemn claims of religion.

To take a comprehensive review of the poet's original productions, in the order in which they appeared, would require a much greater space than it would be prudent to devote to it here. TABLE TALK is a dialogue, carried on with uncommon spirit and vivacity, in which a variety of most interesting topics are happily introduced and descanted on with great force and beauty. The PROGRESS OF ERROR is much more serious than its predecessor; and though it contains passages of unrivalled excellence, it exhibits occasional marks of weakness, and is less beautiful than any other in the volume.

TRUTH exhibits a wonderful combination of different powers, in which passages, humorous and affecting, are scattered with delightful profusion.

EXPOSTULATION, founded on a sermon by Mr. Newton, is an impassioned appeal to men, in almost all conditions, on behalf of religion; it abounds with imagery, grand, impressive, and awful, exhibiting proofs of the poet's deep acquaintance with the inspired prophetic records. HOPE is less impassioned than its predecessor, but not less beautiful. It is written throughout with great elegance, beauty, and force, and the sentiments it breathes are purely evangelical. Charity is a poem of less vigour, but equally instructive, admonitory, and delightful.

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* A village near Olney.

* Lady Austen.

In Conversation, the poet appears in the character of a teacher of manners, as well as of morals, and delineates with exquisite and unerring skill, many of the follies and frailties of life. The loquacious—the incommunicative—the noisy and tumultuous—the disputatious—the scrupulous and irresolute—the furious and intractable—the ludicrous—the censorious—the peevish—the bashful—with others of similar kind, may here find their character drawn by the pen of a master, in the liveliest colours, and with striking accuracy.

Many excellent and judicious remarks are to be found in this admirable poem, on the manner in which conversation, to make it really edifying, must be carried on; and the certain benefits resulting from it, where it is so conducted, are forcibly and clearly pointed out.

Retirement, will be read with delight by all, but especially by those who are looking forward to that season when—

"Hackney'd in business, wearied at that oar,
Which thousands, once fast chain'd to, quit no more,
But which, when life at ebb runs weak and low,
All wish, or seem to wish, they could forego."

The poet happily ridicules the fallacy of supposing it impossible to be pious while following the active pursuits of life,

"Truth is not local, God alike pervades
And fills the world of traffic and the shades,
And may be fear'd amidst the busiest scenes,
Or scorn'd where business never intervenes."

In the same happy strain he exposes the absurdity of seeking retirement as an excuse for indolence.

"An idler is a watch that wants both hands,
As useless as it goes as when it stands.

* * * * *

Absence of occupation is not rest;
A mind quite vacant is a mind distrest."

The Task, however, is by far the poet's greatest production, and had he written nothing else, would have immortalized his name, and given him a place among the highest class of poets. Here his muse kindled into its happiest inspirations, and burst forth into its sublimest strains. Commencing with objects the most familiar, and in a manner inimitably playful, the poet touches on a vast variety of subjects, many of them unsung, and unattempted before, scattering wherever he goes

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe,"

an exuberance of beauty and elegance, that enchains the reader, carrying him through the muse's adventurous track, without the least restraint, and without feeling a moment's uneasiness. The transitions are the happiest imaginable; after delineating one object with matchless felicity and force, presenting it in shapes almost endlessly diversified, ere he is aware of it, another and another starts up before the reader, with magical effect, but without the slightest confusion, or the least violation of perspicuity. This admirable poem may be repeatedly read with increasing delight. It yields an almost inexhaustible source of pleasure and instruction. The reader rises from its perusal, not only filled with astonishment at the mighty powers of its author, but what is of equal, and perhaps of greater importance, with feelings of the most unfeigned esteem for the poet, and with sentiments of benevolence towards all mankind.

The letters of Cowper are unquestionably among the best productions of this interesting class of writings that are to be found in the English language. Easy and natural, and everywhere simple and elegant, without the slightest affectation of formality, or the most distant approach to that studied and artificial style, which invariably destroys the beauty of such productions, they never fail to interest and delight the reader; and will ever be regarded as perfect models of epistolary correspondence. Their peculiar charm is, perhaps, to be attributed chiefly, if not entirely, to that affectionate glow of pure friendship, by which they are so pre-eminently distinguished. Fascinating as they are to every reader of taste, for the chaste, yet unornamented style in which they are composed; for their easy and natural transitions; and for their concise, yet sufficiently copious descriptions, it is to that sprightly and genuine affection which runs through the whole of them, causing the reader to peruse them with almost as much interest as if they were addressed to him personally, that they are principally indebted for their claim to superiority.

To the above remarks on Cowper's letters, we have great pleasure in adding the following testimony of the late distinguished scholar and writer, the Rev. Robert Hall of Bristol, whose eloquence was unrivalled, and whose powers being all consecrated to the cause of religion, rendered him an ornament to the age in which he lived. In a letter to Rev. J. Johnson, Cowper's justly esteemed relative, he thus writes: "It is quite unnecessary to say that I perused the letters with great admiration and delight. I have always considered the letters of Mr. Cowper as the finest specimens of the epistolary style in our language. To an air of inimitable ease and carelessness, they unite a high degree of correctness, such as could result only from the clearest intellect, combined with the most finished taste. I have scarcely found a single word which is capable of being exchanged for a better. Literary errors I can discern none. The selection of the words, and the structure of the periods, are inimitable; they present as striking a contrast as can well be conceived, to the turgid verbosity which passes at present for fine writing, and which bears a great resemblance to the degeneracy which marks the style of Ammianus Marcellinus, as compared to that of Cicero or Livy. A perpetual effort and struggle is made to supply the place of vigour; garish and dazzling colours are substituted for chaste ornament; and the hideous distortions of weakness for native strength. In my humble opinion, the study of Cowper's prose may, on this account, be asiousefu in forming the taste of young people as his poetry."

Poets have almost invariably been charged with adulation, whenever they have ventured to eulogize an individual, however much he may have been distinguished by his virtues and his talents. In many cases, they have undoubted richly merited this censure; but there are some honourable exceptions, and amonst this class Cowper is pre-eminently distinguished. Of this wicked and foolish practice he had the utmost abhorrence; and in some instances it may be doubted whether he did not carry his aversion to flattery, almost to an opposite extreme; withholding praise where he knew it was due. The following lines occur almost at the commencement of his Table Talk. After painting the portrait of that most virtuous monarch, George the Third, in language as just as it is beautiful, he abruptly exclaims,

"Guard what you say; the patriotic tribe
Will sneer, and charge you with a bribe—a bribe!
The worth of his three kingdoms I defy
To lure me to the baseness of a lie:
And of all lies, (be that one poet's boast,)
The lie that flatters, I abhor the most."

In the character of Cowper there was not the slighest particle of ostentation; on no occasion did he assume any airs of consequence; he never aimed, or wished to be what he was not. Everything in the shape of affectation was the object of his disgust. He loved simplicity without rudeness, and detested that squeamish mimicry of fine feeling which not unfrequently, either under the assumed garb of superior sanctity, or of ardent friendship, conceals the most pitiable imbecility and ignorance.

It must be acknowledged that Cowper sometimes dipped his pen in gall. Some expressions the most bitterly sarcastic are to be found in his poems. Of his first volume it was said, by one of his friends, "There are many passages delicate, many sublime, many beautiful, many tender, many sweet, and many acrimonious." Cowper's satire, however, though keen and powerful as a whip of scorpions, was employed only to expose and punish the openly profligate, and the hypocritical professors of religion. Everything in the shape of deception he ever held in perfect detestation. The castigation of vice, of ignorance, or of dissimulation, was his object, when he became a satirist. If he held up philosophy to ridicule, it was that glare of false philosophy, which, instead of being beneficial to men, only led them from the plain and beaten track of truth, into paths of error and misery. He never wantonly, for the sake only of his own gratification, inflicted his satiric lash on a single individual. He became a satirist, not to give vent to a waspish, revengeful, and malicious disposition, (to feelings of this kind he was an entire stranger,) but for the same purpose as the holy prophets of old were satirists to expose, in mercy to mankind, the hideous deformity of those vices, which have ever been the fruitful parents of misery to mankind.

The exquisite sensibility of Cowper, and the real goodness of his disposition, with his entire abhorrence of cruelty, whether practised by man towards his own species, or towards any part of the Creator's works, are evinced by the following striking lines.

"I would not enter on my list of friends,
Though graced with polished manners and fine sense,
Yet wanting sensibility, the man
Who needlessly sets foot upon a worm.
An inadvertant step may crush the snail
That crawls at evening in the public path;
But he that has humanity, forewarned,
Will tread aside, and let the reptile live.
Ye, therefore, who love mercy, teach your sons
To love it too. The spring-time of our years
Is soon dishonoured and defiled in most
By budding ills, that ask a prudent hand
To check them. But, alas! none sooner shoots,
If unrestrained, into luxuriant growth
Than cruelty, most devilish of them all!
Mercy, to him that shows it, is the rule
And righteous limitation of its art,
By which Heaven moves in pardoning guilty man;
And he that shows none, being ripe in years,
And conscious of the outrage he commits,
Shall seek it, and not find it, in his turn.
Distinguished much by reason, and still more
By our capacity of grace divine,
From creatures that exist but for our sake,
Which, having served us, perish, we are held
Accountable: and God, some future day,
Will reckon with us roundly for the abuse
Of what he deems no mean or trivial trust!

Liberty has always been the soul-inspiring theme of poets. On no subject has the muse sung in sweeter strains, or towered to more sublime heights. Cowper has given ample proofs that his muse felt all the fire of this ennobling theme. In his Table Talk, some beautiful lines will be found on this interesting subject, so dear to the heart of every Englishman; but in his most masterly production, the Task, he thus sings—

"'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it. All constraint
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil: hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eyesight of discovery; and begets
In those that suffer it a sordid mind,—
Bestial—a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form.
Thee, therefore, still, blameworthy as thou art,
Thee I account still happy, and the chief
Among the nations, seeing thou art free,
My native nook of earth! Thy clime is rude,
Replete with vapours, and disposes much
All hearts to sadness, and none more than mine;
Yet, being free, I love thee for the sake
Of that one feature, can be well content,
Disgraced as thou hast been, poor as thou art,
To seek no sublunary rest beside.
But once enslaved, farewell. I could endure
Chains nowhere patiently; and chains at home,
Where I am free by birthright, not at all!"

The liberty of Cowper was not, however, that lawless restraint which, under the sacred name of liberty, would burst asunder all those bands that hold society together, and introduce confusion infinitely more to be dreaded than the most absolute despotism. It was not the wild and unrestrained liberty of the ferocious mob; it was the liberty that is compatible with wholesome restraint, and with the due administration of law. It was the liberty not of disorder but of discipline, as will be seen by the following beautiful lines—

"Let Discipline employ her wholesome arts;
Let magistrates alert perform their parts,
Not skulk, or put on a prudential mask,
As if their duty was a desperate task.
Let active laws apply the needful curb,
To guard the peace that riot would disturb;
And *liberty*, preserved from wild excess,
Shall raise no feuds for armies to suppress.
When Tumult lately burst his prison door,
And set plebeian thousands in a roar,
When he usurped Authority's just place,
And dared to look his master in the face;
When the rude rabble's watch-word was—'Destroy!'
And blazing London seemed a second Troy!
Liberty blushed, and hung her drooping head—
Beheld their progress with the deepest dread;
Blushed that effects like these she could produce,
Worse than the deeds of galley-slaves let loose;
She loses in such storms her very name,
And fierce Licentiousness should bear the blame!"

Powerful as were the charms of subjects like these to Cowper, there were others of a different character which he held as more dear, and ever regarded as more important. Like his great predecessor, Milton, he had made the sacred scriptures his constant study; not so much because he admired the sublime imagery of the holy penmen, (alive as he was to their beauties in this respect,) as because he felt the full force of divine truth upon his heart; which, notwithstanding the severe pressure of his malady, would sometimes yield him an interval of pleasure. It was undoubtedly on one of these happy occasions that he penned the following lines, so strikingly descriptive of the refined pleasure with which the Christian can view the works of nature.

"He looks abroad into the varied field
Of nature; and though poor, perhaps, compared
With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,
Calls the delighful scenery all his own:
His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
And the resplendent rivers: his to enjoy
With a propriety that none can feel,
But who, with filial confidence inspired,
Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
And smiling say—My Father made them all!
Are they not his by a peculiar right?
And by an emphasis of interest his
Whose eyes they fill with tears of holy joy;
Whose heart with praise, and whose exalted mind
With worthy thoughts of that unwearied love
That planned, and built, and still upholds a world
So clothed with beauty for rebellious man?
Yes! Ye may fill your garners, ye that reap
The loaded soil; and ye may waste much good
In senseless riot; but ye will not find
In feast, or in the chase, in song or dance,
A liberty like his, who, unimpeached
Of usurpation, and to no man's wrong
Appropriates nature as his Father's work,
And has a richer use of yours than you."

Although Cowper, towards the close of his life, before he received his Majesty's pension, owing to the heavy expenses occasioned by his own and Mrs. Unwin's illness, was scarcely able to keep his expenditure within the limits of his income, yet he was never once heard to complain, nor even to indulge the slightest disposition to be otherwise than contented in the station where Providence had placed him. Writing to his intimate friend, Mr. Hill, on one occasion, whom he appears to have made his treasurer, he remarks:—"Your tidings respecting the slender pittance yet to come, are, as you observe, of a melancholy cast. Not being gifted, however, by nature with the means of acquiring much, it is well that she has given me a disposition to be contented with little. I have now been so many years habituated to small matters, that I should probably find myself incommoded by greater, and, may I but be enabled to shift, as I have been hitherto, unsatisfied wishes will not trouble me much."

On another occasion, to the same individual he writes:—"I suppose you are sometimes troubled on my account, but you need not. I have no doubt that it will be seen, when my days are closed, that I served a Master who would not suffer me to want anything that was good for me. He said to Jacob, 'I will surely do thee good;' and this he said not for his sake only, but for ours also, if we trust in him. This thought relieves me from the greatest part of the distress I should else suffer in my present circumstances, and enables me to sit down peacefully upon the wreck of my fortune." The same sentiment is still more forcibly expressed in the following lines:—

"Fair is the lot that's cast for me;
I have an Advocate with Thee:

They whom the world caresses most
Have no such privilege to boast.
Poor though I am, despised, forgot,
Yet God, my God, forgets me not;
And he is safe, and must succeed,
For whom the Lord vouchsafes to plead."

Perhaps no individual ever felt more fully the power of religion in his heart, or embodied it more completely in his life, than Cowper. The apprehensions, for his ultimate safety, by which he was so continually harassed, depressive as was their influence on his mind, never relaxed, in any degree, that severe watchfulness which religion had taught him to exercise over his thoughts and conduct. On the contrary, they seem rather to have operated as a continual check upon those corrupt inclinations which are common to our fallen nature; and to which, even Cowper, was not a stranger. It would be ridiculous to say he had no imperfections; he felt them; he often mourned over them, and the vivid perception he had of them, associated, as it invariably was, with a powerful constitutional tendency to melancholy, often filled him with the greatest anxiety and dread. His conceptions of the purity of that sublime religion taught us in the gospel, and of the paramount importance of a holy life in its professors, were such as led him to regard the least deviation from the strict line of christian duty, in his own case at least, as an entire disqualification for the reception of spiritual comfort. No individual's conscience was ever more tremblingly alive to the importance of habitual watchfulness and uniform consistency of conduct. He could make ample allowances for the imperfections of others, but nothing could prevail upon him to make any for his own.

The notice we have already taken of Cowper's productions, renders it unnecessary that we should view them any further in detail. We cannot, however, suppress the following admirable observations of an anonymous critic, subjoined to Mr. Hayley's life of Cowper. "The noblest benefits and delights of poetry can be but rarely produced, because all the requisites for producing them so seldom meet. A vivid mind and happy imitative power, may enable a poet to form glowing pictures of virtue, and almost produce in himself a short-lived enthusiasm of goodness. But although even these transient and factitious movements of mind may serve to produce grand and delightful effusions of poetry, yet when the best of these are compared with the poetic productions of a genuine lover of virtue, a discerning judgment will scarcely fail to mark the difference. A simplicity of conception and expression; a conscious and therefore unaffected dignity; an instinctive adherence to sober reason, even amid the highest flights; an uniform justness and consistency of thought; a glowing, yet temperate ardour of feeling; a peculiar felicity, both in the choice and combination of terms, by which even the plainest words acquire the truest character of eloquence, and which is rarely to be found except where a subject is not only intimately known, but cordially loved; these, I conceive, are the features peculiar to the real votary of virtue, and which must of course give to his strains a perfection of effect never to be attained by the poet of inferior moral endowments. I believe it will be granted that all these qualities were never more perfectly combined than in the poetry of Milton. And I think, too, there will be little doubt that the next to him, in every one of these instances, beyond all comparison, is *Cowper*. The genius of the latter did certainly not lead him to emulate the songs of the Seraphim. But though he pursues a lower walk of poetry than his great master, he appears no less the enraptured votary of pure unmixed goodness. Nay, perhaps he may in this one respect possess some peculiar excellences which may make him seem more the bard of Christianity. That divine religion infinitely exalts, but it also deeply humbles the mind it inspires. It gives majesty to the thoughts, but it impresses meekness on the manners, and diffuses tenderness through the feelings. It combines sensibility and fortitude, the lowliness of the child, and the magnanimity of the hero."

"The grandest features of the Christian character were never more gloriously exemplified than in that spirit which animates the whole of Milton's poetry. His own Michael does not impress us with the idea of a purer, or more awful virtue than that which we feel in every portion of his majestic verse; and he no less happily indicates the source from which his excellence was derived, by the bright beams which he ever and anon reflects upon us from the sacred Scriptures. But the milder graces of the gospel are certainly less apparent. What we behold is so awful, it might almost have inspired a wish, that a spirit, equally pure and heavenly, might be raised to illustrate, with like felicity, the more attractive and gentler influences of our divine religion. In Cowper, above any poet that ever lived, would such a wish seem to be fulfilled. In his charming effusions we have the same spotless purity, the same elevated devotion, the same vital exercise of every noble and exalted quality of the mind, the same devotedness to the sacred Scriptures, and to the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. The difference is, that instead of an almost reprehensive dignity, we have the sweetest familiarity; instead of the majestic grandeur of the Old Testament, we have the winning graces of the New; instead of those thunders by which angels were discomfited, we have, as it were, the still small voice of Him who was meek and lowly of heart. May we not then venture to assert, that from that spirit of devoted piety, which has rendered both these great men liable to the charge of religious enthusiasm, but which, in truth, raised the minds of both to a kind of happy residence

'In regions mild, of calm and serene air,
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,
Which men call earth—'

a peculiar character has been derived to the poetry of them both, which distinguishes their compositions from those of almost all the world besides. I have already enumerated some of the superior advantages of a truly virtuous poet, and presumed to state, that these are realized, in an unexampled degree, in Milton and Cowper. That they both owed this eminence to their *vivid sense of religion*, will, I conceive, need no demonstration, except what will arise to every reader of taste and feeling on examining their works. It will here, I think, be seen at once, that that sublimity of conception, that delicacy of virtuous feeling, that majestic independence of mind, that quick relish for all the beauties of nature, at once so pure and so exquisite, which we find ever occurring in them both, could not have existed in the same unrivalled degree, if their devotion had been less intense, and of course, their minds more dissipated amongst low and distracting objects."

To the above remarks on the poet's character, we cannot forbear subjoining the two following exquisite pictures of him, one drawn undesignedly by himself, and the other by the Rev. Dr. Randolph, of Bath, on seeing his portrait by Lawrence.

"Nature, exerting an unwearied power,
Forms, opens, and gives scent to every flower;
But seldom (as if fearful of expense)
Vouchsafes to man a poet's just pretence—
Fervency, freedom, fluency of thought,
Harmony, strength, words exquisitely sought;
Fancy, that from the bow that forms the sky,
Brings colours dipt in heaven, that never die;
A soul exalted above earth; a mind
Skilled in the characters that form mankind;
And as the Sun, in rising beauty drest,
Looks to the westward from the dappled east,
And marks, whatever clouds may interpose
Ere yet his race begins, its glorious close;
And eye like his, to catch the distant goal;
Or ere the wheels of verse begin to roll,
Like his to shed illuminating rays
On every scene and subject it surveys:
Thus graced, the man asserts a poet's name,
And the world cheerfully admits the claim."

COWPER.

"Sweet Bard, whose mind, thus pictured in thy face,
O'er every feature spreads a nobler grace;
Whose keen but softened eye appears to dart
A look of pity through the human heart:
To search the secrets of man's inward frame;
To weep with sorrow o'er his guilt and shame;
Sweet Bard, with whom, in sympathy of choice,
I've oft-times left the world, at Nature's voice,
To join the song that all the creatures raise
To carol forth their great Creator's praise;
Or, wrapt in visions of immortal day,
Have gazed on Truth in Zion's heavenly way.
Sweet Bard, may this, thine image, all I know,
Or ever may, of Cowper's form below,
Teach one who views it with a Christian's love
To seek and find thee in the realms above."

REV. DR. RANDOLPH.

THE

TESTIMONY

OF

NATURE AND REVELATION TO THE BEING, PERFECTIONS, AND GOVERNMENT OF GOD.

BY THE

Rev. HENRY FERGUS, Dunfermline,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TILL THE TERMINATION OF
THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, IN LARDNER'S CYLOPÆDIA.

PREFACE.

The proofs of the Being, Perfections, and Government of God, may be indefinitely increased; for, as our knowledge of creation extends, the evidences of design multiply upon us. It is the aim of the following Treatise to show, within narrow limits, that contrivance, wisdom, and goodness, appear not in one province only, but in every department of the Universe which falls under our observation. Ray, Derham, and Paley, have distinguished themselves in this branch of learning; and of their excellent works the Author has occasionally availed himself.

The subject is of universal interest, and has a paramount claim to earnest attention. Without reverence for Deity man is a degraded and forlorn prodigal: but religion felicitates and exalts our nature; and it is the first step in religion to believe that God is, and "that he is the rewarder of them who diligently seek him." Creation declares the existence of the Creator, invites us to contemplate his perfections in the works of his hand, reminds us of our relation to Him in "whom we live, and move, and have our being," and claims our grateful adoration for his unwearied kindness towards us. To accustom ourselves to recognise the hand of God in the appearances of nature and the events of providence, to observe the adaptation of parts to each other, and the combination of means for the attainment of ends, is an exercise worthy of the high faculties which our Maker has bestowed upon us, and cannot fail to promote both our intellectual and moral improvement.

To whatever quarter we turn our eye, we find ample materials for this study. Animate and inanimate nature are alike instructive; and their relation to each other indicates that unity of counsel which presided in the formation of the world. The atmosphere, for example, though invisible, connects distant and dissimilar parts of the system, and combines them for the accomplishment of beneficial purposes. Without it no animal could live, no plant grow, no light shine, and no sound be heard; all would be sterility, desolation, and silence. But the earth is fitted up as a pleasant habitation for many sentient creatures. Man is its noblest inhabitant; and, in order to understand the plan of the Almighty with regard to him, it is necessary to attend to his character and condition. He is a rational, immortal, and accountable being, in a course of education for a higher stage of existence. He is subject to trials; and those trials have been eagerly seized, and plausibly urged, as inconsistent with the attributes of a benevolent Creator. The structure of the earth, the qualities of some of the inferior animals, and the vices and miseries of mankind, have been favourite arguments among infidels. To meet and answer the sceptical conclusions which have been drawn from these facts is the design of a considerable portion of the following work; but we trust its limits will not be considered as exceeding its importance.

After an attentive examination of the phenomena, we may not be able to explain every difficulty; but we are not left in doubt and uncertainty, for God has favoured us with an explicit revelation of his will in the Holy Scriptures. The Gospel is closely allied to Natural Religion, and its accordance with the appearances of the world, and the constitution of the human mind, is a proof of their common origin. It brightens our prospects under the trials of life, and gives clearer and more comprehensive views of faith and duty than the volume of Creation affords. There are many valuable works on evangelical truth in common circulation; and therefore, instead of enlarging on this part of the subject, the Author has satisfied himself with giving a general view of the evidences of divine revelation, of its harmony with the intimations of nature, and of the duties of piety and obedience to which it leads. In delivering his pages to the Public, he indulges the hope, that the serious consideration of the whole may, under the blessing of God, help to confirm the faith, comfort the heart, and encourage the pious exertions of those who love the truth, and desire to obey it.

Dunfermline, 20*th March*, 1833.

BOOK I.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE GENERAL BELIEF OF MANKIND.

Crantz, in his History of Greenland, tells us that a native of that country once addressed him in the following manner: "It is true we were ignorant heathens and knew little of God till you came. But you must not imagine that no Greenlander thinks about these things. A kajak (a Greenland boat), with all its tackle and implements, cannot exist but by the labour of man. But the formation of the meanest bird requires more skill than that of the best kajak, and no man can make a bird. There is still more skill required to make a man: by whom then was he made? He proceeded from his parents, and they from their parents. But some must have been the first parents, and whence did they proceed? Common report says they grew out of the earth. If so, why do not men grow out of the earth still? And whence came the earth itself, the sun, the moon, and the stars? Certainly there must be some Being who made all these things; a Being more wise than the wisest man." Such was the reasoning of the untutored inhabitant of the frozen coast of Greenland, and in some such way, have mankind always reasoned; for no truth has been more universally received than the existence of God. "Who," says Ælian, "does not admire the wisdom of the barbarians, none of whom ever fell into the atheistical absurdities of Eumenes, Diagoras, Epicurus, and other philosophers? No Indian, Celt, or Egyptian, ever questioned whether there were Gods, or whether they concerned themselves with the affairs of men."

Some errors and some vices characterize society in particular stages of its progress, or when placed in peculiar circumstances: but atheism is never the error of society, in any stage or in any circumstances whatsoever. It is the hypothesis of a few thinly-scattered individuals in civilized nations, at times when from caprice, vanity, and ostentation, the most obvious truths are denied, and the most whimsical and pernicious paradoxes are zealously published and defended. Belief in the existence of God has prevailed in every age, and in every quarter of the world, and in every stage of society. In this point the savage and the sage have agreed. The rude hunter of the wilderness, and the polished inhabitant of the magnificent city, between whom there is a vast difference of habits, of knowledge, and of opinions, unite in the belief of the existence of Deity, and with equal earnestness supplicate his favour. On this subject the great error has been not the denial of one God, but the belief of many: polytheism, however, has been a popular and poetical rather than a philosophical error. Men have entertained false notions of the nature of God, but still they have believed in his existence; and the erroneous conceptions which have accompanied this belief, instead of attaching any discredit to the interesting truth tend to confirm it. They show that the existence of Deity is so plainly engraven on the face of nature, and so consentaneous to the dictates of reason, and to the unperverted feelings of the human mind, that it meets with a ready reception, even when accompanied by absurdities.

Is it alleged that some tribes of human beings have been found among whom no traces of belief in the existence of Deity were discoverable? The allegation is questionable. Of these tribes we know too little to speak with certainty of their creed: and even supposing the affirmation founded on fact, it must not be forgotten that those tribes are in a state of extreme degradation; and that they are not to be considered as denying the existence of God, but as being so brutal as to have no opinion or belief on the subject. Belief in the existence of Deity has all the authority which it can derive from opinion: it has the general suffrage of the human race. This is no slight presumption of the truth of the thing believed; for where mankind, in all the different circumstances in which they have been placed, have generally agreed on any great point relating to their common interest, their agreement may fairly be interpreted as the dictate of their nature, and consequently may be considered as having a rational claim to general reception.

For the general belief in the existence of God there must be an adequate cause. Where shall we find such a cause but in the appearances of the universe indicating a powerful, wise, and good Being, the Creator of all things? It is in vain to attribute this belief to tradition. Tradition cannot account for the fact; for the question immediately occurs, what was the origin of the tradition? Besides, no mere tradition could have been so widely and permanently diffused: it could not have been preserved among all tribes of men, and amidst all the vicissitudes of the human race. The flimsy allegation which ascribes the origin of this belief to the artifices of interested politicians is unworthy of notice, and may be dismissed with contempt. If general opinion and belief, then, could place any truth beyond the reach of controversy, the question concerning the being of God would long ere now have been finally determined; for on no other points have mankind so generally agreed as in believing the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul. But although belief in the existence of God has been general, yet it has not been universal; for the fool, says an ancient sage, has said in his heart there is no God.

The general belief of mankind is not of itself decisive evidence of the truth of the thing believed. But, even as evidence, it is not hastily to be dismissed from our minds, unless we can point out in a clear and satisfactory manner the causes of general error. Men have been led to the conclusion that there is a God by the appearances of the universe; and if those appearances, when calmly and rationally contemplated, justify the conclusion, then the opinion which it establishes is entitled to a cordial reception by the candid and serious inquirer after truth. It has, indeed, been attempted in different ways to evade the conclusion now mentioned. It has been alleged by some that the world is eternal; and others have been of opinion that the universe is a casual production. These speculations claim some notice, although they need not detain us long.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD.

The belief of the first men of whose opinions we have any record, the progressive population of the world, the recent origin of arts and sciences, ancient tradition and early history, all militate against the eternity of the world. We are not now speaking of inert matter only, but of the whole system of things as we see it. For if it be admitted that any part of the system is not eternal, then the whole hypothesis falls to the ground. Either all is eternal, or we have no reason to conclude that any part is so. But how can the human race be eternal? I exist; but I do not necessarily exist, for once I was not. I did not bring myself into existence. My parents were not their own creators: and although I go back as far as the wing of imagination can bear me, still I am as unable satisfactorily to account for the existence of those whom I then find alive, as I am to account for my own existence, or for the existence of those who have lived at any intermediate period. By going backward I remove the difficulty from one point to another; but still, at any given point, that difficulty is just the same as when it first met me. According, however, to the constitution of my nature, I cannot rest satisfied till I come either to a self-created or to a necessarily existing being. But a self-created being involves a contradiction. It involves existence and non-existence at the same time. I must, therefore, arrive at a necessarily existing, and consequently eternal being, as the *first cause* of my own existence.

Thus I think, that according to the constitution of my nature, I must either believe in an eternal and intelligent first cause; or, in something at least equally incomprehensible, and also altogether absurd. To talk of an infinite succession of beings such as man, is merely an unphilosophical attempt to push out of sight the difficulty of accounting for our first formation: but that difficulty it in no degree removes. For, according to this hypothesis, how high soever we ascend, we find no animated being but what has derived its existence from a being of the same kind with itself. Still we meet with plain marks of design; but the designing cause we have not found. Contrivance is obvious; but the contriving mind which must have existed before the contrivance, we have not discovered. It may be added, that the speculations of those who have attempted to trace the vestiges of the human race to a very remote antiquity have not been successful. There is no reason to believe that men have existed on the earth above six or seven thousand years.

Our globe has undergone some great revolutions. This the structure of its parts, and the organic remains found in it, clearly prove. But these revolutions were antecedent to the race of Adam. The organic remains indicate no traces of human beings. Neither reason nor revelation require us to believe, that the matter of this world was first called into existence at the time of the creation mentioned in the Jewish Scriptures. It may have existed before in different forms, and may have undergone many changes. But having been deranged and reduced to a chaotic mass by some mighty catastrophe, it was then fitted up for the reception of new inhabitants and the exhibition of new scenes, and was subjected to laws adapted to the new order of things.

Geological speculations can never be successfully employed in ascertaining the antiquity of the human race; for how shall we determine the state of matter when our globe was first subjected to the operation of those laws under which it now exists! To apply the result of observations on the present order of nature to a state of things anterior to, and perhaps altogether different from the present system, can lead to no correct conclusions. In an investigation of this kind, the very first point to be ascertained is, the state of matter when the present system of laws began to operate: a point which no human industry or ingenuity can ascertain; and without which, any speculations on this subject, with a view to determine the antiquity of the world, are mere illusions. Nay, from the phenomena of the existing system, rash and hasty conclusions may be drawn, which, although at first sight plausible, will not bear the test of examination. The argument of Recupero, founded on the lavas of Ætna, might have been considered decisive, had not the ruins of Herculaneum demonstrated its fallacy.

The astronomical arguments which have been adduced on this subject are as deceitful and unsatisfactory as those of a geological kind. Astronomy is incomparably the more advanced of the two sciences; but the history of astronomy is imperfect, and on some points very uncertain. Much has been said of the high antiquity of the Indian astronomical tables; but the eloquence of Bailly and the science of Playfair have not succeeded in proving them to be founded on observation. There is good reason to believe that they were formed by computation. This is the opinion of La Place, and it is strongly supported by the arguments of Bentley. The probability is that Indian science, instead of being of high antiquity, was derived from the Arabians, through the Greeks and Persians. According to Montucla, the distinguished historian of science, the most ancient Chinese observations are 2155 years before the Christian era; being, according to Usher's chronology, about 160 years before the birth of the patriarch Abraham. If the Fohi of the Chinese be the Noah of the Hebrew Scriptures, he may have transported into that country the faint lights of antediluvian science.*

An argument in favour of the high antiquity of the human race has been founded on the zodiacs in the temples of Latopolis and Tentyra, two ancient cities in the Upper Egypt. This argument rests on a great astronomical fact, the precession of the equinoxes. The equinoctial and solstitial points do not invariably occupy the same places in the ecliptic, but have a retrograde motion of about $50\frac{1}{3}''$ in a year; by which they will accomplish a revolution in about 25,750 years. Now, in the zodiac of Latopolis, the modern Esneh, Leo, we are told, is represented as the last of the ascending signs, and it has been stated that a sphinx there represents the sun at the summer solstice, just in the point where the last degree of Leo meets the first degree of Virgo. But at present the colure of the summer solstice is in the first degree of Gemini; and therefore it has been inferred, that as the space between the first degree of Gemini and the last degree of Leo, is to the whole of the ecliptic, so must the period elapsed since the construction of the zodiac of Latopolis be to 25,750 years. This inference would no doubt be consequentially drawn, if it were proved that the above was a true explanation of the zodiac of Latopolis, and that *that* zodiac was a correct picture of the heavens at the time of its formation. But on these points doubts and suspicions crowd in upon us. Plutarch and Macrobius would have been surprised and amused to hear the sphinx spoken of as an emblem of the sun. The Egyptians, it is true, worshipped that luminary under different names and symbols; but the sphinx was not one of them. To imagine then that this symbol represents the sun, is a gratuitous and unauthorized assumption.

Besides, there is no good reason to believe that the zodiac of Latopolis was a correct picture of the heavens at the time of its formation. Although we allow the highest praise to the genius and industry of ancient astronomers, yet it cannot be denied that their instruments were rude and clumsy, and many of their observations inaccurate. They erred more than half a degree in the latitude of Syené, a place at no great distance from Latopolis; and does this encourage the presumption that they were qualified to give a correct delineation of the zodiac? The Egyptians were moreover very vain, and boasted of a high antiquity. After the days of Hipparchus, might they not give false representations of the heavens with a view to countenance and encourage this vanity? It may be remarked, that the decorations of the Egyptian temples are not of the same antiquity with the temples themselves.

Farther, in the zodiac of Tentyra, the modern Dendera, Leo is not represented as the last of the ascending, but as the first of the descending signs. Does not this show that one, if not both of those zodiacs, is posterior to the time of Hipparchus? For if one of those zodiacs represents Leo as the last of the ascending, and the other as the first of the descending signs, was not this (supposing those zodiacs to be correct) a demonstration that the solstitial, and consequently the equinoctial points are moveable? But this, as is well known, was the grand discovery of Hipparchus; a discovery in no degree owing to the zodiacs of Latopolis and Tentyra, but made by comparing his own observations with those of Aristyllus and Timochares about 150 years before. Hipparchus diligently inquired into all the observations of Chaldean and Egyptian astronomers; but although it is probable that the former of those nations cultivated astronomy before the latter, yet he could find no observations that had been made at Babylon, previous to the reign of Nabonassar, 747 years before Christ. Berosus, a Chaldean, who lived about 300 years before the Christian era, knew of no monuments of Chaldean astronomy more ancient than 480 years before his own time: and neither Hipparchus nor Ptolemy ever heard of observations for 1903 years transmitted by Callisthenes to Aristotle, about the year 331 before Christ. Simplicius, a peripatetic philosopher, and commentator on Aristotle, who lived in the sixth century of the Christian era, makes mention of such observations; but his authority and that of Porphyry, from whom he borrowed the story, are too modern to be entitled to any regard. In short, these Egyptian zodiacs were unknown to Hipparchus; and if they had existed in his time, would they have escaped the notice of that careful observer and indefatigable inquirer? Would he not have appealed to them, as well as to the observations of Aristyllus and Timochares, in proof of the precession of the equinoxes? But it is needless to dwell longer on the subject, for there is no evidence that the Egyptians had zodiacs, with our signs and names, before the establishment of the Greeks in that country.*

It has been said that all things sprung from *necessity*. Necessity, however, is not an agent, but the state or condition of an agent; and if they who use the word, in the sense under consideration, attach any distinct conceptions to their language, they must by it understand an agent acting necessarily. But an agent acting necessarily is in reality no agent, but merely an instrument in the hand of another. Such, however, is the constitution of our nature that we cannot rest satisfied till we find a being operating not by necessity but by will and choice. We must find an efficient cause that had power to give or not to give existence to every creature. Necessity must result from something antecedent to itself.

Some persons talk of *appetency*. What do they mean by the word? Is it chemical affinity? If it be so, we understand the signification of the language, but cannot conceive with what propriety it is introduced on the present occasion. Has chemical affinity ever formed an organized being? If any person hazard the affirmative, let him produce an example: this he cannot do. But *appetency*, it may be said, is an endeavour perpetually and imperceptibly working its effects through a long succession of generations. We know that the perennial mountain stream operates insensibly, and in the course of ages hollows out a channel in the rock; but we know of no such operation producing either a plant or an animal.

To talk, as some have talked, of "Nature forming the first rudiments of organization, or spontaneous generations, which, gradually in a long series of ages and under the modifying influence of different circumstances, appear in all the organized forms which exist on the earth," is, to say the least of it, something that requires explanation, or that cannot be proved. What are we to understand by *Nature?* The word may be used figuratively for the Author of Nature: or it may mean that order and constitution of things which the Supreme Intelligence has established and maintains. In this last sense, it is of the same import with the *Laws of Nature.* Now, to talk of the laws of nature, to the exclusion of an Intelligent Agent, is absurd. The very term *law* implies such an agent. Law is not an agent. It is not endowed with active power, and therefore cannot be a cause in the proper sense of the word. Law is the expression of mind, and the rule according to which intelligence acts. Without the agent the law is nothing, Without his agency it never could have existed, for it merely expresses the manner of his procedure.

Where is the proof that Nature has formed all her productions after long periods of time? Show us an example of the first rudiments of organization, or a spontaneous generation. Show us any one of those rudiments in the first stage of its progress, or undergoing any of those metamorphoses, through which it passes in advancing to a more perfect form. At any assumed point, tell us what was its last form, and what will be its next. Men and other animals are still such as they have always been. But a hypothesis countenanced by no known fact in nature, has no legitimate claim to the character of philosophy, and may be fairly dismissed as a dream.

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* The curious reader may consult a Dissertation on Hindoo Astronomy, by Professor Wallace, in the 8th volume of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.

* Dr. Richardson, in his Travels, thinks it requires a good deal of imagination to make the drawings in these temples zodiacs; and some late interpreters of the hieroglyphics make them the work of Roman emperors.

CHAPTER III.

OF CHANCE.

Some persons have been of opinion that *Chance* was the author of all things. What is Chance? In common language, by this word we express our ignorance of a cause, or our want of intention. When we say a thing happened by chance, we do not mean to describe chance as the cause of the fact or event; but merely to say that we are ignorant of the cause, or that the event happened without intention on our part. The Atheist, however, uses the word to the exclusion of an intelligent and designing cause from the formation of the universe. But how did chance produce either matter or motion? We may indeed be told that we are equally ignorant how an intelligent cause operated in the production of those effects. It may be so. But by the introduction of Deity we assign an intelligent and sufficient cause for all the phenomena, although we may not comprehend the manner in which this cause operated in their production.

But although matter and motion be given, the difficulties of the chance philosopher are little diminished. How do chance, matter, and motion, produce an organized substance? How do they form a sentient being? How do they constitute and maintain a system of animated and rational existence? We confidently affirm that chance, matter, and motion, have never formed, and never will form, an organic structure. Let all the men of the world employ the best efforts of their reason and ingenuity in arranging and combining matter in thousands and millions of different ways, still they cannot produce a single plant or a single animal in any other than the common way. By a proper adjustment of the temperature, they may supply the incubation of the bird; but without the bird they cannot form the egg. Has chance, then, produced that rich and beautiful variety of vegetable, sentient, and rational nature, which adorns and felicitates our earth; and is Man, with all his reason and science, unable to succeed in a single instance? That unthinking and undesigning chance should produce intelligent and designing beings, is a notion utterly unfit for gaining admission into the human mind. The understanding of mankind revolts from it. Their observation and experience pronounce it untrue.

If the fortuitous concourse of atoms has formed all things; if the different orders of sentient beings have sprung from accidental combinations of matter; how happens it that alchymists and chemists, in all their mixtures for discovering the philosopher's stone, or even for making phosphorus, have not hit upon any new combination which produced a living creature; a fly or a frog, a monkey or a man? Franklin has taught us to rob the clouds of their lightning. Galvani and Volta have discovered combinations of matter by which, even after the vital spark is extinguished, the animal frame can be thrown into violent contortions. But no philosopher has discovered a new process for forming any one living creature. It is not unreasonable, however, to think that if the system of the chance philosophers had any foundation in truth, new processes for making living creatures would long ere now have been discovered; and that he would have been as well acquainted with receipts for forming animals of new kinds, and also with different ways of making those that formerly existed, as we are with prescriptions for procuring oxygen gas, or pulvis fulminans.

If chance produced all things at first, why do we not see chance operating still? If chance reared the world, why do we never see it building a palace or a cottage? If chance made man, why does it never draw a portrait? If all things be the offspring of chance, how happens it that we do not see new forms rising into life; animals unheard of before appearing in the world; and all the fictions of the poets realized? How happens it that the casual concurrence of atoms does not derange the system which it had formed, and alter it in a thousand different ways; that we never see a tree changing into a man, nor a man dwindling into a mushroom; nor a human head united to a horse's neck! Has chance stumbled blindly on till it reared the beautiful and magnificent fabric of the Universe; till in every instance, throughout the whole extent of nature, it hit upon the only possible combinations from which such noble results could proceed, and then for ever ceased from its blind and stumbling operations? The supposition is too extravagant to gain admission, for a moment, into a sober and rational mind. Indeed the whole hypothesis of the chance philosophers is rather to be considered as an instance of the strange vagaries of the human imagination, than as a system capable, in any degree, of bearing the test of reason, or satisfying the mind of the serious and candid inquirer after truth.*

CHAPTER IV.

OF DESIGN.

The opinion that the system of the world has been eternal cannot bear examination: and the hypothesis which ascribes the origin of the universe to a casual concurrence of atoms is utterly unsatisfactory. To arrange and organize matter, as we see it arranged and organized in the fabric of the world, is the work of mind; for in the fabric of the world, we every where see plain indications of design and contrivance. But where there are design and contrivance there must be intelligence. The intelligent being may act either mediately or immediately; but still he must exist and act. It may be assumed as the dictate of our nature that every effect must have an adequate cause. Such is the constitution of our minds, that this is equally the conviction of the savage and the sage. Wherever we see the fit combination of means in order to the attainment of an end, we thence, invariably and without hesitation, infer the existence of a designing cause.†

The possibility of discovering design by its effects has been denied; but there are some things which by the very constitution of our nature we are compelled to believe. The conviction is universal and irresistible, and can neither be weakened by metaphysical fallacies, nor strengthened by demonstration. The man who attempts to make me doubt my own existence, or that of matter around me, may puzzle my understanding by the subtlety of his reasoning, or dazzle my imagination by the splendour of his eloquence; but he makes no impression on my belief. The same is the case with him who tells me that I can have no conception of active power, or who labours to persuade me that I cannot discover design in its effects. In spite of his distinctions and his acuteness, my belief remains unchanged. He no more alters the convictions of my mind than the colour of my skin. For by attending to my own voluntary actions, I have a conception of active power. I am conscious of my own volitions, and experience teaches me that these volitions are followed by corresponding effects. Now, although I am unable to understand or explain the manner in which mind acts upon matter, yet I have all the evidence of which the case admits, or which my nature requires, that my volitions and exertions are the efficient cause of the effects produced. Wherever I observe mutual adaptation, reciprocal dependence, the relation of parts to one another and to a common end, there I believe there has been design. The belief is invariable and it is certain. I am led to it by all my notions resulting from consciousness, perception, testimony, and inference. Experience proves it invariably true.

Aristippus was shipwrecked on an island, where he and his companions were apprehensive of being destroyed by barbarians, or torn to pieces by wild beasts. He perceived some geometrical figures roughly sketched on the shore. "Let us take courage, my friends," exclaimed he, "for I see the vestiges of civilized men!" The judgment which he formed was instantaneous and certain. He never suspected that those figures had been scratched by the talon of the eagle, the paw of the lion, or even by the finger of a savage. If, however, upon landing on an unknown shore, instead of a few figures roughly sketched on the sand, we were to find a geometrical treatise, such, for instance, as the first six books of Euclid, with all the propositions, diagrams, and demonstrations, would any one hesitate, for a single moment, to pronounce that this was the work of some civilized and intelligent being? No man capable of exercising reason would pronounce it the work of chance. Would a voyager, landing on an uninhabited island, and finding a magnificent and splendid city, adorned with palaces, and temples, and towers, imagine, because he saw no inhabitants, that the city had risen up there without the operation of an intelligent agent? No: a native of oriental climes might pronounce it the work of the genii; but no person would imagine that it had come there without a designing cause, a contriving mind.

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* The ancient chance and atomic philosophers were not agreed among themselves. Some of them, as Epicurus, supposed the atoms, which, by their fortuitous concourse, formed all things, were inanimated: others, as Democritus, believed them animated; teaching a doctrine, perhaps essentially the same with the living organic particles of more recent times. Whence did these atoms derive their animation?

† Without entering into any abstruse speculations about causation, we may, with Dr. Reid, remark, that in common language, *cause* is a very vague word, and is applied to any antecedent that is connected with the effect. In Natural Philosophy when we speak of a *cause*, we mean a law of nature from which the phenomenon results. This is a *physical* cause: it means the law or rule according to which the *efficient* cause acts. But by a *metaphysical* or *efficient* cause, we mean a being with understanding, will, and power, equal to the production of the effect. Nothing but an efficient cause can give existence to that which had no existence before: and in a series the efficient cause must begin it, and establish the law by which it is carried on.

It is by the inference of design from its effects, that, in many instances, we form our opinions and regulate our conduct. How do we distinguish a man of sagacity from a fool? A person of integrity from a villain? Why do we punish the incendiary and the murderer? It is because our opinions are formed and our conduct regulated by the inference of design from its effects. And before we cease to think in this manner, we must divest ourselves of our nature; we must cease to be men. This principle, which is forced upon us by the very constitution of our nature, and which is confirmed by daily experience, we must carry along with us when we survey the universe. We cannot divest ourselves of it. If, therefore, in our examination of Nature, we perceive combinations and relations which, according to all our notions, indicate design, then we are irresistibly led to infer the existence of a designing cause. This is no wanton hypothesis, no gratuitous assumption. It flows from a principle deeply rooted in our nature, and which influences many of our opinions, and much of our conduct.

It may, perhaps, be said that our knowledge of the design of the artist in any piece of mechanism, or of the architect in planning and building a palace or a city, arises from our having seen other things of the same kind, and having been informed of the *design;* but that the universe is something of its own kind; that it is *one* only; that there is no fair analogy between it and any work of man; and that, therefore, we cannot trace *design* in it. It is true, indeed, that the universe is but one. It consists, however, of many parts; and if, either in the whole, or in any of the parts, we perceive those kinds of combinations and relations which, according to the constitution of our nature, and all our observation and experience, we consider as indicative of design, then we are as irresistibly led to infer the existence of a designing cause in the one case as in the other. And in proportion as the universe, or any part of it, is superior to any effect of human contrivance and power, so the designing cause must, in the same proportion at least, be superior to man in wisdom and might. A watch is but one, yet it consists of many different parts, and plainly indicates design and contrivance. And though there were only one watch in the world, no man in the possession of his understanding would pronounce it a casual production.

The distance between the construction of any piece of mechanism, and that of the vast system of the universe is, indeed, immeasurably great. This, however, does not destroy the analogy; but it greatly weakens the impression of that analogy on our minds. In comparing a mite with an elephant, we, in some measure, lose sight of the comparison by the immense disparity between the things compared. This is much more the case in comparing the world with a piece of mechanism. In order to see and feel the full force of the comparison, there must be something like equality between the things compared; or, at least, we must be able to compute the inequality. For, it is only in proportion as we are able distinctly to see, and accurately to compute the difference between the things compared, that we feel the force of the comparison. But the disparity between the universe and the effects of human ingenuity and power are incalculable, and therefore the argument from analogy does not make a due impression on our mind.

We do not pretend fully to understand the designs of God in his works; but to argue that we can know no part of those designs, because we cannot comprehend them in all their variety and extent, is attempting to draw a general conclusion from partial premises. Because we do not fully understand the economy of the comets, can it be logically inferred that we know nothing of the solar system, or of the design of the sun? Will any man assert that we are ignorant of the design of the organs of sense, because we cannot explain how the nerves connected with different organs produce different sensations? Such conclusions, drawn from such premises, are not entitled to much consideration. To state them plainly is a sufficient refutation. The man who denies that it is any part of the design of the sun to enlighten, warm, and fertilize the earth; or of the eye to see, and of the ear to hear; or who seriously maintains that, from the effects, we cannot fairly infer such a design, is unquestionably under the influence of very powerful prejudices. In these instances the relations are obvious; and every unperverted mind must be fully satisfied that it is the design of the sun to communicate light and heat to the earth, of the eye to see, and of the ear to hear. These we may confidentially assume as designs of the Deity; and may reason concerning the fitness of the means to accomplish the ends, and from that fitness may form our estimate of the attributes of the Supreme Intelligence.

In inquiring into the designs of the Creator in his works, there is no presumption. Our inquiries ought to be conducted with profound reverence for the Being who formed and who upholds the universe; and, when so conducted, instead of being indications of impiety or audacity, they are expressions of admiration and homage. The essence of Deity is not the object of our senses; but he exhibits himself to us in his works, and in these he invites us to contemplate the proofs of his existence and the glory of his perfections. To trace the hand of the Almighty in the fabric of the universe, is a suitable exercise of the noble faculties with which he has endowed us: it is a tribute of homage to him who made us; and must be the means of much improvement and happiness to ourselves. "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein."*

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* The *a priori* argument I have not introduced, because to my mind it has never appeared very satisfactory. Dr. Ried (Intell. Powers, p. 314, 4to ed.) says, "Sir Isaac Newton thought that the Deity, by existing everywhere, and at all times, constitutes time and space, immensity and eternity. This probably suggested to his great friend Dr. Clarke what he calls the argument *a priori* for the existence of an immense and eternal Being. Space and time, he thought, are only abstract or partial conceptions of an immensity and eternity which forces itself upon our belief. And as immensity and eternity are not substances, they must be the attributes of a Being who is necessarily immense and eternal. These are the speculations of men of superior genius. But whether they be as solid as they are sublime, or whether they be the wanderings of imagination in a region beyond the limits of human understanding, I am unable to determine."

Professor Dugald Stewart, in his dissertation on the progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Part II., p.65, says, "How far the peculiar cast of Newton's genius qualified him for prosecuting successfully the study of mind, he has not afforded us sufficient *data* for judging; but such was the admiration with which his transcendant powers as a mathematician and natural philosopher were universally regarded, that the slightest of his hints on other subjects have been eagerly seized upon as indisputable axioms, though sometimes with little other evidence in their favour but the supposed sanction of his authority. The part of his works, however, which chiefly led me to connect his name with that of Clarke, is a passage in the *Scholium* annexed to his *Principia*, which may be considered as the germ of the celebrated argument *a priori* for the existence of God, which is commonly, though, I apprehend, not justly, regarded as the most important of all Clarke's contributions to metaphysical philosophy. I shall quote the passage in Newton's own words, to the oracular conciseness of which no English version can do justice.

"'Æternus est et infinitus, omnipotens et omnisciens; id est, durat ab æterno in æternum, et adest ab infinito in infinitum. Non est æternitas et infinitas, sed æternus et infinitus; non est duratio et spatium, sed durat et adest. Durat semper et adest ubique, et existendo semper et ubique durationem et spatium constituit.' Proceeding on these principles, Dr. Clarke argued, that as immensity and eternity (which force themselves irresistibly on our belief as necessary existencies, or, in other words, as existencies of which the annihilation is impossible) are not *substances*, but *attributes*, the immense and eternal Being, whose attributes they are, must exist of necessity also. The existence of God, therefore, according to Clarke, is a truth that follows with demonstrative evidence from those conceptions of space and time which are inseparable from the human mind."

After quoting the passage from Dr. Ried, cited at the beginning of this note, Mr. Stewart proceeds and says, "After this candid acknowledgment from Dr. Ried, I need not be ashamed to confess my own doubts and difficulties on the same question."

Dr. Thomas Brown in his 92d lecture says, "If the world had been without any of its present adaptation of parts to parts, only a mass of matter, irregular in form, and quiescent,—and if we

BOOK II.

EVIDENCES OF DESIGN IN NATURE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

We shall now proceed to consider some of the evidences of design in the fabric of nature; and, instead of selecting a few insulated examples from particular departments of the world, shall take a rapid but wide survey of the universe, and endeavour to show that evidences of design occur everywhere throughout, the vast system. Such evidences appear not merely in a few thinly-scattered phenomena of a dubious aspect, pressed into the service, and constrained to give a reluctant and suspicious testimony; but they abound in every province of nature, and upon many occasions force themselves upon the notice even of the careless observer. Such a general survey is not necessary to prove the being of God; but it will serve to familiarize this great truth to our imagination, and accustom us to associate the existence and perfections of Deity with the contemplations of his works. Moreover, we may often have occasion to remark the indications of wisdom and goodness which appear in every department of nature, and the frequent recurrence of these indications cannot fail to make a deep impression on the mind, and to fortify it against objections to those attributes of the Creator. Before entering, however, upon this extensive survey, it is proper to premise,

1. That although we may not understand every phenomenon, or be able to point out design in every appearance of nature, yet this can form no objection against what we are able to explain. Our ability to prove the existence and illustrate the perfections of Deity from the fabric of the universe, will be commensurate with our knowledge of creation. We may be able to show design in many phenomena; but beings of greater knowledge may show wisdom and goodness in many more, perhaps even in those very instances which to us appear most perplexing and unaccountable. Hence we may see the folly of condemning what we do not understand. Perceiving so many indications of wise and benevolent contrivance everywhere around us, we ought rather to distrust our own knowledge than to deny the existence of wisdom and goodness in any particular instance. The celebrated Alphonsus X., king of Leon and Castile, was well acquainted with the astronomical doctrines of Ptolemy, but had he no conception of the true principles of the solar system. Proud, however, of his attainments, and misled by his imaginary science, he is said to have exclaimed, that if he had been of God's council he would have instructed him better in the construction of the universe. What the royal astronomer ridiculed was not the work of Deity, but the phantom created by his own ignorance. His example should operate as a caution to us.

2. Although I err in my account of one phenomenon, and although my argument, in so far as it depends on that erroneous account, must fall to the ground; yet this, in no degree, invalidates arguments founded on facts and appearances correctly stated. It is not here as in the demonstration of a geometrical theorem, where if one link be broken the demonstration fails. In the present case, the reasoning upon every fact, or combination of facts, is separate and independent; and, therefore, although in any one instance, the statement of fact may be incorrect, and the argument, in so far as it depends on that incorrect statement, unsound, yet other facts, and arguments founded on them, stand in full force. Every fact, or every combination of facts, may be considered independently in the great mass of evidence; and in proportion as we bring forward appearances indicative of design, we accumulate arguments in proof of the existence of a designing cause. If we can show a harmonious combination of all the phenomena in order to the construction of one whole, then the conclusion which results from the contemplation of particular parts will appear with the most attractive lustre and commanding majesty.

CHAPTER II.

THE HUMAN EYE.

In glancing at the evidence of design in nature, I shall first select a particular instance and explain it at considerable length, in order that the force of the evidence may be more fully felt. The instance which I select for this purpose is the *Human Eye;* and in reviewing this organ I shall give a description of it, which, though not minute enough for the anatomist, may suffice for an exhibition of its construction and excellence as an optical instrument.

The *Eye*, which communicates so much beauty and vivacity to the human countenance, is a small but admirable instrument of vision formed in the bulb of the optic nerve. Its position, construction, and the provision made for its adjustment and preservation, plainly indicate a designing cause. It is placed in the upper part of the face, occupying a commanding station; and, like a sentinel posted on a hill, perceiving, at a single glance, everything around. It is lodged in a strong-hold, or bony cavity, called its *orbit;* and is surrounded by several parts, which serve either to protect it from injury, to assist and facilitate its motions, or to supply it with moisture. The optic nerves proceed separately from the brain: they afterwards unite; then separate again, and each of them enters the orbit, on the nasal side, and forms the integuments of the eye, so that the *coats* or *tunics* of the eye are expansions of the optic nerve, or at least membranes intimately adhering to it. The optic nerve has two coats, one above the other, enclosing its medullary substance. The exterior coat is named the *dura mater*, the interior the *pia mater*. The outer coat of the eye, called the *sclerotica*, is a continuation and expansion of the dura mater, and is white and opaque, excepting the anterior part, called the *cornea*, which, unlike the part behind, is transparent, and is fixed in the sclerotica, like the glass of a watch in its case.

The *Choroides*, which lines the sclerotica, may be considered as a production of the pia mater. Its anterior part, behind the cornea, but not close to it, is of a very different structure from its posterior part; and, on account of the variety of its colours, has been named the *Iris*. The Iris, or anterior part of the choroides, is an assemblage of muscular fibres; some of them tending like the radii of a circle towards its centre, and others forming a number of concentric circles round the same centre. In the middle of the iris is a per-

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could conceive ourselves, with all our faculties as vigorous as now, contemplating such an irregular and quiescent mass, without any thought of the order displayed in our own mental frame, I am far from contending that, in such circumstances, with nothing before us that could be considered as indicative of a particular design, we should have been led to the conception of a Creator. On the contrary, I conceive the abstract arguments which have been adduced to show that it is *impossible* for *matter* to have existed from eternity,—by reasonings on what has been termed *necessary existence*, and the incompatibility of this necessary existence with the qualities of matter,—to be relics of the mere *verbal logic* of the schools, as little capable of producing conviction, as any of the wildest and most absurd of the technical scholastic reasonings, on the properties, or supposed properties, of *entity* and *nonentity*. Eternal existence, the existence of that which never had a beginning, must always be beyond our distinct comprehension, *whatever* the eternal object may be, material or mental,—and as much beyond our comprehension in the one case, as in the other, though it is not impossible for us to doubt, that *some* being, material or mental, must have been eternal, if *anything exists*."

Sir James Mackintosh, in his dissertation on the progress of ethical philosophy, in the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, speaking of Dr. Clarke, says, "Roused by the prevalence of the doctrines of Spinoza and Hobbes, he endeavoured to demonstrate the being and attributes of God, from a few axioms and definitions, in the manner of geometry; an attempt in which, with all his powers of argument, it must be owned that he is compelled sometimes tacitly to assume what the laws of reasoning required him to prove; and that, on the whole, his failure may be regarded as a proof that such a mode of argument is beyond the faculties of man."

In a note, Sir James adds, "This admirable person had so much candour as in effect to own his failure, and to recur to those other arguments in support of this great truth, which have in all ages satisfied the most elevated minds. In Proposition VIII. (Being and Attributes of God, p. 47), which affirms that the first cause *must* be 'intelligent,' (where, as he truly states, 'lies the main question between us and the atheists,') he owns, that the proposition cannot be demonstrated strictly and properly *a priori*."

Having mentioned these high authorities, I shall add nothing of my own respecting the argument *a priori*.

foration known by the name of the *pupil*, which is diminished by the contraction of the circular fibres of the iris, when a very luminous object is presented to the eye; and dilated by the contraction of the radial fibres, for the admission of a greater number of rays in a faint light. Even they who do not admit the fibrous structure and muscularity of the iris cannot deny its contractibility, which they ascribe to its sympathy with the *retina*. But, as the contractibility is unquestionable, a dispute about the manner in which it is produced does not affect the argument resulting from it.

At the anterior border of the choroides, there is a ring of sensible thickness, named the *ciliary ligament*, from which proceed numerous productions called *ciliary processes*. The posterior surface of the iris, the ciliary processes, and part of the choroides, are spread over with a black *mucus*, which absorbs the lateral rays, and contributes to distinct vision. The medullary portion of the optic nerve, in dilating, forms a white and very thin membrane, or congeries of nervous terminations, applied upon the choroides and named the retina; upon which, according to the general opinion, the object is painted. In these coats or tunics are set three transparent *humours* or *lenses*, of different refractive powers; and the whole forms the organ of vision in the human body.

The foremost of the humours is the *aqueous*. It is placed immediately behind the cornea, and occupies the whole space between it and the crystalline humour, both before and behind the iris. The aqueous humour has the transparency of the purest water, but it is not altogether so liquid. Its specific gravity is rather greater than that of water. It has been remarked that notwithstanding the great fluidity of the aqueous humour, and its exposure to the cold, it does not freeze. Behind the aqueous humour is placed a double convex lens, having its axis corresponding with the centre of the pupil. It is somewhat more convex towards the bottom of the eye than in front. It is called the *crystalline* humour; and appears to be composed of a great number of very thin laminæ, and of extremely minute fibres, very transparent and closely united together. It is tolerably solid, and both its specific gravity and refractive power are greater than those of either of the other two humours of the eye. It is attached to the ciliary ligament, by means of the fibres of which it can, probably, be altered in a small degree in position, and perhaps in figure also. The crystalline is placed behind the aqueous, and in front of the *vitreous* humour; in which last it is set like a jewel in a ring. The vitreous humour, situate at the back part of the socket, occupies about three-fourths of the globe of the eye. It is of the form of a jelly, colourless, and of great transparency. Its specific gravity is little more than that of the aqueous humour; therefore, as, generally speaking, the refractive powers of different mediums are as their densities, the refractive powers of these two humours are not very different. Each of the humours is contained within its own membrane, which is very delicate and equally transparent with the humour itself. At the back of the whole is the retina.

The eye, thus formed, is provided with muscles which move in all directions, and accommodate its focal distance to different objects, in a degree of perfection incomparably superior to the mechanism of the most ingeniously mounted telescope. By the action of six muscles, it has not only the horizontal and vertical motions, but it can be turned to any oblique angle with the rapidity of lightning. The eyeball is much less than the cavity in which it is lodged; but the interval is filled up with cellular substance, furnishing a soft and warm bed to the eye, and facilitating its motions. Besides, by means of the lachrymal gland, situate between the ball of the eye and the upper vault of the orbit, on the temporal side, the eye is supplied with a perpetual fountain for moistening and keeping it clean: the superfluous moisture passes through a perforation into the nostrils, and is drained off. The eyelids, in connexion with the bony cavity in which the ball is lodged, form a soft and strong covering to the eye, and can be instantaneously put on or withdrawn. The eyelashes serve as a protection against insects and minute bodies floating in the air: they also give warning of approaching danger, and help to guard against it; and they moderate the rays of light in their passage to the eye.

Observe, then, what a variety of circumstances, and what an exact combination and nice adjustment of these circumstances there must be in order to distinct vision; and after attentively considering the whole, nothing, I think, but blind stupidity or obstinate perversity, can deny design and skilful contrivance in the structure of the eye. How happens it that the cornea is transparent, and not opaque like the sclerotica, of which it is the continuation? If it were opaque there would be no vision; and I see no way of accounting for its transparency, but by acknowledging a wise designing cause. How shall we account for the transparent part being placed in front, and not towards the bottom of the socket? Light does not give transparency to the cornea, nor does the cornea give existence to light; they exist independently of each other: yet between the two there is an unquestionable relation, as much so as between the window and the room, the fire-place and the chimney, the lock and the key.

How happens it that the iris is of a different structure from the rest of the choroides, of which it is apparently the continuation: that the iris has the perforation called the pupil, and that it is not a continuous envelope like the cornea: that the centre of the pupil corresponds with the axes of the crystalline lens: and that the iris has a power of contraction and dilatation, either lessening or enlarging the pupil according to circumstances? A change in any of those conditions would be fatal or highly injurious to vision. The light does not create the pupil, yet the pupil is formed for the admission of light. Light does not confer on the iris the power of contraction or dilatation, yet the pupil has the power of adjusting itself to the quantity of light. If it be alleged that the light irritates the eye, and by that means occasions the contraction, still we may inquire who so organized the pupil that it should be affected in such a manner by the action of light; who contrived the machanism by which the changes in the sizes of the pupil are effected? How shall we account for the ciliary ligament and its processes, but by resorting to a wise designing cause, which has in this way provided for the adjustment of the crystalline lens? Who provided the retina, like a fine white canvas, to receive the picture? How shall we account for lenses of different refractive powers to correct the chromatic aberration? Light did not create these several lenses, for they were created ere light shown upon them; nor did these lenses establish the law by which rays of light are refracted from the straight line in passing obliquely through mediums of different densities, and by which some of the rays of the solar beam are more refrangible than others; yet the lenses of the eye are accurately adapted to the optical fact or law. How happens it that the lenses are so exactly adjusted that the rays form a distinct picture on the retina? If the configuration or refractive powers of the lenses had been such as to bring the rays to a focus sooner, or if the retina had been placed more forward, or at the smallest distance farther back in the socket; in any of these cases vision would have been indistinct. But the place of the retina is exactly adjusted to the focal distance of the lenses.

By fixing a lens in a hole of the window-shutter of a darkened room, we see an inverted picture of external objects, formed on a white sheet of paper, behind the lens. But, in order to have the picture distinct, we must move the paper backwards and forwards till we find the exact focal distance. The retina, which corresponds to the sheet of paper, is placed exactly at the due distance.

The eye is convex and not a plane. If it had been a plane, the field of vision must have been extremely limited. But the most advantageous of all forms is adopted; and I know of no rational way of accounting for this, but by having recourse to a designing cause. In order, however, to have a fuller view of the subject, we shall compare the eye, in some particulars, with a telescope; and give a more copious illustration of some things already mentioned.

1. Let us consider the eye as an achromatic instrument. Light moves in straight lines; but in passing obliquely out of one medium into another of different density, it is refracted towards the perpendicular in passing into a denser medium, and from it in passing into a medium more rare. Besides, the white light issuing from the sun is not a homogeneous fluid, but consists of several differently-coloured rays; and these rays are not equally refrangible, the red being the least refrangible, and the violet the most so. Unless, however, these refractions be corrected, there cannot be distinct and colourless vision. Such is the fact in nature. How, then, is the matter managed in the eye? The refractions are corrected by lenses of different refractive powers, so that all the rays meet in a focus on the retina, and there delineate a distinct and achromatic image of the object from which the rays proceed. How is the difficulty managed in the telescope? This was long a desideratum in natural science, and exercised the genius and industry of the most distinguished philosophers.

The telescope, by the prismatic action of the lenses of which it was composed gave the object a coloured appearance about the edges, and consequently presented an indistinct image. This was a great defect, and it was of much importance to remedy it. The celebrated Mr. James Gregory perceived that the eye had the same difficulty to encounter. How, he asked, is it surmounted there? He perceived that this was accomplished by a combination of lenses of different refractive powers. Hence that ingenious philosopher was led to throw out a hint concerning the construction of what has since been called the achromatic telescope. The subject employed the great powers of Newton and the vigorous mind of Euler, and the execution of the plan has conferred a lasting celebrity on the name of Dollond. Here, then, we find Gregory, Newton, Euler, Dollond, names of high distinction (and many more might be mentioned), turning their minds to the formation of the achromatic telescope, acknowledging the structure of the eye to be their guide, and yet employing much ingenuity, and performing many experiments, ere the last of them happily succeeded in accomplishing the object in view. Now the cases under consideration are precisely parallel; the difficulty to be surmounted is the same. Shall we, then, admit design and contrivance in the one case, and deny them in the other? Shall we admit that Gregory, Newton, Euler, and Dollond, were designing and contriving beings, in their schemes and efforts to construct an achromatic telescope; and yet contend that the eye, which was their model, was formed without design and contrivance? Shall we admit design and contrivance in the imitation, and yet deny them in the pattern? This were absurd in the extreme. In the structure of the eye design and contrivance are obvious, and that organ could not have been formed but by a designing and contriving Being.

2. In using a telescope, for instance a three feet refractor, if we wish to try the powers of the instrument in reading a book, we may have a distinct vision at the distance of twenty or twenty-five yards. But, if we turn the telescope, in the same state in which we have been reading the book, upon an object a mile or two distant, we see nothing. In order to have distinct vision, we must, either by managing the tube with our hand, or by the action of a screw, adjust the instrument to the new distance. In what way soever we perform the operation, it requires time and observation to find the focus. But the eye adjusts itself in a moment, whether the object which we look at be six inches from it, or six thousand times that distance. Now, is there design and contrivance in forming the adjusting screws of the telescope to fit it to the focal distance? No man in his senses denies it. How, then, can any man in his senses deny design and contrivance in the mechanism of the eye, by which the same end is accomplished; and not only accomplished, but accomplished in a far more easy and expeditious manner than in the telescope? For no degree of practice or dexterity in the use of the instrument, will enable us to adjust its focus to different distances, with the same ease and quickness as we do in the eye. If design and contrivance be admitted in the one case, they cannot be denied in the other, but by obstinate and irrational perversity.

3. The form of the eye indicates a wise designing cause. It is of a spherical figure, and by this figure several important ends are answered far better than they could have been by any other. It affords the most convenient lodgment for the humours of the eye, and gives the largest field of vision. If the front of the eye had been a flat surface, there could have been no distinct vision, because all the parts of it could not have been at the due focal distance from the lenses; some parts must have been too near, or some too far off. Besides, it is obvious that the spherical figure of the eye is best adapted for motion in all directions. We may farther remark, that the optic nerve enters the eye, not at the bottom of the socket, but on the nasal side of it. This contributes to distinct vision, and may fairly be considered as an evidence of design.

4. The eye occupies a most commanding position, and surveys with ease everything around. It could have been stationed in no other part of the body with equal advantage. If it had been placed in the *occiput*, the form and articulation of the arms and legs would not have harmonized with it; but, at present, they are fitted for acting in the direction in which the eye sees. The eyes were formed before the light shone upon them, and the limbs before they had room for action; yet they are admirably adapted to each other. They exhibit a striking instance of relation and prospective contrivance. Indeed, relation and prospective contrivance meet us in almost every department of nature, whether we attend to the structure of animals, or to the combinations and adjustments of the different parts of the universe. Thus the eye occupies its due place in the body, as part of one harmonious whole, and all the members are fitted for co-operating with it. It is stationed near the brain, and communicates with that great source of sensation and motion by means of the optic nerve.

5. We have an evidence, not of design only, but of goodness also, in the number of the eyes. They are two. In this way we can take in a larger angle than if we had one eye only; and although one be injured, we are not entirely deprived of the use of this cheering organ. And we may observe the consummate skill of Him who formed the eye, in this circumstance, that although an object be seen with both eyes yet it appears single, perhaps because painted on the corresponding part of each retina, or perhaps because the nerves unite; but in what manner soever we account for it, the fact is certain; and the argument resulting from it is not affected by any doubts respecting the manner in which it is accomplished. Although the picture of the object is inverted on the retina, yet we see objects erect; and this, I apprehend, happens by a law of our nature antecedent to experience. The rays of light pass to the retina on optical principles; but we know not in what way impressions are made on the mind. It may be added, that the eyeball is of a commodious size, serving the purposes of distinct vision, and yet not exposing a large surface to the injuries to which such a delicate organ is liable. All the objects in the large field which the eye takes in are accurately represented on the retina. The whole scenery of some miles is painted on a canvas of an inch diameter; and yet how distinct and correct is the picture! This circumstance bears a strong testimony, not only to the existence, but also to the wisdom and goodness of the Creator.

6. The motions of the eye cannot fail to attract the notice of every attentive observer and inquirer. These motions are performed by the action of six muscles, four of which are straight, and two oblique. The straight muscles elevate or depress the eye, turn it in towards the nose, or out towards the temple; the oblique muscles perform the more complex motions. The origin and insertion of those muscles, and their comparative strength, are fitted with the most consummate mechanical skill for turning the eye in all directions, with the utmost ease and rapidity; and if the nice adaptation of means to the accomplishment of an end be a proof of design, the muscles of the eye demonstrate the existence of a designing cause.

From this cursory view of the eye, it obviously appears to be an organ of most exquisite workmanship. Its numerous parts are adapted to each other with the most skilful contrivance and minute precision, and the whole serves the noblest and most beneficial purposes. Take the eye altogether, its position, its ingenious and accurate construction as an instrument of vision, its instantaneous adjustment of itself to different distances, its capacity of accommodating itself to different degrees of light: the ease, rapidity, and variety of its motions, and the provision made for keeping it clean and safe; and it plainly demonstrates the existence of an intelligent first cause. I hesitate not to affirm that, although there were not another mark of design in the universe, yet the appearance of even a single eye would be an irrefragable evidence of a designing cause; for nothing that we either see or know, nothing in our own experience or in the authenticated testimony of others, nothing resulting from consciousness, perception, or reasoning, gives us the least ground for believing that even a single eye could be formed in millions of ages, by any casual combinations of matter. Every eye, then, bears a strong testimony to the existence of a wise designing cause.

But supposing that one eye might have been produced by casual combinations, how shall we account for the appearance of a second? There is just as much difficulty in accounting for the second as for the first, and as much difficulty in accounting for the third as for the second, and so on for every eye that is in the universe; for the existence of one eye is neither a necessary nor a physical cause of the existence of another, and it is not in the nature of chance to establish a series. There are, then, as many distinct witnesses of the existence of an intelligent first cause as there are eyes in the world. And let me add, that it is a most unphilosophical, yea an absurd subterfuge, to allege that one being with eyes has produced another being with eyes, and that the series has gone on from eternity. This can be considered only as an acknowledgment on the part of the atheist that he knows nothing of the matter, and as a silly attempt to plunge into darkness, and conceal himself from pursuit. But, go where he will, he cannot escape from the difficulty. Every step that he retires it still presses upon him. It pursues him through eternity, and every moment treads on his heels, with the same force as in the first instance. Still a a voice sounds in his ear, " Here is design, where is the designing cause? Here is contrivance, where is the contriver? Point out the planning mind; show the hand that with such dexterity has adapted means to the attainment of an end." Go where he will, he has not accounted for the first eye; he has not accounted either for the origin or continuation of the series; and in no way can they be accounted for, but by the admission of a powerful, wise, and good first cause.

We give much credit to the artist who makes a few good instruments. The fame of Dolland as an optician is high, and not undeservedly so; although causes over which he had no control contributed to aid his genius and exalt his fame; for we are told that the glass employed by him in the construction of his best telescopes was a fortunate treasure, all of one melting. But what should we have thought of his genius and art, if he had made telescopes which produced other telescopes, of undiminished excellence, through an unlimited series! We should have pronounced them above all encomium. What then shall we say of Him who formed the eye, and established the law by which a vast succession of eyes is generated? Must not *he* be a designing Being? Yea, must he not be unspeakably powerful, wise, and good? If I were brought into a court, before an enlightened jury, where I should lose my cause unless I could adduce some plain mark of intelligence and design in the works of nature, I should boldly contend, after bringing forward the human eye, with all its apparatus, that I had made good my cause, and should confidently expect a verdict in my favour; and such a verdict, any jury, competent to decide upon the subject, would assuredly return.

How the eye conveys sensation to the mind I cannot tell. If in this there be machanism, it is such a mechanism as eludes our notice and defies our investigation. All sensation is conveyed to the mind by an unknown influence of the nerves. If the optic, or any other nerve distributed over an organ of sensation, be cut or rendered paralytic, the animal instantly loses that particular sense. The fact is fully established by observation and experiment. But how the nerves, which are perfectly similar in every part of the body, should convey to the mind feelings so different, when distributed over the eye, the ear, the tongue, and the nose, is what we can neither understand nor explain. Here reason and philosophy are set at defiance. Indeed, in everything around us, we may proceed a certain length with success in our inquiries; but we soon reach a limit which neither our industry nor ingenuity can pass. We perceive an end accomplished; but *how*, we are often unable fully to explain. Some parts of the process elude our utmost penetration, and on those parts we can pass no judgment. But a good effect is produced. The means, so far as we can trace them, are admirably adapted to the end. In such circumstances, it is truly characteristic of a *fool* to condemn the whole, because he can understand and explain a part only; or to deny design, because he cannot fully trace the mechanism throughout the whole process.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE HUMAN BODY.

We might now proceed to the organs of the other senses, and show that in them there is a wise adaptation of means to the attainment of beneficial ends; that the ear is an excellent instrument of hearing, and that design plainly appears in the senses of smelling, tasting, and feeling. We might also consider the different members of the body; as the hand, which Aristotle pronounced the "organ of organs." Its excellence depends in no small degree on the position, strength, and action of the thumb, which can be brought into a state of opposition to the fingers, and hence is of great use in laying hold of bodies. We might also show that the foot is well fitted for the support and progression of the body, and exhibits a noble display of benign intention and skilful contrivance. But instead of entering on such an extensive field, we shall merely take a general view of the human body.

The bones, amounting, in a full grown person, to about two hundred and forty, constitute the frame of the machine; and, in order to retain them in their places, and enable them to perform their several functions, they are strongly and ingeniously bound together by elastic ligaments, membranes, or muscles, according to the several situations and uses of the parts. Some of the joints have a free, easy, and obvious motion; while that of others is less evident. In the joints, the articulating surfaces, being exposed to friction, are lined with a smooth elastic substance, named cartilage, which is lubricated with *synovia*, as the wheels of machinery are with oil. Now, if the oiling of the axles of machinery be the effect of design, we think it unreasonable to deny design in the lubrication of the joints.

The articulations of the several joints are very different; and, in every instance, are happily suited to their places and purposes. Let us, for a moment, glance at the *spine*. How different is its formation from that of the thigh bone, and its articulations from that of the hip or knee joint! And is not design, yea, are not wisdom and goodness obvious in the structure of each, and in the difference between them? Had the spine been formed of a single bone, like the thigh, it would have been much more easily fractured than at present, and utterly incapable of incurvation. Had it consisted of only two or three bones, articulated like the hip or like the knee joint, the spinal marrow would have been bruised at every joint, and the motion could not have been so free, nor the pillar so strong as it is. The spine consists of twenty-four pieces, called *vertebræ*, with cavities and protuberances for locking into each other, so as to prevent luxation and yet provide for the flexion of the body. The spinal marrow, which is of essential importance to life, is lodged in the cavity secure from injury; and corresponding notches in the vertebræ leave a passage for the entrance of the blood-vessels, and for the departure of the nerves, which proceed from the spinal marrow to the different parts of the body.

This bony column, which thus affords a canal through the spinal marrow, the production of the brain, proceeds in security towards the extremities, also supports the head; where the brain, the throne of sensation, motion, and intellect, is lodged in the *cranium*, as in a fortress skilfully and artificially constructed, and the organs of seeing, hearing, smelling, and tasting, are placed like so many watchmen on the walls, while the sense of feeling is diffused over the whole body. The spine also serves to connect the framework of the body. In short, let any person attend to the way in which the different bones are united, and consider how both their forms and articulations are varied and adapted to different situations and offices, all advantageous to the strength and motion of the frame, and he will feel himself constrained to admit the existence of a wise designing cause.

If the bones evince intelligence, gracious design, and skilful contrivance, the muscles and tendons also bear testimony to the being of God. The muscles act by contractions and relaxations; and the insertion, the action, and strength of each is nicely proportioned to its place and office in the body. The action of most of the muscles is subject to the will; and, at pleasure, we can put them in motion, or allow them to remain in a state of rest. This indeed is not the case with them all; but design, and wisdom, and goodness, are equally obvious whether their action be voluntary or involuntary. Several motions and processes go on within us, without any volition on our part. The action of the heart and of the lungs, the circulation of the blood, the digestion of the food, the peristaltic motion of the viscera, and the various secretions, go on when we are asleep as well as when we are awake, and do not depend on the will. This is a wise and gracious provision, for these motions and processes are necessary to life and health; but, if these nice and complicated movements had been dependent on the will they must have occupied much of our attention; in many instances they must have been but partially performed; and in sleep they must have been neglected and suspended. Therefore, by a wise appointment, these vital motions are involuntarily performed. But other motions depend on the will, and in them wisdom and goodness are as conspicuous as in those that are involuntary. At pleasure we can open our eyes, to see the light, or shut them on the approach of danger: we close them involuntarily in sleep. By an act of my will I can speak or be silent; rise up or sit down; walk or stand still.

The body is nourished by the circulation of the blood, which, flowing from the heart as the fountain, like a genial and fertilizing stream, conveys life and nutriment to the whole system. The heart is a hollow muscle, of a conical shape, which involuntarily contracts and relaxes more than sixty times in a minute. It consists of four distinct cavities: the two largest are called *ventricles;* the two less *auricles*. The right ventricle, by its contractions, propels the blood, by the pulmonary artery and its numerous ramifications, through the lungs, where it throws out carbonic acid and takes in caloric; a process essential to life. The blood on leaving the lungs passes into the left ventricle, which sends it out, by proper arteries, to carry the vital aliment through the system.

The blood is undergoing, every moment, a great change in the lungs; and the heart acts as a forcing-pump in propelling it into the arteries. But the circulation does not depend on the propulsive action of the heart alone: it is aided by a peristaltic motion in the arteries, which are of a muscular structure, and much stronger than the veins, by which it is conducted back to the heart. Both the arteries and veins are furnished with valves. The arterial valves are so constructed as to allow a free passage of the blood from the heart towards the extremities, but to prevent its return by the same channel. In the veins, the valves are so formed as to permit the blood to flow freely from the extremities towards the heart, but to hinder it from moving in the opposite direction. These valves are most numerous in the small branches, where the impetus of the blood is least. In the structure of the valves of the blood-vessels, design and contrivance are obvious. It was by attending to this circumstance that Harvey was led to the discovery of the interesting fact of the circulation of the blood, by which he has acquired a lasting celebrity. Can it then be imagined for a moment, that the peculiar structure of the arterial and venous valves, by observing and reasoning on which that distinguished physician was led to the discovery of a great fact in nature, happened without design and skilful contrivance? This imagination cannot be entertained but by the stupid credulity of atheism.

The blood, sent from the left ventricle of the heart, and conveyed through the system by the branches and capillary ramifications of the arteries, returns by the veins. The arteries, in proceeding from the heart, branch out and become smaller and smaller; and the veins, in advancing towards it, gradually unite and are enlarged, till the whole of those returning channels, by reiterated unions, are formed into one large trunk, through which they pour their contents into the right ventricle of the heart. The blood, having thus completed the circulation, instantly sets out again on its tour, to imbibe, in passing through the lungs, a fresh portion of vital aliment, and in its progress to diffuse it through the body. The blood-vessels are so wonderfully ramified that scarcely a spot can be punctured but the blood will appear.

The whole of the blood, however, does not perform this circulation. The ultimate ramifications of the arteries, in many instances, are so minute as not to afford a passage to the red parts of the blood, but transmit the thin and pellucid part of it only; and those ramifications, instead of communicating with the veins, lodge their contents in bones, muscles, ligaments, and other parts of the body, where, by an inscrutable process named *assimilation*, this fluid is converted into a substance of the same specific character and properties with the parts to which it is conveyed. On seeing corn, fruit, herbs, and roots, in the various stages of their growth, who would imagine that they could be changed into blood, and flesh, and bones? The process carried on in this secret laboratory eludes our investigation; but it indicates the hand of a wise and mighty Chemist, who constituted the wonderful apparatus by which the surprising change is accomplished, and endued all its parts with a suitable activity. Besides, these minute vessels pour their contents into all the cavities, and into the glands, where they are afterwards changed into fluids of different qualities, and which answer different purposes. Some of the glands prepare a fluid for lubricating the joints, and the parts in motion; some furnish fluids to promote digestion, and to assist in the preparation of aliment; some yield a fluid to protect the skin, and to preserve it in a proper state for performing its several offices; some give a fluid which is the means of continuing the species; and some prepare a fluid for nourishing the infant after its birth.

But the whole contents of these capillary arteries which wander from the circulation, cannot be allowed continually to accumulate in the bones, muscles, and other parts to which they are conveyed: accordingly we meet with a set of vessels, which, on account of the transparency of the fluid which they contain, are called *lymphatics*. They begin from surfaces and cavities in all parts of the body as absorbents; and, like the veins, they form, by the union of many smaller vessels, large tubes, and terminate in two trunks, which empty their contents into the veins a little before the veins enter the heart. Thus the lymphatics throw back into the circulation part of the blood which has not been taken up in the process of assimilation. What is unfit for being returned into the circulation is carried off by vessels which open externally upon the surface of the skin, or on the internal surface of the lungs, or in the kidneys and intestinal canal. By these outlets, by perspiration, by exhalation from the lungs, by the urinary and fæcal passages, everything unfit for remaining in the system is drained off.

The lungs, which are so essential to life, consist of different lobes, and are composed of a great number of membranous cells, and of numerous ramifications of blood-vessels, nerves, and lymph tics, all connected by cellular substance. The cells, which constitute the greatest part of the bulk of the lungs, are irregular in their shape; they are very small, and have been estimated at a fiftieth part of an inch in diameter. The number of them is very great; but neither their number nor dimensions can be accurately determined. It is evident, however, that in extent they greatly exceed the surface of the body.

The cells are closely connected and freely communicate with each other, but have no communication with the cellular substance which unites and strengthens them. From the cells there arise small hollow tubes, called *bronchiæ*, which are enlarged by gradual junctions, till, at the upper part of the thorax, all the tubes on each side unite in one; and the two branches joining together from the windpipe. The numberless ramifications of the pulmonary artery and vein are spread over every part of the cellular substance of the lungs, and carry the circulating fluid throughout the whole of those spongy bodies, so that the blood in the vessels and the air in the cells are brought into such a state of contiguity that they can act on each other. Each of the ribs is moveable between the bodies of the vertebræ with which it is connected; and the breast bone, by its connexion with the ribs, partakes of their motion; consequently the cavity of the chest, in which the lungs are lodged, is susceptible of considerable dilatation and contraction; and these changes in its dimensions are much assisted by the contractions of the diaphragm, or by the action of the abdominal muscles pressing the bowels upwards. Anatomical minuteness is not the object of the present treatise, and therefore what has now been said may suffice for a general account of the organ of respiration; and the structure and functions of this organ exhibit decisive evidence, not only of design, but of admirable contrivance also.

An animal which has once respired cannot exist without the continuance of the process. Some animals need more atmospheric air, some less; but none can live long without it. The assertions that can be opposed to this fact are few and doubtful. We have been told of serpents and worms that have been found alive in the heart of stones, and of toads enclosed in trees and rocks. But, admitting this, it is obvious there must have been some communication between the external air and the bed of the animal. Air insinuates itself into the cell constructed by the mason-bee for the lodgment of its eggs, although that cell seems hermetically sealed; and there is every reason to believe that it likewise penetrates to the animal embedded in a rock or tree. Experiment shows that this is not mere supposition, for the toad expires under the exhausted receiver of an air-pump; and, if put into a vessel large enough to contain it with ease, but which is hermetically sealed, it does not long survive. The frog leaps away wanting its head or its heart, and it survives the loss of the greater part of its spinal marrow. Eels and serpents can move for some time even after evisceration. Snails and chameleons can live long on air alone. But the life of all animals is soon extinguished on the exclusion of air.

Such is the fact in nature; and accordingly, every animated being, in one way or another, can imbibe or absorb atmospheric air. What is the provision made in man for the accomplishment of this essential purpose? He has lungs, consisting as we have already seen of a vast multitude of communicating cells, for the reception of the air, and by means of them that invisible fluid is brought into such a state of contiguity with the blood that they can act upon each other; and by a process, which the present state of our knowledge does not enable us fully to explain, the blood extracts a vital nutriment from the air, or the air carries off a deleterious substance from the blood, or both. The lungs instantly expel the portion of air that has thus discharged its office, and take in a fresh portion to pass through a similar process. This inspiration and expiration are essential to human life. It may be added that while air thus taken into the lungs supports life, if it be thrown into the vascular system it quickly brings on agitation, convulsions, and death.

It is now a well known fact that atmospheric air is not a homogeneous fluid, but consists of three different gases, called oxygen, nitrogen, and carbonic acid, which though of different specific gravities are always found together; and an atmosphere thus constituted is the best fitted for supporting animal and vegetable life. The lungs did not form the atmosphere, nor did the atmosphere create the lungs, yet the organ of the body and the external element are admirably adapted to each other; the lungs to bring the air into a state of contiguity with the blood, and the blood and air to exercise a reciprocal action. There is always a large proportion of blood in the lungs, and consequently in a state of contiguity with the air in the cells. The blood performs a complete circulation in a short time, and during that space the whole of it passes through the lungs.

It is not long since respiration was in any degree understood, and still there remains much room for investigation and discovery. But we know that the air undergoes a great change in the lungs, and produces a remarkable effect on the blood. Air does not issue from the lungs in the same state in which it entered them. Its quantity is somewhat diminished; it has lost a portion of its oxygen, in the room of which it has gained about eight *per cent.* in bulk of carbonic acid, thrown out probably from the exhalent vessels of the lungs; and it is loaded with aqueous vapour. Besides, it is a well known fact that arterial and venous blood are not of the same colour. The blood has more of a vermilion redness on leaving the heart to proceed in the circulation than on its return to the right ventricle. This change of colour is produced in the lungs, and is occasioned perhaps by the ejection of carbon, and the absorption of the disengaged caloric of the oxygen that has disappeared in that organ. Whatever theory we adopt with respect to respiration, whether we consider it as acting by absorption or exhalation; as the means of imparting a vital nutriment, or of carrying off something which, if allowed to remain in the system, would almost instantaneously extinguish life; or whether we combine these notions, in any case we see a grand purpose accomplished. We clearly see the end, although the physiological process be not fully understood.

Respiration is likely the chief cause of animal heat, for the temperature of arterial blood is higher than that of venous; the temperature of the left side of the heart than that of the right; and the temperature diminishes as the distance from the heart increases. That atmospheric air contains a considerable portion of caloric is no hypothetical assumption. It can be demonstrated; for air, when rapidly compressed, gives out both light and caloric; and an instrument has been constructed for procuring fire by this process. It is probable that the portion of oxygen gas which disappears in respiration is converted into the carbonic acid which is thrown out of the lungs. But the specific caloric of this last is greatly inferior to that of the former; consequently a large quantity of heat is set free in the lungs when the conversion of gases takes place. This liberated heat passes into the blood, and is given out by it in the circulation. Thus a quantity of caloric is disengaged in the lungs in every respiration, and by means of the blood is diffused throughout the body, warming and enlivening it. What wonderful adaptations are here presented! What a gracious provision for supporting human life!

There seems to be a correspondence between the respiration and comparative heat of different animals. The temperature of fish which oxidate the blood by gills, is not much above that of the surrounding medium. In man, the ordinary temperature near the surface of the body is about 96° Fahrenheit; and in most of the *mammalia* it is somewhat higher. In birds, the lungs of which are differently constituted, and much larger in proportion to the size of the animal, the temperature is still higher than in the mammalia. We may add that birds are exceedingly delicate as to air, and die in air where a mouse lives without any perceptible inconveniency.

The fœtus in *utero* is nourished by the respiratory organs of the parent. Any interruption between those organs and the fœtus would soon prove fatal to the latter, on the same principle as the stoppage of respiration, after the animal has once breathed, soon extinguishes life. The respiratory organs are provided before they are needed, and are ready to act as soon as there is occasion for them. In respiration we have both the planning and the execution of an extensive and complicated process. We see wonderful combinations and adaptations in order to the accomplishment of a beneficial end; and, by the constitution of our minds, we are constrained to acknowledge design and skilful contrivance in the combinations and adaptations.

In connexion with respiration, we may take notice of the voice and the faculty of speech. The principal organ of the voice is the larynx: if it be injured, the air passes through the windpipe without emitting any sound. Besides the larynx, the organs of speech are the tongue, palate, and teeth. With what promptitude does the tongue obey the understanding and will, and communicate a vast variety of impulses to the air! Alphabetical writing, in which we paint sounds, and express all our thoughts by the varied combination of a few arbitrary signs, is justly accounted an astonishing invention. It is a brilliant display of design and skilful contrivance. But is not that combination of organs by which we readily utter such a variety of articulate sounds far more wonderful? How great is that wisdom which formed the organs of speech!

The continual drain by perspiration, and by the urinary and fæcal passages, requires a constant supply. This supply is bountifully furnished by nature around us; appetite tells us when it is needed, and what quantity is sufficient, and we are provided with a wonderful apparatus for its reception and elaboration. Let us then take a cursory view of the intestinal and alimentary canal. The food is received into the mouth, and masticated by the teeth. Now, the food does not make the teeth, but the teeth are evidently formed for the mastication of the food. They are also of importance in aiding the articulation of the voice. Infants, for whom a liquid aliment is provided, and who have not acquired the use of speech, have them not; but they make their appearance when they are wanted.

The organs of taste are stationed in the mouth, with those of smelling in their vicinity, to warn us against the admission of anything noxious into the stomach; and these senses, when they are not vitiated by unnatural habits, are not only faithful monitors, but sources of much enjoyment. Are there no marks of intelligence, design and contrivance, in fixing the teeth just where they are needed, and in the only place where they can be useful? Is there no wisdom and no benignity in guarding the avenue to the stomach, not only by the eye, which inspects every substance presented to the mouth, but also by the organs of smell and taste, posted at the very entrance of the alimentary canal, to detect everything unwholesome in the food which may have escaped the vigilance of the eye? No man in the right use of reason can affirm it.

In tracing the food in its progress, the marks of gracious design and skilful contrivance still accompany us, and multiply as we proceed. The *trachea* or windpipe, the upper part of which is called the *larynx*, communicates with the *œsophagus*, or passage to the stomach. If the minutest part of our food pass into the trachea, it never fails to produce a violent cough, and sometimes very alarming symptoms. This accident, however, seldom happens. How is it prevented? By a very simple but skilful contrivance. A neat, elastic, cartilaginous lid, called *epiglottis*, is so attached to the mouth of the windpipe as to be pressed down by the food, which it prevents from passing towards the lungs, while the passage to the stomach remains unimpeded. At the same time the *velum palati*, drawn backwards by its muscles, closes the openings of the nose and of the Eustachian tubes, and so prevents the food from returning through the nose, which sometimes happens partially in drinking. Moreover, in the act of deglutition, the larynx, which being composed of cartilaginous rings, in its ordinary state compresses the œsophagus, is carried forwards and upwards by muscles destined for the purpose, and consequently dilates the opening of the gullet. On reaching the gullet, the food is carried down by the principle of gravity: and a mechanical contrivance also lends its aid. The muscular fibres of the œsophagus contract from above, and press the aliment forward to the stomach. This is obvious in drinking with the head downwards, when deglutition can be performed by the muscular action of the œsophagus only.

The food soon reaches the stomach, a membranous bag, or dilatation of the alimentary canal, where it is accumulated and undergoes new processes. In its process towards the stomach the food is broken and divided by the teeth, and attenuated by the saliva, a powerful solvent. On reaching the stomach it is subjected to the operation of a new chemical agent, the *gastric juice*, a liquid secreted chiefly by that organ. The nature of this liquid is not yet fully known. Its taste, colour, and solvent powers are different in different classes of animals. Some living creatures cannot digest that which is the food of others. Some animals, such as sheep, live wholly upon vegetables; their stomachs do not digest animal substances. Others, as the eagle, feed entirely on animal substances: their stomachs do not digest vegetables. Hemlock is poisonous to man; but goats eat it without injury.

The gastric juice does not continue always of the same nature, even in the same animal. It is in some measure modified according to the age, the health, the habits, and the different aliments on which the animal subsists. Sick persons and children are incapable of digesting the food which is nutritious to a healthy man. Some graminivorous animals may be brought to live on animal food, and to reject grass; and some carnivorous animals may be accustomed to vegetables. But still the gastric juice, although it in some measure accommodates itself to the substances subjected to its operation, evidently appears to have peculiar qualities in certain classes of animals. In the dog it dissolves hard bones, but, in equal times, makes no great impression on potatoes, parsnips, and other vegetable substances. On the other hand, in the sheep and ox it speedily dissolves vegetables, but makes little impression on animal bodies. Different tribes of animals are distinguished by their gastric juice as well as by their external form, and both are well suited, in every instance, to the habits of the creature; for in many cases there is an astonishing correspondence between the teeth and that liquid. The teeth of graminivorous animals are differently formed from those of the carnivorous tribes; and in both they are wonderfully suited to the food and to the gastric juice of the animal. He who can believe that all these adaptations are the result of chance is no enemy to credulity.

The gastric juice, while it dissolves food, even although enclosed in perforated metallic tubes, spares the living stomach. But, when life ceases, this liquid often acts on the very organ from which it has been secreted. It differs from a chemical solvent, in having an assimilating power, by which it reduces all substances whether animal or vegetable, into a soft pulpy mass named *chyme*, and prepares them for passing from the stomach into the intestines. If the food has been properly digested in the stomach, on reaching the lower orifice of that organ, named *pylorus*, it is freely allowed to pass. But if it is not fully reduced to chyme, then, by a sort of instinctive sensibility of the pylorus, it is thrown back into the stomach to undergo more thoroughly the action of the gastric juice. In the intestines, the chyme is mingled with the bile and pancreatic juice. In short, from one extremity of the alimentary canal to the other, fluids are perpetually flowing into it from the glands and other sources. By the action of these fluids, and of the intestines, the chyme is formed partly into *chyle*, which is absorbed by the *lacteals*, and thrown into the circulation, and partly into excrementitious matter, which is ejected from the body.

Here then we see an astonishing process carried on by the instrumentality of many different parts, all nicely adapted to each other, all co-operating in the same work, and tending to the accomplishment of the same end; the support and nourishment of the body. The mastication and deglutition of the food, and the moistening of it with the saliva before it enters the stomach; the great change which it undergoes in that organ, chiefly by means of the dissolving and assimilating action of the gastric juice; the changes induced upon the aliment after it passes from the stomach; the separation of chyle from the excrementitious part; the absorption of the chyle by the lacteals, which throw it into the blood; the mysterious process of assimilation; the peristaltic motion of the viscera; the mucus which is continually secreted for their protection against the acrimony of their contents; and the ejection of the excrementitious matter from the body; these, when all taken together, exhibit an astonishing process. They furnish an undeniable proof not only of design and admirable contrivance, but of great benignity also. What an amazing structure is the body of *Man!* How wonderful the absorbent, the circulatory, secretory, and excrementory apparatus of the human system! We are wonderfully made, and the marks of wisdom and goodness are deeply impressed on every part of our frame.

To sum up all, on this part of the subject, in a few words; let any person contemplate the human body; let him attentively examine the skeleton, the figure and structure of the bones of which it is composed, with their articulations; the muscles, their origin, insertion, strength, and action; the organs of sense, the eye, the ear, the nostrils, the tongue and palate, and the sense of feeling diffused over the whole body; the structure of the jaws, the stomach, and other viscera; the structure and action of the lungs, and organs of speech; and if he can retire from the examination without a deep impression of intelligence and design, yea of wisdom and goodness, in the human frame, there can be but little doubt that his understanding is singularly obtuse, or his heart singularly depraved. Every mind, open to the force of evidence and to the impressions of truth, must join in the exclamation of an ancient sage, "I am fearfully and wonderfully made."

It may here be remarked, that as food nourishes the body, so sleep refreshes both body and mind. This mysterious phenomenon we are unable to explain; but its periodical return is necessary to life, and by it a beneficial end is accomplished. There is an obvious relation between sleep and the rotation of the earth on its axis. They are harmonious parts of one whole.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INFERIOR ANIMALS.

Man is evidently the noblest inhabitant of the earth. He is not, indeed, so strong as the elephant, nor so swift as the antelope; his eye is not so piercing as that of the eagle, nor his sense of smell so exquisite as that of the dog: but the high faculties of his mind give him superiority and dominion over the whole animal creation. Around us we see a vast variety of objects, possessing very different qualities. These objects do not stand at a great distance from each other: they are wonderfully linked together, rising above each other by almost imperceptible degrees. The system of nature is a system of insensible gradations. The two extremes of organic and inorganic matter, perhaps, meet at a common point. Corals and corallines seem to unite the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. The boundaries of animal and vegetable life are obscurely defined, and the interval between the polypus and man is filled up with an amazing gradation of animated beings. The progress from unorganized to organized matter, from vegetable to animal, and from animal to rational existence, presents an astonishing and gradually-ascending series. In the whole progression we see a striking uniformity of plan, with a rich variety in the execution: beautiful analogies and nice distinctions everywhere occur.

It is animal existence which, at present, claims our attention. The earth, the air, and the water, are all abundantly replenished with sentient beings, differing in their external appearance, their habits, and their dispositions; and all enjoying happiness according to their several constitutions. Man unquestionably stands at the head of this system of animated being; and there seems to be a much larger interval between him and the most sagacious of the inferior animals, than what occurs in any other part of the gradation. It is true, indeed, that in a number of instances, we find man in a state little superior to that of the brutes: but, in the view under consideration, we must take his capacity of improvement into our estimate. My full conviction is, that if we were to examine animals in every gradation from the polypus to man, we should meet with incontrovertible evidences of design, and wise and benevolent contrivance, in every stage of our progress. But a field of this kind is greatly too extensive for our present purpose. It would be, no doubt, both pleasant and instructive leisurely to pass through the whole animal kingdom, and to examine with minute attention everything that fell in our way. This, however, would lead into voluminous details, instead of a concise treatise. My limits confine me to a few remarks; and as neither comparative anatomy nor natural history is my object, I shall pay no attention to systematic arrangement, but shall endeavour to show,

I. That the form of the inferior animals is admirably adapted to their manner of life.

II. That they are provided with suitable clothing.

III. That they possess means of defence suited to their condition.

IV. That they are qualified for procuring their food.

V. That we meet with surprising adaptations of animals to peculiar circumstances.

VI. That each kind is capable of continuing its species.

Under each of these heads, I shall mention a number of particulars respecting the inferior animals: these particulars will be of a very miscellaneous nature; but, I presume, will all tend to show wise design and benevolent contrivance in nature.

I. The form of the inferior animals is admirably adapted to their manner of life.

1. In the form of the different kinds of quadrupeds there is great variety; but amidst all the variety we perceive the same general plan; the same great outline appears in the skeleton, in the articulations of the bones, in the disposition, form, and insertion of the muscles; and in several other circumstances, all accommodated to the peculiar nature and habits of the animal. The organs of sense, of digestion, of circulation, and of generation, occur in all the species, but are varied according to the destination of each.

In order to support the head of quadrupeds, they are furnished with a very strong ligament firmly bracing the head to the vertebræ of the back. This ligament arises from the spines of the dorsal and cervical vertebræ, which are lengthened out for that purpose, and is fixed to the middle and posterior part of the occipital bone. It is of great strength and size in all quadrupeds; but is remarkably so in the elephant, where the great weight of the head requires a strong support. This ligament is wanting in man, because he did not need it;

but it is of great use to quadrupeds, and they are provided with it. Here, as in every other department of nature, the provision is suited to the exigency of the case.

In graminivorous animals we see a remarkable correspondence between the length of the legs and the length of the neck. According to the ancient fable, Tantalus was set up to the chin in water. and apples were at his lips; but he had no power to stoop to the one to quench his thirst, or to reach up to the other to satisfy his hunger. There is nothing like this in nature. All animals are capable of gathering their food. Herbage is abundantly provided for the graminivorous tribes, and there is such acorrespondence between their necks and their legs that they can easily reach it.

2. The external figure of birds is excellently adapted to the mode of life which they are destined to pursue. They can either walk on the ground, or by the action of their wings rise buoyant on the air, and pass through it with great rapidity, somewhat like fish in water. Their wings are moved by remarkably strong muscles, and their tail serves as a rudder to direct their course. In most cases their heads are small. The proper bones of the cranium, at least in adult animals, are not joined by sutures, but are consolidated into a single piece. This small and compact head generally termitates in a sharp-pointed beak; and the breast-bone is formed somewhat like the prow of a ship, so that the bird can pass easily through the air. The wings are placed more forward than the middle part of the body; and, at first sight, we should be ready to imagine that, in flying, the posterior parts would hang down, and that the bird would be unable to preserve the body in a horizontal position. But by stretching out its head, which acts upon the lever of a long neck, by filling its abdominal *sacs* with air, and by expanding the tail, it alters the centre of gravity, and keeps its body nearly in the plane of the horizon. The legs of birds are placed far back in their bodies; but, by erecting the head and neck, they throw the centre of gravity on the feet. As birds are destined to pass rapidly through the atmosphere, so their internal configuration. as well as their external form, is happily fitted for volitation. They harmoniously conspire for the purpose, and so run into each other that I shall consider them together.

Receptacles of air pervade the whole bodies of birds, and their respiratory organs constitute one of the most singular structures in the animal economy. Their respiration is performed by means of lungs which are fixed to the back bone, and which have a communication with air cells spread over the whole abdomen, and also with hollow bones, which, instead of marrow, are filled with air. And not the hollow bones only are filled with air, but the pinions also: in some cases, the communication even extends to analogous cavities in the muscles. In those birds which soar highest, such as the eagle, the hawk, and the lark, the cavities in the bones and below the muscles are very large. This great diffusion of air throughout the bodies of birds makes them specifically lighter than otherwise they would have been, and so fits them for supporting themselves in that medium through which they are destined to pass. If we consider the rarefaction of the included air by the heat of the animal, we will easily perceive that these air cells enable the bird to fly with much more ease than it could have done if it had been formed like quadrupeds.

The air cells seem likewise to supply the place of a diaphragm. and of strong abdominal muscles. Without adding anything to the weight of the body, they produce the same effect on the *viscera* as those muscles would have done. Probably they are also of much importance to the respiration of the bird. The ostrich, indeed, which does not fly, is provided with them; but from the use which it makes of its wings in running, they no doubt contribute to the rapidity of its motion. The bat has them not; but its structure is peculiar, and its flight is never long. Birds have no bladder of urine; but an ureter proceeds from each kidney, and terminates in the rectum, consequently the urine is discharged along with the fæces. This seems to be a contrivance for making the animal lighter. Here we see a conformation of parts evidently fitted to the bird's manner of life. The wings did not form the pointed beak and sharp breast bone, nor did they create the air vesicles: and, on the other hand, the pointed beak and the air vesicles did not give existence to the wings. They exist independently on each other; yet they all harmonize and contribute to the same end. The inference is obvious and irresistible.

3. Of the inhabitants of the water there is a prodigious variety: but one general figure, subject to different modifications, prevails among fish. Their form is well fitted for traversing the fluid in which they reside; and, by means of their fins and tails, many of them can pass through the water with great rapidity. Men, in some measure, imitate the shape of fish in the construction of fast-sailing vessels. But many fishes, with the greatest ease. overtake a ship under sail, play around it as if it were motionless, and dart off before it at pleasure. The tail is the great instrument of progressive motion; the fins serving chiefly to keep the body upright.

Fish are furnished with organs of respiration suited to the element which they inhabit. Instead of lungs they have gills, or *bronchiæ*, which are placed behind the head on each side; and, in most instances, have a movable gill cover. By means of these organs, which are connected with the throat, the animal draws its oxygen from the air contained in the water, as animals with lungs derive it immediately from the atmosphere. Fish discharge the water through the bronchial openings, and thus their expiration and inspiration are performed through different passages. The heart of fish is very small in proportion to the body. Its structure is simple, consisting of a single auricle and ventricle, which correspond with the right side of the heart in warm-blooded animals. The ventricle gives rise to a single arterial trunk, going straight forward to the bronchiæ, whence the blood passes into a large artery, analogous to the *aorta*, which goes along the spine and supplies the body of the animal. It is returned by the *venæ cavæ* into the auricle.

The temperature of the inhabitants of the water is nearly the same with that of the element in which they reside; and fish need less air than hot-blooded animals. Still they need a certain portion of air, and soon expire under the exhausted receiver of an air-pump. Berzelius, indeed, has stated that a fish may continue alive for several days in water which is void of air, and that it cannot be observed that the least decomposition of the water has taken place by its respiration. But he has not told us whether he means to assert that this takes place under the exhausted receiver of an air-pump, or only when there is a free communication between the water and the atmosphere. A fish lives in a narrow-mouthed vessel filled with water, so long as the communication with the external air remains open; but soon dies if that communication be completely shut up. If a hole be broken in a frozen lake, the fish quickly repair to the place. Hence, in winter, the North American Indians, when their provisions fail, break a hole in the ice, and commonly succeed in obtaining a fresh supply by fishing.*

As fish have no lungs, so we have already seen their heart has only one auricle and one ventricle. Now the heart did not create the respiratory organs, nor did the respiratory organs form the heart; yet they are evidently adapted to each other. Many fishes are provided with a *swimming bladder*, which lies close to the back-bone, and has a strong muscular coat. The fish can either contract or dilate this bladder; and, rendering itself specifically lighter or heavier, can descend or ascend at pleasure. Flounders, and some other fishes, which want this bladder, are always found grovelling at the bottom of the water. This, however, is not universally the case; for fishes of the cartilaginous kind want air bladders, and yet they easily rise to the top or sink to the bottom; and although most of the eel kind have air bladders, yet they cannot raise themselves in the water without difficulty. It is probable, therefore, that this bladder serves other purposes in the economy of the fish besides enabling it to rise and sink in the water.

The natatory bladder is largest in such fishes as swim with considerable velocity. It is wanting in flat fishes, where the large lateral fins supply its place, and in the shark, where its absence is compensated by the size and strength of the tail. It does not exist in the lamprey, which possesses none of these compensations; and therefore it creeps slowly at the bottom of the water. In fresh water fishes, the air bladder, according to Erman's experiments, contains nitrogen gas mixed with varying proportions of oxygen gas; but this last is never found in it in the same proportion as in atmospheric air. Biot found that in salt-water fishes, it contained oxygen gas increasing in proportion as the fish was in the habit of living at a great depth.† This bladder communicates generally with the œsophagus, and sometimes with the stomach. The whale tribe and the web-footed mammalia, which breathe by lungs, must often rise to the surface for the purpose of respiration.

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* River water has rather less than $\frac{1}{16}$ of its bulk of air. This air contains about $\frac{11}{100}$ of oxygen; from $\frac{6}{100}$ to $\frac{11}{100}$ carbonic acid; the remainder is nitrogen.—See **Ellis**, *Inq.* No. 551, &c.

† Between the tropics, Humboldt found in the natatory bladder of the flying fish 0.94 azote, 0.04 oxygen 0.02 carbonic acid. Some fish inhabiting the lower strata of the ocean have as much as 0.92 of oxygen in their air bladder.—**Humboldt**, *Personal Narrative*, v. ii. p. 16.

Some of the inhabitants of the water present a singular appearance. Their bones, instead of being placed internally, form their exterior covering. They stand low in the scale of animal existence; but even in them we see a wise and gracious provision for the preservation of the creature. The muscle. for instance, has a locomotive power: on looking at it we should be apt to imagine that it would be the sport of the waves, and be dashed to pieces against the rocks in a storm. It, however, has the power of securing itself against this danger, and of providing for its safety, by forming certain viscous threads, about two inches long, by means of which it firmly attaches itself to the rock, as by a cable and anchor. Upwards of a hundred and fifty of these cables are sometimes employed in mooring a single muscle. Here we see means of preservation well adapted to the state and circumstances of the animal.

4. In the different classes of animals there is a wonderful adaptation of the organs of sense to the structure of the rest of the body, and to the animal's peculiar manner of life. Of this I shall take the eye as an example.

All animals have two eyes: some insects have more. In man the eyes are directed forwards, harmonizing with the form and articulations of the upper and lower extremities, and with the configuration of the whole body. In most of the inferior animals, the eye has an oblique direction. The simiæ and the owl look straight forward. The motions of the human eye are performed by six muscles: quadrupeds have a seventh, named, from its office, the *suspensory* muscle. It sustains the weight of the globe of the eye, and prevents the optic nerve from being too much stretched, when the animal is obliged to hold its eyes in a hanging posture, and to look downwards in choosing and gathering its food. In man, on account of his erect posture, this muscle is not needed, and in the human subject it is not found; but to quadrupeds, by reason of their prone posture, it is of great utility, and they are provided with it. Now the suspensory muscle does not occasion the prone posture of the animal, and the prone posture does not create the suspensory muscle, for it comes into the world with the quadruped; yet the one is adapted to the other. Is there not design, yea benevolent design, and skilful contrivance, in this adaptation?

Many animals, but especially birds, whose eyes are much exposed to injury in passing through woods and thickets, are provided with a somewhat transparent covering for the eye, called the *nictating* membrane. It admits as many rays as render objects visible, and protects the organ of vision in circumstances of danger. It screens the eye when the bird is flying directly against the rays of the sun; and by means of it, according to Cuvier, the eagle is enabled to look at that luminary. It also serves to clense the cornea, an operation which man can perform with his hand. It is drawn over the globe of the eye by the combined action of two very singular muscles, which are fitted for the purpose with much mechanical skill.

The eyes of fish, being much exposed to danger in the inconstant element in which they reside, always have a cuticle or firm pellucid membrane over them. Indeed their eyes differ, in several respects, from those of other animals, and are wonderfully accommodated to the medium in which fish exist. The vitreous humour is very small, and the aqueous sometimes scarcely perceptible. The water, in a great measure, supplies the place of those two humours; but, that refraction may be duly carried on and vision accomplished, the crystalline is very large, almost spherical, and more dense than in terrestrial animals. In birds these circumstances are reversed; they are often in a somewhat elevated region of the atmosphere, and the rays which pass through that rare medium are refracted by the aqueous humour, which in birds is of a large size. Man, and the mammalia, living on the surface of the earth, hold a middle place between these two extremes. The *tapetum*, or mucous which lines the posterior surface of the iris, the ciliary processes, and part of the tunica choroides, is of different colours in different kinds of animals; and in each it is admirably fitted to the creature's manner of life. White reflects the rays of light; black absorbs them. Accordingly the tapetum is either white, or of some vivid colour which reflects the light strongly, in those animals which seek their prey by night. The cat and the owl have the tapetum whitish, and the pupil capable of much contraction and dilatation. On the other hand the tapetum of birds in general, but especially of eagles, hawks, and other birds of prey, is black; by which means they are enabled to see with the greatest distinctness, but only in clear daylight. Man is designed to labour chiefly by day, and his tapetum is neither so black as that of birds, nor so white as that of those animals which make the greatest use of their eyes in the dark. Animals which are much under ground, as the mole and the shrew, have the eyes very small. In the former of these its existence has been altogether denied; and it is not, in fact, larger than a pin's head. In some reptiles, the common integuments form, instead of eyelids, a kind of firm window, behind which the eyeball has a free motion.

5. Quadrupeds are divided into the carnivorous and the herbivorous. As their food is different, so a difference in the teeth indicates the class to which the animal belongs. As the teeth of the graminivorous, particularly of the ruminating kinds, are more constantly employed than those of the carnivorous kinds, so they are more thoroughly provided with enamel. There is also a considerable difference in the articulations of the jaws of quadrupeds. In the *feræ* the articulation admits only of the hinge movement: but in the herbivorous quadrupeds, particularly in the ruminating kinds, the articulation admits of a very free lateral motion. Here there is an obvious correspondence between the form and the habits of the animal.

There is a striking relation between the teeth, and the other instruments of mastication, and the stomach. The sheep, deer, and ox tribes, are destitute of foreteeth in the upper jaw: but the trituration of their food is completed by rumination. The horse and ass do not chew the cud, but they are provided with suitable teeth in the upper jaw for masticating the food and preparing it for the action of the gastric juice. The gastric juice of ruminating animals does not perform its specific operation upon the food till the cud has been chewed; and the animal seems to have as much gratification in chewing the cud as in pasturing. It then appears to be in a state of the most tranquil enjoyment.

Birds have no teeth; but the herbivorous and graminivorous kinds are furnished with the *gizzard*, a powerful instrument for grinding the food, and preparing it for the action of the gastric juice. This juice does not act on the unbroken grain, but the animal is provided with the means of grinding it. Now the gizzard did not form the bill of the bird, nor did the bill give existence to the gizzard; yet they are exactly fitted to each other. Teeth and a gizzard are not found together.

Instead of extending these remarks, I shall close this section by inserting some of the conclusions of Cuvier, so distinguished by his knowledge in comparative anatomy. "Every organized individual," says he, "forms an entire system of its own, all the parts of which must mutually correspond, and concur to produce a certain definite purpose, by reciprocal reaction, or by combining towards the same end. Hence none of these separate parts can change their forms without a corresponding change in the other parts of the same animal, and consequently each of their parts taken separately indicates all the other parts to which it has belonged. Thus, if the viscera of an animal are so organized as to be fitted for the digestion of recent flesh only, it is also requisite that the jaws should be so constructed as to fit them for devouring prey; the claws must be constructed for seizing and tearing it to pieces; the teeth for cutting and dividing its flesh; the entire system of the limbs, or organs of motion, for pursuing and overtaking it; and the organs of sense for discovering it at a distance.—The shape and structure of the teeth regulate the forms of the condyle, of the shoulder-blade, and of the claws; so that a claw, a shoulder-blade, a condyle, a leg or arm bone, or any other bone separately considered, enables us to discover the description of teeth to which they have belonged; and so also reciprocally we may determine the forms of the other bones from the teeth. Thus commencing our investigations by a careful survey of any one bone by itself, a person who is sufficiently master of the laws of organic structure may, as it were, reconstruct the whole animal to which that bone had belonged.—The smallest fragment of bone, even the most apparently insignificant apophysis, possesses a fixed and determinate character, relative to the class, order, genus, and species of the animal to which it belonged; insomuch that, when we find merely the extremity of a well preserved bone, we are able, by careful examination, assisted by analogy and exact comparison, to determine the species to which it once belonged as certainly as if we had the entire animal before us."*

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* Cuvier's Theory, p. 90, &c.

II. The clothing of the inferior animals is completely adapted to the climate which they inhabit, and to the different seasons of the year. In Kamtschatka, Lapland, and the higher latitudes of North America, they are clothed with thick and warm furs; but in tropical climates they are almost naked.

The musk-ox, a native of high latitudes, is provided in winter with a thick and fine wool, or fur, which grows at the root of the long hair, and shelters him from the intense cold to which he is exposed in that season. But as the summer advances this fur loosens from the skin, and by the animal's frequent rolling himself on the ground, it works out to the end of the hair, and in due time drops off, leaving little for summer clothing except the long hair. As the warm weather is of short duration in those high latitudes, the new fleece begins to appear almost as soon as the old one drops off, so that he is again provided with a winter dress before the cold becomes intense. The clothing is suited to the season. Where are the animals found which furnish materials for the fur trade? Not within the tropics; but in countries bordering on the Arctic circle. The elephant is a native of hot climates, and he goes naked. Rein-deer abound in Lapland and in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, and they have a coat of strong dense hair. The white bear is found on the coast of Greenland, and his shaggy covering is suited to that high latitude. In a word, if we pass from the equator to Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, we shall find in all the intermediate degrees, that the clothing of quadrupeds is suited to their climate, and accommodates itself to the season of the year.

Man is the only naked animal in all countries; and he is the only creature qualified to provide clothing for himself, and to accommodate that clothing to every climate, and to all the variety of the seasons. In this, as in every other respect, his condition is suited to his nature, as a being whose improvement and happiness are promoted by labour of body and exercise of mind.

If we pass to the clothing of birds, we still find benevolent contrivance, suited to the circumstances and providing for the welfare of the animal. This clothing consists of feathers, which are very bad conductors of heat, and which consequently permit the heat of the animal to pass off very slowly into the circumambient medium. The feathers are so inserted into the skin as naturally to lie backwards from the head, and to lap over each other, like tiles on a roof, allowing the rain to run off. When the head of the bird is turned towards the wind, the feathers are not discomposed by the most violent storm. The rump of birds terminates in a large gland, which secretes an oily substance; and when the feathers are too dry, or any way disordered, the bird squeezes the oil out of this gland, and dresses them with it. Thus the admission of water is prevented; and the bird, by means of its feathers, is sheltered both from cold and rain. Water-fowls have their breast covered with warm and soft clothing, suited to their circumstances. The eider-duck abounds on the coasts of Iceland; and the warmth of eider-down is well known. While the feathers of birds thus preserve them from cold, they are also a sort of defensive armour, and excellent instruments of motion.

The temperature of fish is not much above that of the medium in which they reside; and they have not, in general, any great occasion for warm clothing. Nevertheless they are provided with a scaly coat of mail, and are covered with a slimy and glutinous matter, which not only defends their bodies from the immediate contact of the surrounding fluid, but probably facilitates their motion through the water also. Under the scales, and before we come to the muscular part of the body, we meet with an oily substance, which contributes to the preservation of the requisite warmth. The whale is a hot-blooded animal, and resides chiefly in polar regions; but he is wrapped up in a thick coat of blubber, which defends him from the cold. Other inhabitants of the water in high latitudes, as the walrus, enjoy a similar security against the rigour of the element to which they are exposed. Can we seriously attend to the clothing of animals, without recognizing in it the hand of a wise and beneficent *First Cause?*

III. Every animated being is endued with the love of life, and the desire of self-preservation; and is also furnished with the means of acting in conformity to this instinctive principle of its nature. Every animal can search for its food, and choose what is proper for its subsistence. But, at present, I shall shortly attend to the means which different animals possess of securing themselves against danger, and of defending themselves from their enemies. Every animal possesses, in a certain degree, the means of self-preservation, either by resistance or flight. Some animals have formidable instruments of offence in their horns, teeth, claws, hoofs, or sting: others trust for safety to the swiftness of their course, or velocity of their flight; and some defend themselves by emitting a repulsive odour.

In gregarious animals, although the individual, in some instances, is weak and timid, yet the herd or flock can assume an imposing attitude, and make a vigorous defence. No creatures are more timid and defenceless than sheep, when under the protection of man. In the natural state, however, the rams, constituting the half of the flock, place themselves in battle array against the enemy, and dogs can make no impression upon them. Even the lion or tiger is unable to resist their united impetuosity and force! A single goat can choose his position on the rock, and set the dog at defiance. Horses join heads together, and fight with their heels; oxen join tails and fight with their horns; all place their young in the centre, that they may be safe during the battle. In perilous cases elephants march in troops; the oldest in front, the young and feeble in the centre, those of middle age and mature vigour in the rear. When at a distance from danger they travel with less precaution, never however separating so far but that they can hear one another's cries, and afford timely assistance.

The mole is well-formed for digging, and escapes from its pursuers by penetrating into the earth: the hedge-hog rolls itself up in a prickly envelope: the hare is well-fitted for running, and trusts to its swiftness for safety. The innocuous *lama*, which uses neither feet nor teeth against its enemies, is not destitute of means of defence. It is provided, we are told, with an acrimonious saliva, which, when offended, it can eject to the distance of several yards. This saliva occasions troublesome cutaneous eruptions where it touches.* Some animals are furnished with peculiar glands and bags at the end of the rectum, which secrete and contain a remarkably fetid substance; and this substance the animal can at pleasure throw out against its pursuers. The *zurilla*, a species of weazel about the size of a rabbit, found in several parts of South America, emits, when angry, such a pestilential vapour as beats off the most formidable adversary. Another inconveniency, says De Pages, which awaits the traveller in this country (between St. Antonio and Mexico), is the abominable smell of an animal, without the agility, but nearly of the size of a rabbit. This creature, when hardly pressed and in jeopardy of being taken, emits a most intolerable stench, which threatens suffocation to his pursuers, and which is eluded only by a precipitate flight. The squash, or Armenian polecat, when pursued or irritated, squirts upon its pursuers an excrementitious liquor of so horrible a smell that neither man nor dog can endure it.

Birds by their different way of flying often escape from their enemies. If the pigeon had the same way of flying as the hawk, it could scarcely ever escape his claws.

If, from the earth and the air, we pass to the ocean, we shall find its inhabitants possessing, in like manner, means of defence and safety. The cuttle-fish, when closely pursued, ejects a fluid black as ink, and conceals itself and escapes by discolouring the water. The excretory duct of the bag which contains this singular secretion opens near the anus. The fluid itself is thick, but so miscible with water that a small quantity of it discolours a considerable body of water. According to Cuvier, the Indian ink is made of this fluid. Some fishes have fins so large and flexible, that, when pursued, they can spring out of their native element, and dart through the air to a considerable distance.

Some of the inhabitants of the water possess peculiar means of defence, by giving electrical shocks. The electrical fluid is widely diffused in nature; and seems to be lodged, in greater or less quantities, in all animals. That there is a considerable portion of it in the human body is evident. Some persons are naturally so much electrified as to give obvious signs of the presence of this fluid, when a delicate electrometer is applied to them; and if their hair is combed, when they are placed on an insulating stool, they emit sparks. But only a very few animals have the power of giving shocks. So far as is at present known, they are all of the aquatic kind: the *torpedo*, *gymnotus electricus*, and *silurus electricus*.

This property of the *torpedo* has been known since the days of Theophrastus. It has the power of giving a smart shock to the person who touches it. According to Humboldt and Guy Lussac, the contact must be immediate. The shock depends on the will of the animal, which must be irritated before it exerts its peculiar power. The electrical apparatus of the torpedo has some resemblance to a galvanic trough, and seems to act in a similar manner.

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* Ulloa, Voyage au Perou, liv. vi. ch. 8. Wilcock's History of Buenos Ayres, p. 458.

The *gymnotus electricus* is a species of eel peculiar to Surinam river, and is said to be a fresh-water fish only. When of the largest size it is about four feet long, and from ten to fourteen inches in circumference in the thickest part of the body. Its electrical power is greater than that of the torpedo. It gives even the most violent shocks without any movement of the head, eyes, or fins. But when the torpedo gives a shock, a convulsive motion of the pectoral fins may be observed.

The *silurus electricus*, a fish about twenty inches long, found in some of the rivers of Africa, gives a shock like the torpedo and gymnotus. By means of this singular power, these animals can stun their adversaries and escape by flight.

Insects appear a feeble race; but some of them possess formidable means of defence and annoyance. Their sting is a spear, which they can wield with dexterity in repelling aggression. The fine polish of this little piece of armour has often been remarked, and adduced as an instance of the difference between the workmanship of the Creator and the productions of art. When viewed through a microscope, the point of the finest needle seems rough and blunt; but the sting of a bee, when examined by the glass, is seen to be smooth and beautifully polished. The first displays all its beauties to the naked eye; the instrument reveals its deformities: but the beauty of the last appears the more conspicuous the more narrowly it is inspected. In short, every animal is endued, in a greater or less degree, with the means of self-preservation. If any species be singularly exposed to danger it has the advantage of some great compensating principle, by which it is preserved from extinction. Many of the weaker or more timid animals can elude pursuit by the rapidity of their motions: some are very prolific and can bear a great waste. Here, as in every other department, we see a uniformity of plan, which can only be the fruit of design; and such an adaptation of means to ends as can result from nothing but benevolent intention.

IV. There is a great variety in the tastes and appetites of different kinds of animals; and there is a corresponding variety in the productions of the earth. There seems to be nothing in the wide extent of the vegetable kingdom, but what will yield sustenance to animals of one kind or other. Each species finds food agreeable to its taste and proper to its nature, and animals of one class cannot deprive those of another of their means of subsistence. According to Linnæus, the hog eats 72 kinds of vegetables; the horse 262; the cow 276; the sheep 287; and the goat 449. This diversity of tastes, with the corresponding diversity of productions, is one great means of stocking every part of the earth and of the ocean with inhabitants. Some animals, both by sea and land, are formed only in certain latitudes. Some dwell in polar regions; others chiefly within the tropics; and each finds its peculiar aliment in the place where it resides.

Animals are wonderfully fitted for discovering their means of subsistence. In selecting their food, they rely chiefly on smelling, and this sense does not deceive them. They easily distinguish between the noxious and the salutary, avoiding the one and feeding on the other. Some animals, such as wolves and ravens, discover their food at a distance, which, if we were to judge from our own sense of smelling, would appear altogether incredible. Others, as the eagle, the hawk, and the gull, have an amazingly acute eye; and, from a great height, perceive mice, birds, and other objects of prey.

As the different kinds of animals are admirably qualified for discovering their food, so they are well formed for gathering or seizing it. In graminivorous quadrupeds, there is a remarkable correspondence between the length of the legs and that of the neck. We do not find a very short neck in connection with long legs. The ox, the horse, and the sheep, are examples of the proportions of those different parts of the body. In some of the deer kind, indeed, the neck does not bear the same proportion to the legs, as in the animals now mentioned; but they obtain their food chiefly by browsing on the branches of trees, in which case there is no need for a length of neck corresponding to the legs. They can easily pasture on an ascent; and Vaillant assures us that even the giraffe, the most remarkable of this tribe, is able to drink from a stream, the surface of which is lower than the ground on which he stands.

Monkeys are destined to live on trees; and their four prehensile members enable them to climb with the greatest facility. The tail of several kinds is a farther assistance in this way of life. The natural food of swine is chiefly the roots of plants: and they have a snout fitted for digging up the earth. The goat is formed for ascending rocky precipices, to crop the leaves of those herbs and plants on which he delights. The squirrel feeds on the leaves and fruit of trees; and he is provided with feet which fit him for climbing. Woodpeckers have strong, wedge-like bills, for piercing the bark of trees; and they are provided with a long slender tongue, armed with a sharp bony point, barbed on each side, which, by means of a curious apparatus of muscles, they can dart out to a great length into the chinks of the bark, or into the holes which they have formed with their bills, in order to transfix and draw out the insects lurking there. Their legs and feet are admirably formed for climbing, and even the tail is made to co-operate for the same purpose.

The tongue of the chameleon displays a very curious mechanism. It is contained in a sheath at the lower part of the mouth, and has its extremity covered with a glutinous secretion. It admits of being projected to the length of six inches from the mouth, with wonderful celerity and precision; and the viscous secretion on its extremity entangles the flies, and other similar insects, which constitute the food of the chameleon. Water fowls feed upon fish, insects, and eggs of fish; and their bills, legs, wings, and whole structure, are fitted to their manner of life. The size and strength of the wings correspond with the circumstances of the different kinds of fowls. Birds of prey, which must often seek their food at a distance, have large and strong wings; but in domestic birds, which can find nourishment almost everywhere, the wings are short and small.

Were we to run over the organs of all animals for procuring their food and seizing their prey, from the trunk of the elephant to the blood-sucking apparatus of the gadfly, we should everywhere meet with the most astonishing adaptations, and displays of the most consummate mechanical skill. We see a vast variety of food provided; a corresponding variety of tastes for enjoying it; and all animals furnished in one way or other with organs for taking possession of it. And is this vast, various, and complicated system the work of chance? Is not design, yea are not wisdom and goodness obvious in the provision made for the sustenance of the different kinds of animals, in correspondence to their different tastes and appetites? The food does not form the taste; but the taste directs to the use of the food. Some animals could not live on that which is grateful to the palate of others; and although the animal, in a number of instances, might support a lingering existence on the food which it does not choose, yet, in these cases, it would neither attain the vigour of its nature, nor the usual term of its life. According to all our conceptions, nothing but a designing Being could have furnished provisions suitable to the nature of every animal, and formed each animal with fit organs for gathering that provision.

V. In many instances we find surprising adaptations of animals to peculiar circumstances. Under this head, I shall confine my observations to the camel and the rein-deer: the one a native of the arid plains in the warm and temperate regions of Asia and Africa; the other an inhabitant of high latitudes. The camel is found in warm climates, and on parched and sandy plains; and the structure of his body, and his habits, are accommodated to the circumstances in which he is placed. In the regions which he inhabits, the earth is seldom refreshed with showers; and, in many cases, only a few stunted shrubs or herbs appear in the midst of the sandy wilderness, or around the wells which are thinly scattered in the desert. In this situation, his place could not be supplied to man by any other animal. "The sand," says Denon, "is truly his element; for as soon as he quits it and touches the mud, he can hardly keep upon his feet, and his constant trips alarm the rider for his own safety and that of his baggage." His rough and spongy soles are excellently fitted for traversing the ocean of sand: they do not crack with the heat.

Besides the four stomachs common to ruminating animals, the camel is furnished with a fifth, which serves as a reservoir for containing water. It is peculiar to this animal, and is so capacious that, according to Bruce, it can contain water sufficient to serve him for thirty days. Russell, in his Natural History of Aleppo, mentions a Bassora caravan, in which the camels remained fifteen days without water; but he adds, that the Aleppo and Bassora caravans are seldom more than three or four days without finding wells; although, at times, when obliged to leave the common track, the camels suffer an abstinence of six or seven days. The fifth stomach preserves the water in a state of perfect purity and limpidity, without permitting any part of the aliment, or of the fluids of the body, to mix with it. In traversing the vast burning deserts, which without his aid no human power could pass, when the camel is pressed with thirst, or has occasion for water to macerate his dry food in ruminating, he makes part of the water mount into his paunch, or even as high as the œsophagus, by the contraction of certain muscles. His stomachs are possessed of a peculiar sensibility, by which each opens to receive the food proper to it. He scents a pool of water half a league off.

As the camel is fitted for marching through the arid wilderness, so he can pass over the most barren region. He can subsist and toil on a very small quantity of food, and that of the coarsest kind, such as wormwood, thistles, broom, thorny shrubs, and other similar fare. When even this rough aliment cannot be obtained, he can subsist on a few pounded dates, or some small paste-balls of bean or barley meal. With a single pound of such food in a day, he can travel for weeks together, upwards of 30 miles a-day, under a load of 750 or 800 pounds. As he is so surprisingly fitted for passing parched and burning deserts, in which without his aid man must inevitably perish, he is by the Arabs emphatically styled *the ship of the desert.* He is the great medium of commerce in the regions which he inhabits; and without him the wilderness would be altogether impassable.

The Arabs subsist on the milk of the female, in the different forms of curds, cheese, and butter; and they often feed on its flesh. They use the camel's dung as fuel; they make slippers or harness of its skin, and tents and clothing of its hair. When alive, this animal is the treasure and support of its master; and, even when dead, contributes to his accommodation and comfort. Here then we have an unsightly, but inoffensive and docile animal, of peculiar conformation and habits; and that conformation and those habits admirably adapted to the physical state of those countries where he is found. And will the atheist allege that the sands and heat of the wilderness formed the spongy hoof and the fifth stomach of the camel, and endued him with the singular patience of hunger and thirst; or that the spongy hoof and water-bag of the camel created the vast sandy plain, and planted the stunted thorn in the desert? No sober man will attach the least credit to such allegations; for here we see an adaptation plainly indicative of mind, and which could only originate from a wise and benevolent *First Cause.*

But leaving the parched deserts between the Euphrates and the Gambia, let us turn our eye to the arctic regions of America, to the mountains of Lapland, or to the wilds of Siberia: there we meet with an animal almost as useful as the camel, and perceive a striking adaptation in the rein-deer This animal is a treasure to the Laplander. In winter, it draws his sledge with great rapidity over the frozen lakes, rivers, and snow-clad mountains of his country. Two of them yoked in a carriage can travel a hundred miles a-day. Besides serving the purposes of rapid transportation, they are far more extensively useful. Their milk yields cheese; their flesh, a wholesome and nutritious diet. Their skin furnishes clothing; the tendons, bowstrings and thread; and the bones and horns, glue and spoons.

Let the camel and the rein-deer change places. Carry the latter to the burning sands of Asia or Africa, and transport the former to the confines of the arctic circle. What happens? Both become miserable and useless creatures. There is no adaptation in the broad spongy sole of the camel, and no occasion for his fifth stomach. Neither his constitution nor his clothing is suited to the climate. He becomes an unprofitable and unhappy creature: he lingers, pines, and dies. Does the rein-deer fare better by the change? No. He is unable to bear the heat of the sun, and the drought of the desert. His dense coat of hair is an intolerable burden, and he soon falls a victim to an unsuitable climate. Now, how shall we account for the suitableness of the creature to the circumstances in which he is placed, but by the admission of a wise First Cause? Insensible must be the heart which is not filled with admiration at such adaptations; and callous those affections which do not glow with gratitude to the bountiful Author of Nature.

VI. Every species of animals is endued with the capacity of continuing its kind. The difference of sexes, and the mutual correspondence of parts in the different kinds of animals, demonstrate design and skilful contrivance. Now, design and contrivance are acts of mind, and cannot be predicated of anything but mind. Supposing that a living creature were somehow found, without any designing cause, yet what probability is there that it would be of any sex, or capable in any way of propagating its kind? This capacity implies a peculiarity of structure, and a variety of combinations that cannot appear without design. But supposing the atheist to find, in any way he pleases, an animal of one sex, of any given kind, how shall he find a mate for it? How, otherwise than by design and skilful contrivance, shall he procure another of the same kind, and of a different sex? We observe nothing throughout the wide extent of nature that gives us even a shadow of reason for believing, that amidst millions of millions of casual combinations such a kindred animal could be produced. It must, however, not only be produced, but within a very short time; for the duration of an animal's life is bounded by narrow limits. And not only must it be produced within a very short time, but also at or near the same place with the other; for we cannot suppose them to travel to any great distance in quest of each other.

Here we meet with such difficulties, that unless the atheist can show us something in the existing phenomena of nature in support of his suppositions and assertions, he has no right to blame us although we treat his hypothesis with contempt and derision. Thus, although there existed only one species of animals on the face of the earth, yet the argument in proof of the existence of a wise designing cause, drawn from the sexual relation, would be altogether unanswerable. We see, however, a vast system of such relations established and going on. We meet with perhaps twenty thousand different kinds of living creatures, all propagating their different kinds by sexual intercourse, carried on in one way or another. And we may take notice of a circumstance which seems to indicate not only a designing cause, but also a superintending providence. The circumstance is this, that throughout the whole range of animal existence there is always a due proportion between the sexes. The species never perishes by becoming all males, or all females. It cannot be alleged that all this diversity of animals has arisen from one original pair, by means of casual and gradual variations, during a long course of ages; for an impassable barrier is placed between the different kinds of animals. Some of them, indeed, as the horse and the ass, can propagate by intermixture. But here the process ends. The mule is unproductive. The exceptions which have happened, or are alleged to have happened, only serve to confirm the generality of the rule. Each of the different kinds of animals must have sprung from an original pair.

The difference of sexes, and the great system of corporeal adaptations connected with it, form a decisive argument in proof of the existence of a designing cause; a mind capable of planning a vast variety of combinations, and of employing skilful and amazingly diversified contrivances in order to the accomplishment of an important end. "The sexes," says Dr. Paley, "are evidently made for each other. They form the grand relation of animated nature; universal, organic, mechanical; subsisting, like the clearest relations of art, in different individuals; unequivocal, inexplicable without design. So much so, that were every other proof of contrivance in nature dubious or obscure, this alone would be sufficient. The example is complete. Nothing is wanting to the argument. I see no way whatever of getting over it."

INSECTS.

The structure of insects might furnish materials for a large dissertation; but it is intended to make only a few general remarks on the subject. We admire and applaud the consummate skill of the artist who forms any piece of machinery on a minute scale; as a watch that can be set in a ring for the finger. How delicate and exact must be the adaptation of the parts, and how accurate the workmanship of the whole! Ought not a similar admiration to accompany us when we pass through that province of nature, where animal organization is set before us in miniature? Insects are commonly overlooked, or regarded with an eye of careless indifference. But the mechanism of their bodies, and their instinctive propensities, plainly indicate a designing cause.

There is a prodigious variety of insects, differing in figure, colour, and disposition of parts. But here, as in every other department of sentient nature, there is a close connexion between the external form and the habits of the animal. All the tribes of insects proceed from parents like themselves. The doctrine of *spontaneous* or *equivocal* generation was famous among ancient philosophers; who, although they did not think of applying it to the larger animals, where its falsehood was obvious, thought it accounted for the appearance of insects. Some observers of nature perceiving that swarms of insects appeared on different substances, such as putrid flesh and the leaves of plants, rashly concluded that these diminutive animals were produced by the action of the sun on those substances. Men long rested satisfied with this vague notion, which at once flattered them with the belief that they knew the truth, and relieved them from the trouble of careful inquiry and observation. But the experiments of Redi, Malphigi, and others, dissipated the illusion, and established the important truth that every animal proceeds from a parent of its own kind.

The exquisite organization of insects has excited the admiration of the most distinguished anatomists. "After an attentive examination," says Swammerdam, "of the nature and anatomy of the smallest as well as of the largest animals, I cannot help allowing the least, an equal or perhaps a superior degree of dignity. If, while we dissect with care the largest animals, we are filled with admiration at the elegant disposition of their parts, to what a height is our astonishment raised when we discover all these parts arranged in the least, in the same regular manner!" In every department of animated nature, design is so obvious that it is not easy to determine where it is most conspicuously displayed.

Insects have organs of sense as well as the larger animals. We can form no conception of any animal with more senses than we ourselves enjoy; and we cannot assert that all insects possess as many senses as are found in man. But we may confidently affirm that the Creator has bestowed upon them as many as are necessary for their preservation, in their respective conditions. All insects enjoy the sense of feeling in common with other animals. In some of them we can discover no organs of vision; but many of them have two eyes, and some of them have more. It may not be easy to point out the ears of these minute animals; but it is certain that many of them possess the sense of hearing, or something analogous to it. Many of them seem capable of discovering their food by smelling; and they appear to exercise taste in the selection of it. Our inability to discover the organs of any particular sense in insects, is no evidence that they are destitute of that sense. The organs may be so minute as altogether to elude our discernment. Besides, insects may enjoy something analagous to our senses, though not through the medium of organs constructed as ours are.

In insects (I use the word in a vague sense) respiration is carried on by means of *tracheæ*, or air tubes, running below the skin, and communicating with the surface by numerous openings. In some of them, the air passes through the cuticle in every part of the body. Their organs for the reception of their aliment are very differently formed. Such of them as eat, have claws for seizing their food, and teeth for gnawing and comminuting it. Those which subsist by sucking fluids are provided with a pump, longer or shorter, according to their necessities. Many kinds, which at first sight appear to have no opening for the reception of nourishment, are furnished with two large pincers on their head for the conveyance of their aliment. Their is much variety in the internal organization of insects; but in all of them the great process of nutrition is successfully carried on.

Insects can provide for their safety in different ways. Some escape by flight. Some, for the purpose of concealment, make their abode in places of the same colour with themselves. The skin of some is so hard as to form a kind of coat of mail; and some are provided with a formidable sting. No species perishes, either through its own helplessness, or the violence of its enemies. Insects propagate their kinds, and this is accomplished, as in other animals, by the co-operation of different sexes. It may be remarked that such females as deposit their eggs in the bark of trees, in the earth, in the substance of leaves, or in other insects, are furnished with a suitable tube for the accomplishment of their purpose. The male has no occasion for the tube, and he has it not. The provision exists where it is needed, but extends no farther.

CHAPTER V.

INSTINCT.

On glancing at animated nature, a grand characteristic of man presents itself to our view; his capacity of reasoning, deliberating, planning, and varying the means which he employs for the accomplishment of his ends according to the exigencies of the case. The inferior animals almost always use the same means for the attainment of the same ends. They are either altogether incapable of reasoning, or possess the faculty in a very low degree: and, accordingly, if we meet with any improvement among them, it is that of a few individuals only, under the special instruction of man; not of the species, or of a society. But we see men in one age, or in one country, without knowledge and without curiosity, roaming singly or in little bands in the desert; without foresight or steady industry; rudely feeding on the spontaneous fruits of the earth, or on the precarious supplies of fishing and hunting; and lodging in a cave, under the projection of a rock, in the shelter of a thicket, or under a tent of stakes covered with bushes, bark, or skins; the erection of which is scarcely the labor of an hour. Their clothing is as rude and scanty as their other accommodations.

At another period, or in a different country, we find them comfortably clad; surrounded with flocks and herds, and removing from place to place for the conveniency of pasture; occasionally soliciting the earth by means of agriculture to contribute more liberally to their subsistence and comfort; living in movable habitations, and enjoying unpolished plenty. If we still follow the stream of human improvement, after passing different stages and through various scenes, we come to a busy multitude, pursuing with ambitious industry their several employments, under the protection of equal laws; building houses; clearing the forest; planting trees; applying all the powers of their labour and ingenuity to the cultivation of the soil; plunging into the bowels of the earth in quest of minerals; draining marshes and lakes, and straightening the water-course; making roads and bridges; digging canals and deepening rivers; engaged in manufactures and commerce; exchanging the production of one quarter of the globe for the superfluities of another; building and embellishing magnificent cities; forming literary and scientific establishments; impressing air, fire, and water, into their service; constructing machines for the abridgment of labour; exploring the different corners of the earth, and making themselves acquainted with the inhabitants and the productions of every country; investigating the physical laws of the universe; ascertaining the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies; calculating the distances of the sun and planets, measuring the velocity of light, and observing the aberration of the fixed stars.

Such is a sketch of the career of society from rudeness to civilization, agreeably to the different states in which mankind have been found.* The individual exhibits something of a similar progress in improvement. His first efforts are awkward; his productions rude and clumsy. He improves by observation and practice, and gradually advances from one stage of excellence to another. The observation applies not to his mechanical skill only, but to his moral and intellectual attainments also.

If we turn our eye to the inferior animals, a very different picture is presented to our view. Every species is stationary. With some minute modifications, depending on local circumstances, it is the same in every age, and in every country. In cases, indeed, where the inferior animals are trained to the service of man, their natural disposition and habits are, by subjugation and discipline, occasionally, in some respects, altered and improved. Any progressive attainment, however, is merely that of the individual. Societies never advance. In most instances, the individual also is altogether stationary. The bird builds its nest, and the bee constructs its cell, as perfectly on the first attempt, and without either instruction or experience, as at any future period. This, I apprehend, is *instinct* in the strictest sense of the word. I do not pretend to draw a distinct line between reason and instinct, or in every instance to determine where the one ends and the other begins. But the general notion of instinct is, a propensity prior to experience, and independent on education. Some instincts, however, are capable of accommodation, or even of improvement. The creature is susceptible of some degree of education. But other instincts, particularly those of insects, are invariably the same.

In this chapter, I purpose to take notice of some of the instincts of the inferior animals relating to the preservation of the individual, and to the continuation of the species. In the last chapter, I made some observations on corporeal organization, and shall now attend to the corresponding instincts. These, at times, are so closely connected, and so run into each other, that it is not easy to treat of them altogether separately. As in the last chapter our attention was chiefly turned to organization, so in the present, instinct will be our main subject.

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* Nothing that has been here said is intended to apply to the original state of man; but merely to mark his progress from the lowest state of degradation in which he has been found to the highest degree of civilization.

I. The different kinds of animals instinctively make use of the means of defence and safety with which they are provided. The calf pushes with its head, even before its horns appear; a proof that the instinct exists prior to the expansion of the parts for the employment of which it is implanted. The horse uses both his teeth and his heels, or treads down his adversary with his fore feet; although in a wild state his heels are the main instrument of defence; and it may be added, that, in that state, when horses sleep, one remains awake to give warning of approaching danger. The dog, in combating the enemy, employs his teeth, and the feline tribe uses both teeth and claws: The insect has recourse to its sting. The ox never attempts to bite, nor the dog to butt with his head: each of them instinctively feels that he possess more effectual means of defence. The hare has recourse to flight, and commonly betakes itself to high ground, as the length and mulcularity of its posterior extremities give it an advantage in ascending the hill. By its doublings, it often perplexes and eludes the enemy. The cunning of the fox, in providing his food and in making his escape from his pursuers, is proverbial.

The inferior animals instinctively know their enemies, and apprize each other of their common danger. The fox devours birds; and birds no sooner see him approach than they utter cries, which are understood by the whole flock, and put them instantly upon their guard. Every dam has a call for her young, and in every flock and herd there are expressions which bring numbers together; expressions of enjoyment or suffering, of desire or aversion. By a particular sound the hen invites her chicks to partake of food, and they instantly comply with the invitation. By a different cry she apprizes them of danger on the approach of the hawk, and, although they have never heard the cry before, they hasten to her for concealment and shelter.

When marmots are gambling among the grass, they station one of their number as sentinel upon a rock. If the sentinel perceive a man, an eagle, a dog, or any other enemy, by a whistle he gives his companions notice of their danger, and he is the last to enter the hole leading to their habitation. Monkeys, and several other animals, employ similar precautions. In many instances, animals of the same kind combine their efforts in order to repel a common enemy. A single rook is no match for a kite; but whenever the kite appears the rooks that are within sight join in attacking him. The migration of birds discovers a wonderful instinct, and may be considered as a means of security. Several kinds of them, at stated seasons, quit their summer abodes, and, in great flocks, repair to the places where the temperature is most suited to their constitutions, or where their food is most abundant.

Many animals instinctively employ proper means for healing their wounds and curing their diseases. The Kamtschadales confess that they owe to the bears all their skill both in physic and surgery; that by observing the herbs with which those animals rub their wounds, and to which they have recourse when sick or languid, they have become acquainted with most of the simples in use among them, either in the way of internal medicine, or of external application. In short, as all animals possess some means of defence and safety, so they have corresponding instincts which prompt them to the due application of those means.

II. As the inferior animals are provided with instruments for procuring their food, so they are endued with an instinctive skill in the use of those instruments. Every animal instinctively knows the food that will nourish it. The chick, almost as soon as it escapes from the shell, runs to its food, and pecks with its bill. The lamb, when it drops from the ewe, uses its legs in walking, and hastens to the teat from which it is to draw nourishment. The principal food of the rein-deer, in winter, is a kind of white moss; and the animal digs with its feet under the snow in order to obtain it. Sheep act in a similar manner. The beaver lays up a stock of winter provision: the squirrel does the same. Numbers of the crow kind hide food in holes, when they have it in plenty, and apply to their concealed stores in times of scarcity. When ravens find themselves unable to break the shells of muscles, and other *testacea*, they carry them to a great height in the air, and accomplish their purpose by letting them fall upon a rock. In some parts of the country, furze is occasionally, in seasons of scarcity, thrashed as food for horses: but the horse can perform the operation for himself. He tramples upon the branches and paws them with his fore feet, till the prickles are mashed together or rubbed off; and so completely does he perform the work, that the food thus prepared might be squeezed by the hand with impunity. Gass informs us, that in the country towards the source of the Missouri, wolves, in packs, hunt the antelope, which is too swift to be run down by a single wolf. The wolves take their station; part of the pack begins the chase, and running in a circle, they at intervals relieve each other. From Le Page de Pratz, in his History of Louisiana, we learn that wolves discover a similar sagacity in hunting the buffalo. In insects that undergo several transformations, the instinctive propensity changes with the appearance of the animal. Some that in one stage feed on putrid bodies, in another extract a delicious aliment from herbs and flowers. This instinctive sagacity appears throughout all animated nature.

III. Many animals live without any fixed habitation, and the dwelling which others frequent is of the simplest kind; as the form of the hare's. Some animals have no particular place of residence during winter, as many kinds of birds, but prepare a place in spring for bringing forth and rearing their young. Others, as the beaver, have no fixed residence in summer, but provide a comfortable habitation against the severity of winter. In the construction of their houses many animals display much sagacity; and as an example of this we may select the beaver. He is a native, chiefly of high latitudes, and, though not possessed of all that surprising sagacity and ingenuity which some distinguished naturalists have ascribed to him, is endued with wonderful instincts.

The beavers, when numerous, construct their houses on the margin of ponds, lakes, and rivers. They always choose a place where the water is so deep as not to freeze to the bottom. When they build on small rivers, where the water is liable to be drained off, by a failure in the sources which supply the stream, they provide against the evil by making a dam quite across the river at a convenient distance from their houses. This shows the foresight and sagacity of an engineer in erecting a fort, or marking out the ground for the site of a city. The shape of the dam varies according to circumstances. If the current of the river be slow, the dam runs almost straight across; but if the current be rapid, the dam is formed with a considerable curve towards the stream, so that the different parts of it support each other, like an arch. The materials employed are drift wood, green willows, birch and poplars, if they can be gotten; also mud and stones, intermixed in such a manner as contributes much to the strength of the dam, which, when the beavers are allowed long to frequent a place undisturbed, by frequent repairs becomes very firm.

The beavers always cut their wood higher up the river than their houses, so that they enjoy the advantage of the stream in conveying it to the place of its destination. On the margin of lakes, where they have always a sufficient depth of water, they construct no dams. Their houses, however, are built of the same materials as the dams; and their dimensions are suited to the number of inhabitants, which seldom exceeds four old, and six or eight young ones. The great aim of the beaver is to have a dry bed; and their houses, which are but rude structures, have only one door, always opening to the water. The otter, likewise, discovers much sagacity in forming his habitation. He burrows under ground, on the banks of rivers and lakes. He always makes the entrance to his house under water, working upwards towards the surface of the earth, and forming different chambers in his ascent, that in case of high floods he may still have a dry retreat. He forms a small air hole reaching to the surface, and, for the purpose of concealment, this air hole commonly opens in a bush.

The marmot also displays a surprising instinct in preparing his habitation. In the declivity of a hill he digs two small subterraneous passages, opening at some distance from each other. They gradually ascend, and approach each other, till they meet in a common trunk. In this common trunk, the marmots form a level dwelling, and carpet it carefully with moss and hay. One of the passages forms an entrance to the house; in the other the excrements are deposited. A number of marmots lodge in the same house, which is formed by their united labour. On feeling the approach of winter, they closely shut up the passages to their house, and sleep till the return of spring. In the marmot, Spallanzani found living action to cease in a temperature about 29° or 30° Fahrenheit.

IV. In this section we shall take notice of instincts relating to the continuation of the species.

Throughout the wide extent of animated nature, so far as it falls under our observation, individuals die, but the species continues. The author of that constitution of things, which carries into execution the first of these, has made an adequate provision for the last. The reproductive powers of the different kinds of animals are admirably adjusted to their natural term of life, and to the dangers to which they are exposed; so that no species ever perishes. Even where the life of the individual does not extend beyond the short space of a day, there is as sure a provision made for the continuation of the species, as where the life of the individual extends to a hundred years. The kinds which are liable to great peril and waste are very prolific, and the fecundity of those which are less exposed to danger is confined within narrower limits. Hares and rabbits bring forth far more young than lions and tigers; wrens are much more prolific than eagles; and the fecundity of cod-fish and salmon greatly exceeds that of the whale.

The earth exhibits some wonderful organic remains. The bones of those animals to which the names *mammoth*, *megatherion*, &c. have been assigned, indicate skeletons unlike to those of any living creature presently known; and we pretend not fully to account for the remains described by Cuvier and others. Some of them, at least, seemed to have belonged to the globe, under a constitution anterior to the present. But although we cannot satisfactorily explain these phenomena, yet we are acquainted with no clear evidence of the destruction of any species of animals that ever belonged to the earth under its present forms.

For the production and rearing of their young, there is, in every kind of animals, a most astonishing combination of organization and instinct. Neither of these is sufficient by itself. The organization without the instinct would be unproductive, and the instinct without the organization would be of no avail; but united, they fully accomplish the end. We are satisfied that nothing like legitimate evidence can be adduced to prove that the organization is the cause of the instinct. They are wonderfully conjoined; but we believe they are independent on each other, as much as the candle and the candlestick, the ink and the inkhorn. Is not, then, the combination of two such independent circumstances, for an important purpose, a decisive evidence of intelligence and design? If it be urged that the organization is the cause of the instinct, we wish to know who formed this constitution of things. Who formed the organization which is accompanied with such instincts? It was not chance surely, but an intelligent and wise cause.

All creatures are desirous of propagating their kinds. So strong is the desire, and so efficient the means, that no species fails in accomplishing the end. In some the season of love is periodical, and on its return what a striking scene is exhibited! In describing it we may employ the language of Lucretius, the poet of chance philosophy.

Nam simul ac species patefacta est verna diei,
Et reserata viget genitalis aura Favoni;
Aëriae primum volucres te, Diva, tuumque
Significant initum percussæ corda tua vi:
Inde feræ pecudes persultant pabula læta,
Et rapidos tranant amneis; ita capta lepore,
Illecebrisque tuis omnis natura animantum
Te sequitur cupide, quo quamque inducere pergis:
Denique per maria, ac montes, fluviosque rapaceis,
Frundiferasque domos avium, camposque virenteis,
Omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem,
Efficis, et cupide generatim saecla propagent.*

We shall make a few more remarks on the instincts relating to the continuation of the species, under the heads of pairing, the nidification, and incubation of birds, providing food for the young, and defending them.

1. When the offspring require, for some time, the attention and industry of both parents to support them, animals are found to pair; but, in cases where the female alone is able to raise her progeny, the sexual intercourse is promiscuous. The affectionate attention of the parents is always adapted to the condition of their young, and is continued towards them till they are capable to provide for themselves. Man is a pairing animal. Some quadrupeds pair, and pairing is common among the feathered tribes. In winter, indeed, birds in general are without any fixed habitation; and many kinds of them appear in great flocks, without any particular attention of one individual to another. On the return of spring, however, the scene changes. The general society is dissolved, and many partnerships, consisting each of a male and female, are formed. The pair fix on a suitable spot, and by their joint labour construct a habitation.

2. Most birds prepare their nests with much care; and many of them discover ingenuity in the design, and neatness in the execution. But the ingenuity and the neatness belong to the species, and in no degree characterize individuals. They have no need of an apprenticeship. The nest of those birds which have paired for the first time is not more rude or inconvenient than that of those which have repeated the labour of nidification for a number of years. There is no deficiency in the first from want of instruction and practice, and the last have gained nothing by observation and experience.

The dove that perch'd upon the Tree of Life,
And made her bed among its thickest leaves;
All the wing'd habitants of Paradise,
Whose songs once mingled with the songs of Angels,
Wove their first nests as curiously and well
As the wood-minstrels in our evil day.

The crow and the magpie, the lark and the linnet, and every other kind, has each a peculiar manner of building its nest; and every individual of the same species, in similar circumstances, follows the same model, and uses similar materials. The instinctive propensity seems, in various instances, to accommodate itself to peculiar circumstances, both in building the nest, and in the process of incubation. In countries infested by monkeys, some birds, which in other climates build in bushes or in the clefts of trees, suspend their nests upon a slender twig, and so elude the mischievous propensities of the monkey. With us, ravens build on trees; but in the cold climates of Iceland and Greenland, they construct their nests in the holes of rocks.

The nest is always suited to the size of the bird, and to the number of its eggs and young. Many small birds display much sagacity in concealing their nests by tufts of grass, or by twigs and leaves. In the nest we see a receptacle provided for eggs before they come to maturity, yea before the bird knows that it is to lay them. Each species lays a determinate number: and it appears that, in this process, some birds, at least, do not act under the influence of physical necessity, but have, to a certain extent, an instinctive voliton. The solon goose, if undisturbed, lays only one egg; but if that be taken away, she lays a second; if the second be removed, she lays a third; but no more for the season. In a number of instances, if one egg be daily abstracted from the nest, the bird continues laying till she obtain her complement. In this way a swallow has been made to lay nineteen eggs in one season.

In general, the smallest kinds of birds are most prolific; but from this general rule there are some exceptions. The eagle lays one, sometimes two eggs; the crow four or five; the titmouse seven or eight; the small European wren fifteen: the humming bird, however, a very little creature, lays only two; and yet the humming birds are more numerous in America than the wrens in Europe, being protected by the smallness of their size, the rapidity of their flight, and their daring courage. After the complement of eggs is provided, a new and interesting scene is exhibited. All the former habits of the birds seem at once to forsake it. The animal that before was almost in perpetual motion, hopping from twig to twig, flitting from tree to tree, rising into the air, flying to considerable distances, chirping and singing, becomes at once motionless and mute. She takes possession of her nest, and with assiduity broods on her eggs. In some instances, as in rooks and in crows, the male supplies her with food; and in others, as in pigeons, relieves her by filling her place. In this way, the small eggs, which otherwise would soon lose their heat, are always kept at the due temperature. We may add that the albumen, or white of the egg, is a feeble conductor of caloric, and consequently tends to preserve, during the occasional absence of the parent bird, that equable temperature which is so necessary to the evolution of the ovular embryo.

The eggs of the larger birds, on account of their greater size, retain heat longer than those of the smaller birds; accordingly the larger birds occasionally leave their nests for some time, without injury to the process of incubation. Some of them, however, when they go to feed, cover their eggs; the eider duck does it with down taken from her own breast. But small birds sit most assiduously, otherwise their eggs could not be hatched. Here we find an amazing adaptation of instinct to the circumstances of the animal, for which we see no rational way of accounting, without ultimately resorting to a wise first cause. The bird does not understand the process which it is carrying on: it does not know the end to be accomplished; yet it carries on the process with the most minute precision, in opposition to all its habits during the other seasons of the year, and in the absence of disastrous accidents, arising from foreign causes, it accomplishes the end with infallible certainty.

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* De rerum natura, lib. i. l. 10.

Fish, with a few exceptions, are oviparous; and generally, after depositing their eggs, pay no farther attention to their progeny. There are, however, some striking exceptions. The female cayman repairs to the banks of a river; forms a large hole in the sand, and there deposits her eggs. She covers them carefully, and rolls herself on the place to smooth it, that it may not be discovered. She leaves her eggs to be hatched in the sand; but her instinctive propensity prompts her to return, at the exact time, to uncover them and break the shells, when the young caymans come forth.

3. The instinctive propensities of animals do not terminate with the appearance of their progeny in the world, but continue as long as the aid of the parent is needful for rearing the offspring. Most animals have a strong affection for their young, which manifests itself in providing food for them. And in order to the supply of this food, there is, in many instances, a wonderful physical constitution in the parent, as well as surprising instincts in the progeny. Thus in the human race, such is the constitution of the mother, that she secretes a nutritious fluid for the support of her child, and the secretion of this fluid accompanies the need for it. It does not depend on volition. It does not exist at any other time. And in the child what a wonderful instinct displays itself in the complicated muscular action by which this fluid is obtained. Sucking is an operation in which the infant soon becomes expert; but few grown persons can perform it. The instinctive skill is lost, when the need for it ceases.

In many quadrupeds, as well as in the human race, the mother secretes a nutritious fluid for the support of her offspring, and she can yield nourishment to her young while she herself is feeding. There is a remarkable correspondence between the instinct of the young animal, and the provision made for its support. Almost as soon as it comes into the world, it seeks for the teat from which it is to draw nourishment. Now, how happens it that this fluid is secreted just at the time when it is needed? Who established that constitution of the animal by which the secretion takes place? How shall we account for the young animal, almost at the moment of its birth, groping for the organ from which it is to receive food, and employing the means necessary for obtaining that food?

Human infancy is long, and we find a corresponding affection and solicitude on the part of the parents. If a child be delicate and sickly, the parents feel for it a more tender affection, and exercise towards it a more assiduous attention than towards the infant of a more robust constitution. The watchful care accommodates itself to the exigency of the case, and generates a degree of affection, without which the anxiety and toil would be altogether insupportable. We may trace this process in the human mind for a little way, but it ultimately terminates in the instinctive principles of our nature. Young persons are capable of receiving instruction as well as food from their parents, and accordingly in the human race parental affection is permanent. After it has ceased to display itself in nourishing and defending, it appears in instructing and directing.

Birds do not secrete a fluid for the nourishment of their young; but they are diligent in providing food for them, which is earnestly solicited and greedily received. We may here remark, that it is the albumen chiefly which is expended in the formation of the chick; the yolk of the egg, without undergoing any considerable change, being wrapt up in its intestines to nourish it, till it receives or is capable of gathering other food. In most instances young birds would inevitably perish, without the nursing care of the parents. In some cases, however, the young can provide for themselves almost as soon as they escape from the shell, and in these instances the fostering instinct of the parent soon disappears. Some insects display an astonishing instinct in providing food for their young before they are hatched.* Others, which make no such provision, lay their eggs in places where the young, when they appear, can easily find subsistence. These instincts, must proceed either from the animals themselves, or from some Being possessed of reason and intelligence; but they cannot originate with the inferior animal itself, for it is obviously destitute of reason, and incapable of that foresight and wisdom which its cares and precautions indicate. In order to account for these instincts, we must ascend to a wise and benevolent Intelligence.

4. All animals defend their young; and, in obeying this instinctive impulse, the mother seems, in many instances, to lose her natural habits, and to assume a new character. The domestic hen, a stupid and timorous bird, becomes fierce and violent in defending her chickens. Even the harmless and inoffensive ewe assumes a menacing air, stamps with her foot, and seems to bid defiance to those who approach her lamb. But as the lamb acquires strength, and is able to run with its mother, her assumed character forsakes her, and she has recourse to flight. Hinds anxiously conceal their fawns, and, in order to draw the dogs away from them, present themselves to be chased. It is at once amusing and affecting to observe the artifices employed by the lapwing to decoy the intruder to a distance from her young.

The Kamtschadales never venture to fire upon a young bear when the mother is near; for if the cub falls, she becomes enraged to a degree little short of madness, and if she gets sight of the enemy, will only quit her revenge with her life. The same instinct is remarkably apparent in some inhabitants of the waters. The morse and the polar white bear have a great affection for their cubs, and are courageous and active in defending them.* The sea otter pines to death at the loss of its young, and breathes its last on the spot where they have been taken from it. Throughout every province of animated nature we meet with wonderful instincts, all directed to the preservation of the individual, and to the continuation of the species. Every instinct appears exactly in its proper place. Were the instincts to be altered, or those belonging to one species transferred to another, the harmony of the system would be deranged, and disorder ensue. For instance, were the sheep, its time of gestation continuing the same as at present, to come in season at the same time with the mare, it would bring forth at a period when the inclemency of the weather would destroy both the mother and her young.

If instincts result, as some have imagined, from conformation of parts, who organized the animal? If they flow from mechanical impulse, who constructed the machine? Where is the moving power? To talk of *attraction*, *gravitation*, *nature*, *appetency*, &c. in order to account for the existence or characteristic propensities of living creatures, is merely darkening counsel by a multitude of words. It is a vain attempt to substitute sound for sense; for where is there any rational way of accounting for the various instincts of animals, but by referring them to a powerful, wise, and good Intelligence? In the instincts of the creature we see the perfections of the Creator; and may apply to instincts in general what Dr. Reid says of bees in the construction of their cells. "They work most geometrically, without any knowledge of geometry; somewhat like a child, who by turning the hand of an organ makes good music, without any knowledge of music. The art is not in the child, but in him who makes the organ. In like manner, when a bee makes its combs so geometrically, the geometry is not in the bee, but in that great Geometrician who made the bee, and made all things in number, weight, and measure." If we do not see other animals displaying the geometry of the bee, we observe them, in a similar manner, employing suitable and effectual means for the accomplishment of their ends.

Thus, in our cursory glance at animated nature, we have seen great uniformity accompanied by surprising variety. The same general outline, with various modifications, prevails widely in the formation of living creatures. If we examine any one animal, we find its parts admirably adapted to each other. They form a harmonious whole. In every species we see an astonishing relation of the organs of one sex to those of another. By means of bodily conformation and instinctive propensity, an adequate provision is made for the preservation of the individual, and the continuation of the species. Everything goes on in a regular and uniform course. We never see any new species of animals appearing, nor any old kinds ceasing to exist. We meet with no metamorphoses of animals into a species different from that of their parents. By adventitious circumstances, the size, strength, and, in some measure, the instincts of animals, may be altered; but still the character of the species remains essentially the same.

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* See Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, v. i. p. 148.

* Speaking of the *morse*, Captain King says, "On the approach of the boats towards the ice, they took their young ones under their fins, and attempted to escape with them into the sea. Some whose cubs were killed, and left floating on the surface of the water, rose again and carried them down, sometimes just as our men were on the point of taking them into the boats, and could be traced bearing them to a considerable distance through the water, which was stained with their blood. They were afterwards observed bringing them at intervals above the surface, as if for air, and again plunging under it with a horrid bellowing. The female, in particular, whose young one had been killed and taken into the boat, became so furious, that she struck her two tusks through the bottom of the cutter."

The affection between the polar bear and her cub is so great, that they will die rather than desert each other. "We saw two white bears in the water, to which we immediately gave chase in the jolly boat, and killed them both. The larger, which probably was the dam of the younger, being shot first, the other would not quit, but remained swimming about, till after being fired upon several times it was shot dead."—See Cook's Third Voyage, v. iii. p. 248, &c.

There is an amazing gradation of animated beings, but even the classes that seem most nearly allied are distinct. Each kind continues what it originally was. We never see one species either suddenly, or gradually in a long succession of ages, transformed into another. No species either rises or falls in the scale. Men, and all other animals, continue such as they have been from the earliest records of time. The different species approach each other; but still they are separated by an impassable barrier. Animated nature thus exhibits undeniable marks of design, and consequently leads us, with irresistible force, to a powerful, wise, and good Being, who created, and continues to superintend the system.

We now proceed to *inanimated nature;* and I apprehend we will find it wisely constituted, and bearing a gracious relation to living creatures. As nothing within the sphere of our knowledge gives us any reason whatever to believe that the one of these formed the other, we must attribute both to the power, wisdom, and goodness of a Supreme Intelligence.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OCEAN.

The terraqueous globe is an oblate spheroid, having its equatorial diameter somewhat longer than the polar. The globular figure is the fittest for the steady motion of the earth in its orbit, and for its diurnal rotation on its axis: it is also the most capacious. The earth is so firmly compacted, that although it moves in its orbit with the prodigious velocity of a thousand miles in a minute, yet no part of it is dissipated or shattered. It is a globe of great solidity. Some, indeed, have supposed that there are vast caverns in its bowels: but the experiments of Dr. Maskelyne and Professor Playfair, on the mountain Schehallan, seem to disprove the supposition; as they show the earth to be more dense than that mountain, and nearly five times more dense than water.

On a general survey of the earth, the first thing that strikes us is its division into sea and dry land, the ocean occupying more than two-thirds of the surface of the terraqueous globe. For the ocean there is no physical necessity. The globe might have existed without it, and probably some of the orbs of the solar system are not provided with a proportion of water equal to that which obtains on the earth which we inhabit. We may suppose earth and water to exist together without design. But if it shall appear that the ocean is a great component part of one whole, that it is not only admirably constituted in itself, but that it is essential to an established system, then we are entitled to adduce it as an evidence of design. If it be well fitted for accomplishing the purposes which it serves in the system, it is a proof of wisdom: if these purposes be beneficial, if they contribute to the existence and happiness of sentient beings, we contend that it is a display of goodness.

Let us glance,

I. At the ocean considered in itself.

II. At the purposes which it serves in the system of our world.

Under the first of these heads, we shall take notice of its saline qualities, its tides, and its inhabitants.

I.—1. In attending to the ocean, we are struck with the saltness of its waters. This is one grand means of resisting putrefaction, and of preserving the great fluid mass in a wholesome state; for if the sea were not impregnated with saline bodies, the putrefaction of the great mass of animal and of vegetable matter which it contains would soon prove fatal to the inhabitants of the earth.

Fresh and stagnant waters soon putrefy. But in the waters of the ocean, stagnation and putrefaction are equally unknown. According to some, the ocean is salter in tropical climates than in higher latitudes. But the observations and experiments of De Pages present a different result. The fact, however, is certain, that the water of the ocean is as free from putrefaction at the equator as toward the pole. And we may observe, that if within the tropics, where the temperature is highest and the tendency to putrefaction greatest, the water is not more salt, it therefore feels most sensibly the current of rotation, or the general motion of the water from east to west, particularly observable within the torrid zone. The saltness of the ocean is everywhere proportioned to the need for it, in order to the preservation of the water in a salubrious state.*

To me it seems evident that the saline qualities of the ocean are a proof not of design only, but of wisdom and goodness also; for here we see means adapted to an end: these means answer the end; and the end itself is beneficial. I see no physical necessity for the saltness of the ocean. The water, at first fresh and stagnant, might have become one great putrid mass, destroying sentient beings in the deep, and diffusing pestilential and deadly vapours over the dry land. In order, then, to account for the saline impregnation of the ocean, we must have recourse to a designing cause.

Some have endeavoured to account for the saltness of the sea, by supposing that saline particles are washed down from the earth by the rivers, and that the ocean has derived its saltness from the accumulation of these particles. This hypothesis does not militate, in any degree, against the existence of a wise designing cause; for still we see adequate means employed for the accomplishment of a beneficial end, and whatever these means are, the argument in proof of design is the same. But to me the hypothesis seems pressed with insuperable difficulties. Were it true, we must either suppose the saltness of the sea to be increasing, or the saline particles of the earth to be exhausted. There is no proof, however, that either of these is the case. The last, indeed, is altogether out of the question: and as to the saltness of the sea, I believe it was the same five thousand years ago as at this day.

According to Davy, almost all solids and fluids, even the purest distilled water, contain saline matter. But I know of no proof that the accumulation of this matter in the ocean is derived from the rivers. If it were so, would not the sea be more salt towards the mouths of great rivers than at a distance from them? This is not the case. Lakes, which have an outlet, are found to contain fresh water: those that have no outlet are generally salt. But if the sea derived its saltness from the rivers, then those lakes that are fed by rivers should discover the saline quality in their waters, even though they have an outlet; for I know of no principle by the operation of which the saline matter can be entirely carried off through the outlet. The water of Lake Ontario is as sweet as that of Lakes Superior or Michigan; and the intervening lakes, Huron and Erie, discover no more saltness than those from which they draw their supplies. We may add that the De la Plata, Mississippi, and Nile, are as sweet when they meet with the waters of the ocean as at their source. Lakes without an outlet, or inland seas where the surface of water is too small to feel, in any considerable degree, the attraction of the sun and moon, are very salt; and, from the conformation of the adjacent lands, they are commonly much agitated by winds.

The Dead Sea, or Lake Asphaltites, has been long famous on account of its saline impregnation; and although many fables have been related concerning it by Josephus and others, it is true that its waters are of uncommon density. It contains upwards of forty per cent. of saline matter, chiefly muriate of magnesia and of lime. The Caspian Sea is, at least, as salt as the ocean, except where it is sweetened by the waters of the Volga, which is about the distance of ten leagues from the influx of that river. It is also much agitated by winds. The Black Sea is less salt than the ocean; but several great rivers pour their waters into it, and a constant current sets through the Straits of Constantinople towards the Propontis. The Lake Aral is very salt. Thus,

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* If the mean saltness of the sea were much greater under the equator than in the temperate zone, a current at the bottom, from the equator towards the pole, would be the result. The mean density of the water of the sea, on an average, is

From 0° to 14° lat.	1.0272.
From 15° to 25°	1.0282.
From 30° to 44°	1.0278.
From 54° to 60°	1.0271.

Humboldt, *Pers. Nar.* i. 64.

in small seas, there is a compensation, in one way or another, for the want of tides. Now, if the quantity of saline impregnation is, in every instance, proportioned to the circumstances of the case, is not this an evidence of design!

2. The tides keep the water of the ocean in perpetual motion, and contribute to the preservation of its salubrity. They also afford a hint to man when investigating the laws of nature: they are an instance of the great law or fact of gravitation, which so widely pervades the universe. They depend chiefly on the ratio in which gravity acts, and form one instance of the wisdom and goodness manifested in that ratio. Tides are owing principally to the action of the moon. If that planet were quiescent, we would have high water twice every 24 hours. But the moon is continually in motion round the earth, and advances so far every 12 hours, as to make it about 25 minutes ere any meridian of the earth, after it has performed half a revolution, come under her centre; and consequently about 12 hours and 25 minutes intervene between the high water of two successive tides.

Into the theory and phenomena of the tides, it is not the object of the present treatise to enter. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that the tides contribute to the accomplishment of a beneficial purpose; for, by the saltness of the water, and the action of the tides, the ocean is preserved from stagnation and putrefaction. Here we see one purpose of a secondary planet attending a globe constituted as ours is. There are no tides, it may be alleged, in the Mediterranean and Baltic; and yet these seas, although not uncommonly salt, are as free from putrefaction as any of the waters of the ocean. In the Mediterranean, however, there is a tide, though small and irregular. But there is generally a current passing through the Straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean; it sometimes sets out when the ebb tide in the Atlantic is great. In the Baltic the water is not so salt as in the ocean. Its saltness is increased by a westerly gale, and the waters raised somewhat like a tide. But a current generally sets out through the Sound, occasioned, no doubt, by the rivers which empty themselves into the Baltic. These currents prevent stagnation in the Mediterranean and Baltic. Where tides do not act a substitute is provided.

In connection with tides, we may mention the currents which abound in the ocean, and the causes of these phenomena are more numerous than at first sight might be imagined. They may be occasioned by the conformation of the coast or of the channel of the ocean, by a difference in heat or saltness, by the melting of the polar ices, or by the inequality of evaporation in different latitudes. Several of these causes may at times concur. The Gulf-stream is a remarkable current, which leaves the coast of Africa about the latitude of the Cape de Verd islands, traverses the ocean to the American shore, sweeps the gulf of Mexico, stretches north as far as the bank of Newfoundland in 41°, and turns eastward towards Madeira. It forms a great sea-river in some places, near eighty leagues broad. Its waters take about two years and ten months to perform their circuit; and, in some places of their course, are at a much higher temperature than the waters of the surrounding ocean.

3. The ocean is a great scene of animal existence and enjoyment: and it is preserved in a fit state for being so by its saltness and its tides. It is replenished with innumerable inhabitants, all fitted for the element in which they reside; and all, so far as we are capable of judging, enjoying a happiness suitable to their natures. Thus, I think, the ocean proves the existence of a powerful, wise, and good Intelligence, by the provision made for maintaining the salubrity of its waters, and by its innumerable inhabitants.

II. Let us glance at the purposes which the ocean serves in the system of our world.

Here we find it of essential importance. Without it the globe would be a barren and lifeless desert, presenting one uniform prospect of dismal sterility, and melancholy silence; adorned by no verdure, and cheered by no busy scenes of life and enjoyment. To the ocean we are indebted for the beauty and fertility of the dry land. It is the great fountain of moisture; refreshing and fertilizing the earth, and furnishing an abundant and wholesome beverage to man and beast. Water is exhaled from the ocean; floats in the atmosphere in the form of vapour; and is precipitated in dew, hail, rain, or snow, supplying the aliment of vegetation to plants and herbs, and yielding a salubrious drink to living creatures. By the channel of the rivers it again returns to the bosom of the ocean, and in this circle it perpetually moves, supporting a great system of animal and vegetable existence. It deserves to be remarked, that water, although it proceeds from the sea, yet is fresh when it descends in rain; an effect not easily produced by artificial means. If much ingenuity be required to render sea-water sweet, shall we deny the wisdom of Him who constructed the great laboratory, in which the process is carried on with unfailing precision and success, on the vast scale of nature? And if wisdom be displayed in the accomplishment of the end, that end is unquestionably a proof of goodness. It is the means of supplying a necessary aliment suited to our constitution, and to which, by admixture, we can communicate any taste or flavour that we please. The earth is so formed as to receive the water into reservoirs, to filtrate it, and to give it out in perennial streams, for the constant supply of our wants.

At first sight the ocean seems an insurmountable barrier between different portions of the globe, separating them as effectually from each other as if they were parts of different planets. But we soon perceive that, even in this point of view, it harmonizes with the rest of the system, giving scope to human ingenuity, and inviting to the exercise of vigorous exertion. Men soon learn to commit themselves to the sea, and to combat winds and waves. Even before civilization is far advanced, intrepid skill or casual misfortune carries them to great distances, and spreads them widely over the face of the earth. The inhabitants of the far-scattered islands of the Pacific Ocean speak nearly the same language; and must all, at no very distant period, have sprung from a common origin, and diverged from a central point.

The ocean becomes the medium of a vast and boundless intercourse between nations. It facilitates the communication between the most distant parts of the earth, and the exchange of the commodities of different climates. No country is supplied with such a rich variety of the necessaries and accommodations of life, but that it may admit the introduction of foreign superfluities, and even the poorest furnishes materials for exportation. The ocean is the great medium of commercial intercourse. It also modifies the temperature of the atmosphere on the land, rendering it warmer than it would otherwise be in high latitudes, and cooling it in tropical climates. It is, also, an inexhaustible storehouse of human food.

How far, and in what particular manner, the ocean and the exhalations from it, contribute to the purification of the air that has been contaminated by the vegetation of plants, and the respiration of animals, I do not at present inquire; although I am satisfied that their operation, in this respect, is of essential importance. Thus, wisdom and goodness appear in covering such a portion of the globe with water, and in preserving it from stagnation and putrefaction. In this way an inexhaustible fountain of moisture and fertilization is established; a fit place of residence for innumerable sentient beings is provided; the means of facilitating the intercourse of distant nations are devised; and a great storehouse is opened for supplying the wants, and diversifying the enjoyments of man.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE EARTH, AND VEGETATION.

Had man and the inferior animals been cast upon a globe where naked sterility had established a perpetual empire, where no torrent rushed from the mountain, no shower dropt on the field, and no crops waved on the plain, they must have perished. Deep and mournful silence must have reigned on the dreary landscape, without anything to enliven the solitude or diversify the sad uniformity of the scene. But the earth is liberally provided with means of subsistence to its numerous and various inhabitants. It exhibits a variety fitted to charm the imagination, to exercise the industry and ingenuity, to supply the wants and multiply the enjoyments of man. It is a rich storehouse abundantly furnished with necessaries and comforts for every living being which it contains. It is indented by arms of the sea, which bring the treasures of the deep into the bosom of the dry land: it is watered by rivers, which at once drain off superfluous moisture and spread the aliment of vegetation over their banks, and which facilitate the communication between inland countries and the sea, and between the different places contiguous to their stream. Its surface abounds with gentle undulations; sometimes sinks into deep valleys, or rises into lofty mountains: but, generally speaking, the farther it recedes from the ocean, the higher it rises above the level of the waters; so that rivers run towards the sea, and, in most cases, marshes may be drained. The high lands serve as a reservoir for supplying springs and rivers, and shelter the lower grounds. The mountain and the valley furnish each a proper soil for plants of different kinds.

Even the bowels of the earth are replenished with materials which can be turned to the comfort and accommodation of mankind. Thence is digged the ore of iron, the most useful, and the most abundant also, of all the metals. There are found gold and silver which serve as the medium of exchange. Several minerals are possessed of much medicinal virtue; and some fossil substances serve for fuel and other valuable purposes. The face of the earth is adorned and enriched with a great variety of vegetables, each propagating its kind; for every plant, as well as every animal, proceeds in one way or another from a parent of the same kind with itself. The doctrine of equivocal generation exists only in the visions of an unenlightened imagination: it has no place in the provinces of nature.

The anatomy and physiology of vegetables might furnish us, even in the present imperfect state of our knowledge of these subjects, with many curious and interesting observations; but I purpose merely to make a few remarks, in order to show that the hand of the wise and good Being who manifests himself in the creation of animals, is equally apparent in the vegetable kingdom.

Every vegetable is capable of bearing seed; and seed, when properly deposited, becomes the germ of future plants. In many instances plants may be multiplied in different ways; but we must look to seeds as the great means by which vegetables are propagated. And what a wonderful thing is a seed! Why does it germinate more than a grain of sand on the shore, or a pebble in the channel of the brook? Must we not account for its configuration and vegetable power, by resorting to a wise and good *First Cause?* Without the admission of such a cause, vegetable as well as animal life sets us completely at defiance. For the first seeds, then, we must have recourse to the great Intelligence who stands at the head of the universe; and in his power, wisdom, and goodness only, can we discover an adequate cause for that constitution of things by which seeds vegetate and continue their kinds.

In order to vegetation many independent conditions must meet together. We must have seed, and, generally speaking, a vegetable mould. If the surface of the dry land had been one continuous plate of granite, it could not have afforded nourishment to seed, it could not have imbibed moisture, no verdure could have adorned the hill, and no crop could have gladdened the plain; but a vegetable soil is provided. Water also must be present; for if seeds be dried, and moisture completely excluded, they will not germinate. As moisture then is requisite, this connects every seed with the ocean, the great fountain of waters. But seed, soil, and moisture, will not of themselves produce a single plant. There must be a certain degree of heat also; for no seed will germinate and grow below the freezing point. This connects every seed with the sun, the source of heat in our system. Yet after we have found seed, soil, moisture, and heat, something farther is still requisite in order to vegetation. We must have air, yea atmospheric air, or something nearly resembling it; for seeds will not germinate, and plants will not grow, under the exhausted receiver of an air pump, nor without the presence of oxygen gas: the proportion of oxygen gas in atmospheric air is more favourable to germination than any other. Besides, the presence of light is requisite to give plants their peculiar colour and flavour.[*] Thus, to light and to the atmosphere which surrounds the earth, are we indebted for the beauty that adorns it.

It is evident then that before we can procure a single stalk of grass many conditions are requisite, and the existence of any one of those conditions does not necessarily involve the existence of any other. They are independent upon each other. We can conceive a globe to have existed without a vegetable soil; a vegetable soil, without a seed; seed, without the sun; the sun, without the ocean; the ocean, without the atmosphere. But all these are requisite in order to germination and vegetation. What but a designing cause could assemble and combine all these independent conditions, so as to exert a harmonious action in the accomplishment of an important end? If the means be adeqatue to the end, the designing cause must be wise; for in what does wisdom consist but in choosing right ends, and in employing proper means for the accomplishment of those ends? And if the end promote the comfort and happiness of sentient beings, then the designing cause must be good; for the diffusion of happiness is the characteristic feature in the attribute of goodness.

Seeds consist essentially of three parts; a *cotyledon* or *cotyledons*, a *radicle*, and a *plumula*. The cotydelons constitute the most bulky part of the seed; and as the yolk of the egg nourishes the embryo chick, so they contain a quantity of food for nursing the embryo plant, till by means of its radicle and plumula, which become the root and the stem, it is able to absorb nourishment from the earth and the air.

The food laid up in the cotyledons nourishes the radicle, which increases in size, and is converted into a root. The cotyledons now assume the appearance of leaves, and show themselves above the ground, forming what are called the *seminal leaves* of the plant. The roots absorb food from the earth; but this food, before it can be applied to the purposes of vegetation, requires to be digested. This process it undergoes, at first, in the seminal leaves. It is then carried to the plumula, which increases in size, rises out of the earth, becomes the stem of the plant, and puts forth branches and leaves. The seminal leaves now become useless, and decay and drop off; but the plant cannot be deprived of them sooner without destruction.

When thus perfect in all its parts, the young plant continues to absorb food from the earth. This food, under the name of *sap*, is conveyed in appropriate vessels to the leaves, where it is digested, and converted into the peculiar juice of the plant. The sap, after undergoing digestion in the leaves, is returned to nourish and increase the plant, which it does by depositing a layer of new matter round the old wood. The new layer, or unhardened wood of the present year, is named *alburnum*. It is probable that the food, extracted from the earth, is imbibed by the extremities of the roots only. How this food is made to enter into the roots and ascend through the sap-vessels, I do not pretend to explain. The fact is certain; and whether we attempt to account for it by *capilary attraction*, or any other way, we see adequate means employed for the accomplishment of an important end.

The sap of most plants, when collected in the spring, appears to the sight and taste little else than water; but it soon undergoes fermentation and putrefaction. The perspiration from the leaves is, for the most part, a clear watery liquor, like the sap, and subject to similar chemical changes. The sap increases in density in ascending the tree towards the leaves. Mr. Knight thinks this is owing to its being mixed with a quantity of matter previously deposited in the alburnum for that purpose, and ready to be assimilated to the different vegetable organs. According to him, plants are employed in the latter part of the summer in preparing food for the expanding of the buds and blossoms in the succeeding spring. This food when prepared is deposited in the alburnum. There it is lodged during the winter, and next spring, mixing with the ascending sap it affords nourishment to the buds and leaves.

In plants, the leaves perform the office both of the stomach and lungs in animals. While they receive the sap from the roots and sap-vessels they imbibe nourishment from the circumambient air. While absorption is carried on by the extremities of the roots, the leaves seem to concur in the same process, chiefly by their under surfaces; and they transpire by their upper surfaces. Some plants imbibe moisture with the greatest facility, and transpire very sparingly: thus they are fitted for inhabiting sunny rocks and sandy deserts. The sap, in its passage through the leaves and bark, becomes quite a new fluid, possessing the peculiar flavour and qualities of the plant; and not only yielding woody matter for the increase of the vegetable body, but furnishing various secreted substances, more or less numerous, and different among themselves.

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[*] See Ellis' Inquiry into the changes induced on atmospheric air, p. 1, &c.

The late Professor Robison of Edinburgh brought up from a coal pit some whitish looking plants; but nobody knew what they were. On being allowed to grow in the light, the white leaves dropped off, and were succeeded by green buds. It then appeared that the plants were *tansy*. On farther inquiry, he learned that the sods on which the plants grew had been taken down into the pit from a garden in the neighbourhood. Although the plant continued to grow in its new situation, yet neither in colour, odour, nor combustibility, did it at all resemble plants of the same species which had vegetated under exposure to light. He made the experiment, with great care, on lovage, mint, and other plants. They all throve in darkness, but with a blanched foliage, no way resembling the ordinary foliage, of the respective plants. Even after the green colour in plants is formed, it disappears on the exclusion of light.

Captain Parry, in his First Voyage, tells us, that at Melville Island, he raised mustard and cress in his cabin by the heat of the stove; they were colourless from want of light, but had much of the same pungent achromatic taste as if they had grown in ordinary circumstances.

We have already observed the great principle of assimilation in the human body; that mysterious process by which the aliment is converted into blood, and flesh, and cartilage, and bones. We meet with the same mystery in the vegetable kingdom. Plants secrete sugar, gums, and various resinous substances, from the uniform juices of the earth, or perhaps from mere water and air. We observe, however, this difference in these two great departments of organized nature; sentient beings feed only, or chiefly, on what is, or has been organized matter, either of a vegetable or animal kind; but plants have a power of drawing nourishment from inorganic matter, mere earths, salts, or airs (substances incapable of serving as food for animals,) though not from these exclusively. Thus, vegetables are the great link between inorganic matter and animal bodies, preparing the former for becoming a constituent part of the latter: and, as vegetables take in their food in the shape of sap, it appears that the transition from inorganic to organized matter is through the medium of fluidity.

From the same soil different plants secrete each their peculiar fluids; but how sweet and nutritious herbage should grow among the acrid crowfoot and aconite; how the leaf of the vine and sorrel should digest a wholesome acid, and that of a spurge or manchineel a most virulent poison, is something which we can neither understand nor explain. For this, chemical principles will not account. In the living laboratories of nature wonders are performed, immeasurably surpassing all the processes of art, and plainly indicating the existence and operation of an Intelligent Cause, powerful, wise, and good.

Of the peculiar secretions of plants we can form no certain opinion from the mere configuration of their parts. If these secretions depend on internal organization, the secrets of that organization have hitherto eluded investigation. At times, under the same external appearance, or at least such as even men of science cannot easily distinguish, they conceal very different qualities. The sweet and bitter orange-trees have the same appearance. Between the sweet and bitter jatropha there is a great resemblance; although the root of the one may be eaten with safety, while that of the other is an active poison. Here, as in every other department of nature, we meet with an order of things calculated to awaken the attention, exercise the vigilance, and solicit the intellectual energies of man. The brutes judge by their senses, and their senses do not deceive them. Man is endued with higher powers, and these must be brought into action; although his senses, if unperverted, will not mislead him.

As every vegetable is capable of bearing seed, so for the dispersion of seeds there is a wonderful provision. Some are widely sown by birds and other animals; others, as those of the thistle, are fitted with a wing or a sail, and wafted on the wind; and some are shot from their places by the elastic spring of a pod, in which they have been ripened. Many seeds, when kept dry or deeply buried in the earth, retain the power of germination for an unlimited period. If the ground in old botanic gardens be digged deeper than ordinary, it not unfrequently happens that species which have been long lost are recovered, by the seeds which have been buried in the earth being brought into a proper situation for germination.

Seeds and plants possess something analagous to the instincts of animals, for the preservation of the individual and the continuation of the kind. In what position soever a seed be deposited in the earth, the radicle always pushes downwards in quest of nourishment and to fix the plant into the ground; and the plumula, with unvarying steadiness, rises upwards. We may attempt to account for this, by saying that the radicle is stimulated by moisture, and the plumula by air, and that each elongates itself where it is most excited. Be this as it may, we see a constitution of things adequate to the accomplishment of important ends. A constitution of this kind is wise, and must have proceeded from a wise author; and if it produce beneficial effects its author must be good.

The roots of trees, it is well known, alter their direction in quest of nourishment; and the leaves, which perform such an essential part in vegetation, if disturbed, soon adjust themselves, and turn their upper surfaces to the light. If a leaf be smeared over, so that its communication with the atmosphere is cut off, it dies, like an animal when respiration is stopped. Some animals are adapted to particular climates and circumstances. The same is the case with vegetables; in some of which, as the *tillandsia*, a very curious provision is made to fit them to peculiar circumstances.* Some have tubular leaves which receive the rain like a funnel, and some are so formed as to prevent evaporation from their cisterns.

Wisdom is strikingly displayed in the wonderful structure of plants, and in the provision made for the preservation of the individual and the continuation of the kind. Wisdom and goodness likewise appear in the admirable relation between the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Vegetables might exist without animals, but many animals could not exist without vegetables; and of vegetables there is a variety to suit the peculiar taste of every creature, and an abundance to supply the wants of them all. Those that are the most generally relished, and consequently the most useful are the most common; and there is reason to conclude that there is no vegetable on the earth but what contributes, or may contribute to the subsistance, or comfort, and accommodation of man, or of the inferior animals. The earth produces nothing that is useless. Vegetables that are unpalatable to one class of animals are grateful to the taste of another; and the more that the leaves of perennial grasses are eaten, the more do they creep by the roots and send forth offsets. Trees furnish a lodging to various tribes of animals; and, besides yielding food, are made subservient to many useful purposes by the human race.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ATMOSPHERE.

Having glanced at this earth and its inhabitants, let us now for a little turn our attention to the thin, elastic, and transparent fluid which constitutes the envelope of our globe.†

Had the earth been formed by a casual concurrence of atoms, or by any undesigning cause, the probability is that it would have remained for ever a naked mass, like the lonely blighted oak on the barren desert. But we see it a beautiful globe, adorned by verdure, enriched with plenty, and exhilarated by life and enjoyment, and all these depending on the atmosphere with which it is surrounded, as an essential condition. Atmospheric air consists in bulk of twenty-one parts in the hundred of what is at present called *oxygen gas*; about seventy-nine of *azotic* or *nitrogen gas*; and a small, but somewhat variable, portion of carbonic acid gas. The two last of these, namely, the azotic and carbonic acid gases, can support neither life nor flame. If an animal be immersed into either of them, it almost instantly dies. Oxygen gas alone will support the vital functions for some time; but animals confined in it expire long before the whole of it is consumed. The proportions of these gases in atmospheric air is the best fitted for supporting both animal and vegetable life. An excess of any of them is injurious or fatal.

But while the proportion of the gases in atmospheric air are best adapted to the economy of the animal system, that system is so constituted, as to be capable of bearing considerable variations in the composition of the air, without immediate injury to the powers of life. Are not design and skilful contrivance manifested in the constitution of atmospheric air? The proportion of its constituent parts are nearly the same in all places, and at all heights. The azotic is lighter than the oxygen gas, and this last has less specific gravity than carbonic acid gas; yet these two last are found in about the same proportions at the greatest heights to which the genius and intrepidity of man have ascended, as at the level of the sea. What astonishing contrivance raises the oxygen and carbonic acid gases to every height in the atmosphere; to the summit of Chimboraço, and to the loftiest region visited by the balloon? Is there no design, no skilful contrivance in the wonderful adjustment of the affinities and specific gravities of these different aeriform fluids? Did Priestley, Scheele, and Lavoisier, act without design, contrivance, and skill, in the processes by which they decomposed atmospheric air, and discovered its component parts? No one thinks so. And shall any person be so absurd as to deny design, wisdom, and goodness, in the adjustment of those proportions, and in fitting them for the benevolent purpose of supporting life.

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* The tillandsia is a parasitical plant (a kind of mistletoe) which grows on the tops of trees in the deserts of America. It has its leaves turned at the base into the shape of a pitcher, with the extremity expanded: in these, rain is collected.—See *Ency. Brit. voc. Nat. Hist.* p. 657.

† The most distinguished philosophers of ancient times taught that nature in the formation of her various productions, employed only four elementary substances, fire, air, water, and earth. But the doctrine of the four elements, so famous in former times, is completely exploded by the discoveries of modern science. If, therefore, we speak of atmospheric air, or any of the other substances now mentioned, as an element, it is only in a loose and popular sense.

There is no physical necessity for the atmosphere. The earth might have existed without any such invisible robe flowing around it. The moon is not provided with an atmosphere; at least not with one so dense as ours. Might not the earth have been constituted in the same manner? But, if it had been so, it could not have been a place of residence for its present inhabitants. Without the atmosphere neither animals nor vegetables could have existed: withdraw even its oxygenous part, constituting only about a fifth of the bulk of the whole, and every organized being dies. If any person, then, deny design and wisdom in the formation and constitution of the atmosphere, we are entitled to call upon him to show the physical necessity of an atmosphere, yea of an atmosphere constituted as ours is. It is undeniably adapted to the other parts of the system, and is an essential part of one beautiful whole. What a mighty difference is there between the earth and the atmosphere! The one is a dense, opaque, and incompressible body; the other a thin, transparent, invisible and highly elastic substance. Yet between the two there is an obvious relation. Dissimilar as they are in themselves, they harmoniously combine for the accomplishment of the most beneficial purposes. Respiration, the propagation of sounds, the conveyance of odours, combustion, the support of vapors, the refraction and reflection of the rays of light, all depend on the atmosphere.

The atmosphere cannot form a single living creature; no being on earth formed it; yet without it no animal could exist. Without the lungs man could not live; but without the atmosphere the lungs were a useless organ. The lungs did not apportion the constituent parts of the atmosphere; yet no other proportions are so well suited for supporting animal life. The ear did not form the atmosphere, nor did the atmosphere create the ear: they exist independently on each other; yet there is an admirable relation between them. Without the atmosphere, the ear had been bestowed in vain. Decisive experiments prove that air is the medium by which sound is propagated. To it we are indebted for the pleasures of speech, and the charms of music. Without it, the organs of speech and of hearing would have been useless; but the introduction of this element gives interest and utility to the tongue and to the ear.*

The atmosphere conveys smells; and, in this way, is a source of pleasure, and a monitor against danger. There is an obvious relation between the atmosphere and the wings of birds. He who formed the wing of the eagle evidently fitted the bird for rising buoyant on the air. Without the air, wings would have been a cumbrous appendage; but, according to the present constitution of things, wings are of great importance to the bird, and are suited to all its habits. Even the ostrich, though it does not fly, is impelled in its rapid career by the action of its wings.

Air is necessary to fire. Whatever theory of combustion we adopt, we must admit the atmosphere is requisite to the process. The air supports vapour, which is exhaled from the earth and from the ocean by the heat of the sun. Evaporation is a great process of nature, which is continually going on, and is essential to the system. The quantity of water raised into the air in this manner, is much greater than, at first sight, we would imagine. Dr. Watson, by inverting a glass vessel on the ground in the time of a considerable drought, found that even then, about 1600 gallons of water were evaporated from an acre in 24 hours. On repeating the experiment, after a thunder-shower, he found that an acre yielded about 1900 gallons in 12 hours.

This process is carried on not only from the ground, but also from the leaves of trees and plants, as well as from the surface of rivers and lakes, and the ocean. A great part of the moisture exhaled during the day descends in dew during the night, and is absorbed by the vegetables which had before given it out. In this way the earth is not so soon desiccated, even for a little way below the surface, as we might be apt to imagine from the quantity of water raised by evaporation. If all the moisture, exhaled during the time of a long drought, left the earth, not to return to it for the space of several weeks or months, all plants which do not strike their roots very deeply into the ground must of necessity be destroyed. But nothing of this kind takes place, excepting with the most tender grass, when on elevated situations, and much exposed to the rays of the sun.

The water that is carried into the air by evaporation, returns again to the earth in dew and fogs, rain, hail, or snow, according to the climate and the season of the year. It does not descend in impetuous spouts, nor yet in large sheets. Had it done so, instead of being the messenger of plenty and of joy, it would have been the author of desolation and mourning, mangling the vegetable kingdom, overthrowing the habitations of man, and destroying himself. Can we contemplate the invisible drops of dew, the drizzling shower, reviving and refreshing the thirsty plants, and the copious rain moistening the earth, and not be filled with grateful admiration of the wisdom and goodness manifested in that constitution of things by which dews and rains descend as from a colander? The phenomena of rain we are unable fully to explain: but we see a beneficial end accomplished; and although we have not yet discovered all the steps of the process, or the precise operation of the different agents employed, we have sufficient reason to believe that the constitution of this meteor was framed by a wise and beneficent First Cause.

The atmosphere also serves to refract the light of the sun, and to reflect it in all directions. To the refraction of the rays of light by the atmosphere, we are indebted for the morning and evening twilight. Without this refraction, thick darkness would prevail in the morning till the sun were above the horizon, and, in the evening, would immediately follow the disappearance of his orb. At the equator the twilight is short, because there the earth moves with great rapidity in its diurnal rotation, and consequently its rotundity soon intervenes. The refraction of light is very serviceable to those who live in polar regions. By means of it their long night is abridged, and they see the returning light sooner than otherwise they could have done. The sun was visible to some Dutch navigators, who wintered in Nova Zembla in 1682, sixteen days sooner than he could have been seen if there had been no atmosphere to refract the rays of light.

If the refractive power of the atmosphere be beneficial to the inhabitants of the earth, its reflection of light is much more so. Without atmospheric reflection we would see no light, but when our eye was turned to the sun. Solid bodies, indeed, that reflected the rays, would glitter: they would glitter, however, in the midst of darkness. But from the reflection of the solar rays, in all directions, by means of the air, the hemisphere is as completely illuminated, as if the sun were commensurate with it, and were fitted up over our globe like a semispherical cap. Here, in the simplicity of the means, we may recognise the wisdom of the Agent. Every æriform fluid would not answer all the purposes of the atmosphere. Some of them are too rare for supporting vapour; most of them are unfit for the purposes of respiration. But the atmosphere is admirably adapted to the globe which it surrounds: it serves many different purposes, and is essential to a vast system of life and enjoyment.

It is a well known fact that atmospheric air is deteriorated, and rendered unfit for the support of life, by combustion, the germination of seeds, the vegetation of plants, and the respiration of animals. Were this deterioration to go on continually increasing, without counteraction or compensation, the atmosphere would daily become more unfit for the purposes of respiration, till, at length, the whole mass of air would become contaminated, and life be extinguished. But it exists at this moment in as pure a state as it ever did. It is as fit as ever for supporting both animal and vegetable life. Hence it is evident that a great restorative process is continually going on, by means of which the purity of the general body of the atmosphere is preserved. This process, which is an exact counterpoise to the causes of contamination, the present state of our knowledge does not enable us fully to explain.

Dr. Priestley observed that, in vegetation, leaves have the property of absorbing carbonic acid gas from the atmosphere; and hence he concluded that vegetation was a great restorer of the purity of the air contaminated by respiration. This doctrine has been controverted; but, after much investigation, it appears to a certain extent at least, to be true. In germination, indeed, seeds absorb oxygen, and give out carbonic acid. A similar process goes on in vegetation when plants are in the shade, or in the dark; but when they are exposed to the action of the solar beam the process is different. Then, by the joint agency of the plant and of light, the carbonic acid is decomposed and oxygen gas developed. In the shade, or in the dark, plants convert oxygen into carbonic acid; and, when confined in a given quantity of air, this conversion goes on till all the oxygen disappears. But under the action of the solar rays, in conjunction with the leaves of the plant, carbonic acid is decomposed, and oxygen gas is formed. This conversion and re-conversion of gases go on simultaneously: in what proportion has not yet been determined.

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* The air by the conveyance of sounds furnishes us with the means of measuring distances. In any terrestrial distance, the passage of light may be considered as instantaneous; but sound travels at the rate of about 1142 feet in a second. Hence we may measure the distance of the cloud, from which the lightning and the peal of thunder proceed.

Thus, if plants deteriorate atmospheric air, they likewise contribute to its restoration to purity; but how far this contribution extends, on the great scale of nature, cannot be easily ascertained. By experiment and careful observation we may discover the processes of nature; but from the minute scale on which our experiments are performed, in many cases, it is not easy, from their results, to make any exact calculations respecting the processes in the vast system of the world. In the case under consideration, I know of no experiments which will enable us to make even an approximation to the degree in which vegetation purifies the atmosphere. In all probability, its influence in restoring is at least as great as in contaminating the air; perhaps much greater. We may still say, that, in this respect, there is a continual circulation of benefit between the animal and vegetable kingdoms.*

Water lends its aid in purifying contaminated air. It absorbs carbonic acid when brought into contact with it, and the rapidity of the absorption is much increased by agitation. It seems likewise to give out oxygen gas; and to act in both of these ways, more or less powerfully, according to different circumstances. Now, water and air are brought into a state of contact by the exhalation of vapour, the descent of dew and rain, and the action of winds. The very processes, which are necessary in order to vegetation and life, contain in them the principles by which the purity of the atmosphere is preserved. Although we were wholly unable to discover any part of the process by which contaminated air is restored to purity, still the argument from the fact would remain unanswerable. That a great process of restoration is continually going on, and that the air is preserved in a state of purity, cannot be denied. Our ignorance of the means merely proves the narrowness of our capacity, or the imperfection of our science.

Wind is air in motion, or a current of air, and is occasioned chiefly by the disturbance of the equilibrium of the atmosphere, by the unequal distribution of heat. The winds serve some important purposes in nature, and are great agents in carrying on the economy of that system of which they form a part. Confined and motionless air soon becomes unfavourable to respiration; but the winds agitate the atmosphere and maintain its salubrity, purifying what has been contaminated, and removing noxious emanations. They transfer from place to place the clouds destined to scatter over the face of the earth those rains which moisten and fertilize it. They are the vehicles of many seeds, which, being provided with wings or down, are wafted to all parts in autumn, and keep up a constant circulation of vegetable riches between different soils. They modify the temperature of the air, bringing the heat of the equator towards the poles, and carrying the polar cold towards the torrid zone. They also maintain an intercommunity of temperature between the sea and land. In tropical climates the sea-breeze bears in its bosom a refreshing coolness, and fans the traveller panting under a vertical sun: the wind blowing over the ocean serves to mitigate the cold of high latitudes. Like many other parts of nature, the winds solicit the ingenuity, and aid the industry of man. Without them navigation must have been almost unknown, and the commerce of distant nations altogether impracticable.

CHAPTER IX.

LIGHT.

Light is a most astonishing phenomenon, and between it and the eye there is an obvious relation. Without light the eye had been an useless organ; and without the eye light had been to sentient beings, in some respects, an unprofitable emanation. But, by the genial operation of light, the eye beholds creation in all its magnificence, beauty, and variety. Light did not create the eye, for it was formed in darkness; nor did the eye give existence to light; yet there is such an adaptation of the one to the other, as compels us, by the very constitution of our nature, to believe that it is the result of design. And the designing cause must be wise and good, for the means are happily fitted to the end, and the end is beneficial. The air is the vehicle of speech, and by means of the ear enables us to carry on an intercourse of thought with our fellow men; but how greatly is this intercourse extended, diversified, and improved by light and the eye!

It may here be assumed as a fact, that light is emitted from the luminous body, and moves in straight lines. Its prodigious velocity cannot fail to engage our attention. It travels about twelve millions of miles in a minute. The discovery of this fact is a noble proof of the exalted powers of the human mind; and yet it depends on circumstances so intelligible that every person may understand the matter. The eclipses of Jupiter's moons can be exactly calculated; and Roemer, a Danish astronomer, observed that these eclipses are seen sixteen minutes sooner when the earth is in that part of its orbit which is nearest Jupiter, than when it is farthest from him. This shows that light takes sixteen minutes to travel through a space equal to the diameter of the earth's orbit, and consequently eight minutes to pass from the sun to the earth; a distance which, with Dr. Maskelyne, we may estimate at ninety-five millions of miles. This wonderful fact was afterwards confirmed by Bradley's curious discovery of the aberration of the fixed stars.

Even the initial velocity of a cannon-ball seldom reaches 2000 feet in a second; but in the same time light moves about 200,000 miles, consequently with upwards of 500,000 times the greatest initial velocity of a cannon-ball. Unless the particles of light were inconceivably minute they would dash in pieces everything that came in their way. But such is their extreme exility, that, notwithstanding their amazing velocity, they strike even the delicate pupil of the eye without injuring it. The person who can reflect on this without a strong conviction and a grateful impression of an Intelligent Cause, and without admiration of the wisdom and goodness of that Cause, must have a mind inaccessible to moral evidence, and destitute of the noblest feelings of humanity. The beneficial effects of light are too extensive to be overlooked, and too obvious to be denied. They force themselves on the notice of the careless, and command the assent of the sceptic.

The particles of light seem strongly to repel each other, and are never found cohering together so as to form masses of any sensible magnitude. There are several differently coloured rays in the solar beam, which can be separated by the prism, and the colour of bodies depends on their affinity for particular rays, and their want of affinity for others. Thus to light are we indebted not only for seeing nature around us, but for all that charming variety of colours, all those delicate tints, which diversify and adorn the vegetable kingdom. The upper surface of leaves is of the most pleasing green, and the exquisite tints of flowers are inimitably beautiful. The most skilful painter cannot so mingle and temper his colours as to rival their native hues.

Light is the cause of that agreeable variety which we meet with in the taste and odour of plants, and is the main source of their combustibility. It is not in the vegetable kingdom only that the influence of light is felt: it acts also on animals, and considerably affects their colour. The bellies of fish, being always turned from the light, are white; but those parts of their bodies which are exposed to it exhibit various colours. Tropical birds are more brightly coloured than those of higher latitudes; and the parts of the feathers have more or less variety of colour, as they are more or less exposed to the action of light. The upper part of the feathers of the wings have more brilliancy than those of the breast. A similar observation applies to the hairs of quadrupeds; and light and heat seem to be powerful agents in producing that variety of colour which is observable in the human race.

Whether light and caloric, or the matter of heat, be the same substance under different modifications or combinations, I shall not inquire. Suffice it to say, that they are found together in the solar beam. Heat is the cause of fluidity, and is essential to the existence of our earth in its present form. The great law of attraction pervades the universe, so far as our observation extends; and had it alone acted, all must have been one solid mass. In order to constitute a system such as ours, it was necessary to introduce a principle of repulsion, which, in a proper degree, should counteract the law of attraction. This principle of repulsion we find in heat; by the action of which solids are converted into fluids, and fluids into vapour. Here we may remark the wisdom displayed in so nicely balancing the principles of attraction and repulsion against each other. Had there been any considerable difference in either of these from what now obtains, the world would not have existed in its present form, nor yielded subsistence to its present inhabitants. Had the power of attraction and cohesion been much greater, and the degree of heat the same as at present, we should have been in want of fluidity: had the quantity of heat been much greater, and attraction, as well as the pressure of the atmosphere, the same as at present, all our fluids would have been converted into vapour. But these powers are exactly adjusted to one another and to the rest of the system.

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* It has been said, that the oxygen produced by plants arises solely from the decomposition of the carbonic acid, and that this production of oxygen depends altogether on the chemical effect of light on the leaf, and is unconnected with the functions of vegetation. Be this as it may, it is certain that the conversion of gases accompanies the process of vegetation.

Heat is necessary both to vegetable and animal life; and it appears a decided evidence of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being, that the living functions, both of plants and animals, disengage the portion of heat necessary for their well-being: this they seem to accomplish by converting oxygen into carbonic acid gas, in which process a quantity of heat is evolved.

CHAPTER X.

ASTRONOMY.

Having taken a cursory view of the terraqueous globe with its productions and inhabitants, of the transparent and elastic fluid with which it is invested, and of light and heat which beautify and enrich it, let us now for a little quit the earth, and contemplate the splendid orbs that bespangle the vault of heaven. At an early period, the Chaldean shepherd, watching his flocks, under an unclouded sky, on the extensive plains washed by the Euphrates and the Tigris, attentively observed the stars in their silent revolutions. He marked the brilliancy of Sirius, and the majesty of Orion. With a vigilant eye, he followed the Twins and Arcturus in their course: and learned the unvarying relative position of these twinkling ornaments of the sky. But the planetary motions perplexed him by their apparent intricacy and irregularity, and defied his sagacity to unravel their seeming confusion.

The Phenician mariner turned his eye to those stars which appear to describe very small circles, or with stately majesty to remain motionless in the firmament. Some of the stars of the Dragon, or of the Great Bear, it is likely, were his guides in creeping timidly along the shores of the Mediterranean, or of the Arabian Gulf. The star Alruccabah, in the tail of the Little Bear, which, by the precession of the equinoxes, is now near the immovable point of the heavens, probably did not attract much of his attention.[*] These Chaldean shepherds and Phenician navigators, although they could impress, in some measure, the stars into their service, had but a very limited and partial knowledge of astronomy. There is a vast distance between their rude observations and the noble discoveries of Newton and La Place. For, with the exception of the comets, the solar system is now well understood; and the motions of all the great bodies connected with it are ascertained with the utmost precision, and can be explained by the laws or facts of projection and gravitation.

Astronomy bears a strong testimony to the existence of God, and furnishes clear proofs of his mighty power, consummate wisdom, and great goodness. "My opinion of astronomy has always been," says Dr. Paley, "that it is not the best medium through which to prove the agency of an intelligent Creator." The opinion is not without some foundation. But I must acknowledge that no part of Dr. Paley's masterly work on Natural Theology made a deeper impression on my mind than the chapter on astronomy. We are not, indeed, acquainted with the inhabitants of the planetary bodies, and consequently cannot trace minute contrivance and mechanical adaptation in their organization, or in the provision that is made for their subsistence, accommodation, and comfort. We can reason only on the forms, arrangements, and motions of the planets. But even within this range we meet with decisive proofs of design, power, wisdom, and goodness.

I. The *forms* of the heavenly bodies are all spheroidal, whatever be the diameter of the sphere. This holds from the sun, the largest, to Pallas, the least, perhaps, of the bodies in our system. The spheroidal figure is best fitted for the motion of the planets, whether in their orbits or on their axes. It is best adapted for the equal diffusion of light; and, judging from the inhabitants of our earth, it is also most commodious for furnishing a residence to living creatures.

Now, was there any physical necessity for the spheroidal figure? I may perhaps be told that it results from the motions. Passing over, at present, the difficulty of accounting for the motions without an Intelligent Cause, I should like to know what is the evidence that the planets were not spheres at their first movement, as well as at present. In my apprehension, I have as good a right to allege that the sphericity was prior to the motion, as another has to say that the motion generated the sphericity. Supposing, however, that the planets were not spheres originally, we may inquire how they moved before they assumed the spheroidal form. What was their original figure? Supposing them to have been cubes, parallelograms, or very irregular figures, how did they revolve till they acquired their present shape? Must not the axis of rotation have been perpetually shifting? And would not this shifting have prevented them from acquiring their present figure? Besides, if our earth, for instance, was as dense at first as it is now, its rotation on its axis would have had very little influence on its figure. The solid parts of the earth do not appear to be affected by its rotation.

But we may be told, perhaps, that the matter of the planets was struck off from the body of the sun in a state of fusion, and thus assumed the globular form by rotation. This, however, is a purely hypothetical assumption countenanced by no one known fact in nature. We do not know that the sun himself is an ignited body. We do not know that any great masses, in a state of ignition and fusion, exist in the universe. We have no evidence that our earth, or any other planet, is gradually cooling. To assume principles, which receive no countenance from the existing phenomena of nature, may do with the dreaming theorist who surrenders himself to the guidance of a loose imagination; but such a practice can never be admitted into the school of sound philosophy. We may add that it is unreasonable to expect that every wild hypothesis devised by a fertile fancy should be seriously refuted. In order to entitle a theory to attention, it must be countenanced by known facts. Without this it is, at best, but an amusing fiction.

According to La Place, a body with the same time of rotation, may put on two very different forms, which will preserve their equilibrium: the one of them is very near a sphere; the other, very far from it. In the case of our earth, supposing it to have been originally a homogeneous body, the parts of which would all freely yield to the centrifugal force, one of the forms would have the ratio of the polar to the equatorial diameter, as 229 to 230, which is near the ratio that actually obtains; and the other as 1 to 680.[*] In all the planets, we find that form which is nearest to the sphere, and which in point of utility and convenience is unquestionably the more advantageous of the two; for the other form is nearly a flat circular body, having a convex edge. If it be alleged that the spheroidal form results from gravitation, we may ask such questions as the following. Will gravitation account for all the phenomena? Is gravitation a necessary or a contingent fact? Is it essential to matter? That it is essential to matter cannot be proved. And if it be not essential to matter, yea if the ratio in which it is observed to act be not essential to matter, then every advantage resulting from gravitation, and from the particular law which it observes, may be reasonably attributed to design.

There is one phenomenon in the planetary figures, for which neither rotation, nor gravitation, nor both of them, will in any degree account; I refer to the ring or rings of Saturn. Although rotation and gravitation may preserve these rings in their places, they will not account for their formation. Galileo was the first who observed something uncommon in the shape of Saturn; and the ring was more fully discovered by Huygens about forty years afterwards. It is now found that this planet is encompassed with two thin flat concentric rings, lying edgewise towards the planet, and at some distance from it. The plane of these rings passes through Saturn's equator. The rings revolve in their own plane, in about ten hours and a half; and, not being of a regular figure, their centre of gravity is at a small distance from the centre of Saturn. The centre of gravity being carried about Saturn by the rotation of the rings, gives them a centrifugal force, which is combined with their gravitation to the planet; and they are retained by these two forces, in the same manner as a planet is retained in its orbit.

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[*] Voyez Bailly, Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne.

[*] See Vince's Confutation of Atheism, p. 66. The figure of the earth is not yet precisely ascertained. It appears certain that the equatorial diameter somewhat exceeds the polar axis. The difference between the polar and equatorial diameters seems to lie between 300 to 301, and 340 to 341. The French astronomers have made $\frac{1}{331}$. **Montucla**, vol. iv. p. 170. Others, $\frac{1}{312}$. **Playfair**, *Out.* vol. ii. p. 302.

The formation of these rings must have been either instantaneous or gradual. But how will gravitation, or even gravitation and rotation combined, account for their formation in either of these ways. Gravitation could never have produced bodies of such a figure. It could not form them instantaneously: there is no known property of gravity capable of producing such an effect. Neither could it do so gradually; for what was to support them, in an unfinished state, during a gradual formation? I see no way of accounting for the figure of those rings, by matter, gravitation, and motion. And if their figure cannot in this way be accounted for, the question becomes still more complicated and perplexing, when we attend to their motion. To produce the rotation, the force applied must act in the plane of the rings; but a single force acting thus would have disturbed their position, and carried them up to the planet. There must have been impressed equal and opposite forces, at equal distances on each side of the centre, in order to give them rotation without altering their position. The figure of the rings is not regular: La Place has shown that if it had been regular, the rings could not have preserved their position, but must have been disturbed by the slightest force, such as the attraction of a comet or satellite, and fallen upon the planet; and that it is owing to those irregularities that they are supported in their proper situations. In the other bodies of the system, regularity of figure tends to insure uniformity of motion, and there regularity prevails. But here irregularity is found to exist, and it was needful in order to permanency. The rings are of a form which could not have arisen from the gravitation of their parts. They are concentric, placed exactly in the same plane, and in the plane of Saturn's equator. Their progressive velocity is exactly adjusted to the velocity of Saturn in his orbit, both in respect of quantity and direction: and they have a certain degree of inequality in their figures, which, with a corresponding period of revolution about the planet, which is the means of securing them in their position. Here, then, we see such a complication of adjustments, as must irresistibly impress us with the belief of an Intelligent and Wise Cause.

II. Design appears in the *arrangement* of the heavenly bodies.

The sun is the central body of our system. Of the physical constitution of that luminary we cannot speak with certainty. But, whether we consider it as an ignited body, or as an opaque orb surrounded, at a distance from its surface, with clouds emitting luminous and calorific rays, the fact is certain, that it is the great fountain of light and heat to the system. Design, wisdom, and goodness, are obvious, in this single fact. Had the universe been the result of any undesigning cause, what probability is there that there would have been any luminous body in the system? At present, besides comets, we know of eleven primary and eighteen secondary planets. These are all opaque orbs. How, then, but by the admission of an Intelligent Creator, shall we account for one, and only one, luminous body in our group of worlds. But supposing one luminous body to have somehow appeared among the opaque planets, how shall we account for its being a large body, yea larger than any, or all of the rest? What is there in light and caloric to attach them to the largest body exclusively, or to make the body to which they are attached assume a central position? If gravitation be alleged as the cause, we answer that it will not account for the phenomena. How, on this supposition, are light and heat emitted!

If there had been no sun, it is obvious that the present order of things could not have existed. Without light and heat there could be neither vegetable nor animal life. The light and heat of the sun cannot create a single seed, but by means of one previously existing: they cannot form any animal without the intervention of a seminal principle from a parent animal. The sun, then, has not created anything here; and nothing here created the sun: yet between the sun and the earth there is an obvious relation. For, if you remove the sun, you at the same time extinguish vegetable and animal life on the earth. Have not wisdom and goodness, then, provided this essential condition of animal and vegetable existence?

If the luminous body had been small compared with the other orbs in the system, like Juno or Pallas, or even like our earth; if it had not been a central, but a revolving body round the centre, then light and heat could not have been in the same quantity, nor could they have been so equably distributed as they presently are. But the sun is a vast globe, and stationary, or nearly so, in the centre, diffusing light and heat, and life and joy, over all his attendant worlds. It is needless to enter into any calculation of the probabilities, that in a system of thirty bodies (leaving the comets out of the question) grouped together by the law of gravitation, one, and one only, should be luminous, and that *that* one should be largest, and in the centre. To me it appears that, on the very face of the thing, there is a plain evidence of design; and not of design only, but of wisdom and goodness also.

The very large bodies, Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, are placed at a great distance from the centre. Had they been next the sun, their joint attractions would have greatly disturbed the less and more distant planets in their revolutions. But, travelling in orbits at such an immense distance from the centre, they attract the sun and the inferior planets almost equally; which, in point of perturbation, is nearly the same as if they attracted neither. This results from the law which gravitation observes, decreasing in the inverse ratio of the squares of the distances.

The distances at which the planets are placed from each other are an indication of wisdom. Had not the bulk and distance of the circumvolving bodies been wisely arranged, the attraction of one would have drawn another from its orbit. They would have met together in terrible and destructive collision: confusion and ruin would have ensued. But so wisely are the bulks, velocities, and distances of the planetary orbs adjusted to the established law of gravitation, that, though they act on each other, they do not act so powerfully as to derange the system. The perturbations are partial, limited, and periodical. A great compensating principle pervades the universe, and keeps the disturbing powers within harmless limits. The vast extent of the system gives room for the bodies to move, without endangering its permanency by their mutual attractions: it likewise prevents those great tides which would have happened, if the large planets had moved near each other.

In all the planets, so far as we know, the axis of rotation forms a greater or less angle with the plane of the orbit. For this there is no physical necessity. But in our earth, where we have the best opportunity of observing and judging, it is productive of beneficial effects. To it we owe the variety of seasons. Had the axis of rotation been parallel to the plane of the orbit, each hemisphere, in its turn, would have been long in darkness. If the axis had been perpendicular to the plane of the orbit, light would, indeed, have been diffused from pole to pole; but the equatorial regions would have been scorched with perpetual and unvarying heats, whilst in the higher latitudes the influence of the sun would have been too faintly felt to bring vegetation to maturity. But, by the inclination of the axis, light and heat are more beneficially diffused over the globe.

Under the head of arrangement, we may take notice of the provision of moons.

Mercury and Venus, moving in orbits at no great distance from the fountain of light, are provided with none of those attendants. One accompanies our earth; and, as its orbit forms but a small angle with the ecliptic, it is very beneficial to its primary. The time of the moon's revolution round the earth is just equal to the time of her rotation about her own axis. The same holds of all the satellites of Jupiter; and of one, at least, of Saturn. From the uniformity which prevails in the other parts of the system, it is likely that the same is the case with all the secondaries, although it has not yet been ascertained by observation. In this way, the secondary always keeps the same face towards the primary. Now, in this constitution of things, we may perceive plain indications of design, wisdom, and goodness. When we consider the number of nice adjustments that are necessary in order to make the secondary always keep the same face towards the primary, and attend to the number of bodies in which this constitution obtains, it is impossible to attribute it to anything but design. The end is good; for had the constitution of those bodies been different, the primary would have occasioned injurious or destructive tides on the secondary; but by keeping the same face of the moon always towards the earth this evil is avoided. Whatever may be the elevation of the waters upon the moon, it always remains the same, or nearly so.

Mars has no satellite. The four newly discovered planets, Juno, Vesta, Ceres, and Pallas, are very small bodies, and unable to carry moons along with them. But Jupiter, a vast globe, moving in an orbit about 190 millions of miles distant from the sun, is provided with four satellites, placed at different distances from his centre, and performing their revolutions in different periods. Saturn, revolving in an orbit twice as distant from the sun as that of Jupiter, besides the apparatus of his rings, has no less than seven moons attending him. Uranus, about 1800 millions of miles distant from the sun, is known to have at least six moons.

Light decreases as the squares of the distances increase, consequently in those distant regions the solar rays must be very sparse. But the remote planets are amply provided with satellites to reflect the light; and, to me, the provision of moons in the system appears to afford no slight evidence of design. The most distant planets are capable, by their mass, of supporting moons, and they are provided with them. Perhaps, in the other planets, these satellites serve other beneficial purposes besides that of illumination, as the moon does to our earth. Distant as they are, they are of advantage even to us: the moons of Jupiter assist us in determining the longitude.

III. The *motions* of the planets afford plain proofs of design, whether we attend to their revolutions in their orbits, or to their rotation on their axes.

The adjustment of the centripetal and centrifugal forces, so as exactly to balance each other, is a wonderful fact in nature. The planets all move in ellipses, not greatly removed from circles, having the sun in one of the foci. The general law or fact, in nature, so far as we can observe, is that all bodies attract each other in the direct ratio of their masses, and in the inverse ratio of the squares of the distances. It has, indeed, been asserted that this is a necessary fact. But we know too little of gravitation to authorize us to make any such assertion. We do not know that gravitation is essential to matter. We neither know what it is, nor how it acts; and, for anything we know, it might have followed one ratio of action just as well as another. Therefore we have at least as good a right to attribute the established ratio to choice, as others have to attribute it to necessity.*

But, without dwelling on this point, how shall we account for the velocity with which each planet moves, being so proportioned to the quantity of matter in the planet, and to its distance from the sun, as to retain it exactly in its orbit. Take any planet, and make an alteration in any of those conditions, and you derange or destroy the system. If you greatly increase the matter of any planet, leaving its distance and velocity the same as at present, it will fall into the sun. If you considerably increase the velocity, leaving the planet with the same, or less quantity of matter, and at the same distance from the central body, it will no longer move in an orbit nearly circular, but will describe a very eccentric ellipse, or fly off into the immensity of space. Here, then, design, nay consummate wisdom, is displayed, in so finely balancing the centripetal and centrifugal forces, that the planets should move in orbits nearly circular. In order to the accomplishment of this, both the direction and the velocity of the projection lay within extremely narrow limits. Although the direction in which the body was projected had been right, yet a small difference in the velocity would have made a great change in the orbit; and supposing the velocity to have been just what it is at present, if the projection had not been in one particular line, the effect would not have answered. No direction would have cured a wrong velocity, and no velocity would have cured a wrong direction. Both must be right, and the right point lay within extremely narrow limits. Now, that two such independent circumstances should be found so exactly united, in so many different bodies, is evidently the result of contrivance and wisdom.

There is a fixed relation between the periodic times of the primary planets, and their mean distances from the centre. The squares of the periodic times are to each other as the cubes of the mean distances. That this should obtain in all the planets cannot be accounted for but by resolving it into design; and the fact is the more worthy of attention, when we consider that one of the conditions requisite to the stability of the system is, that the planets should perform their revolutions in different periods.

The framers of theories have amused themselves and their readers with dreams of comets striking off fragments from the sun, and of these fragments becoming planets. But, according to the great law of gravitation, a revolving body returns into its own path; and consequently, if the planets had been struck off from the body of the sun, they must in every revolution have returned to the body of the sun again. It is of no avail to allege, that the blow which struck off the fragments from the sun, removed the sun himself from his place; for, even in this case, as the supposed stroke acted on the fragment as well as on the sun, so the fragment must, in every revolution, return to the surface of the body from which it was broken off. As a revolving body, according to the law of gravitation, must return to the place from which it was projected, it follows that the planets must either have been formed in their orbits or carried to them, and received the projectile impulse there. They must all have begun their motions in their orbits.

We may here remark, that it has been said, that the four newly discovered planets are fragments of a large body that formerly revolved in an orbit between those of Jupiter and Mars, but which, by some unknown cause, perhaps by a shock of electricity, had been broken in pieces; and it has been supposed that the meteoric stones, which sometimes fall on the earth, are the splinters of that large orb which gave birth to the newly discovered planets. On this fanciful theory, I shall just observe, that if a large planet has been broken, it must have been many ages ago; for the history of astronomy does not inform us of any planet that has disappeared. Meteoric stones, however, have lately fallen on the earth. Are we not, then, left to suppose that the larger fragments, by some good fortune, have been honoured with a place among the planets, whilst the unlucky little splinters have been wandering up and down for ages, without finding a resting place, till at length chance conducted them to this earth for repose?

Suppose a large planet to have been shivered, no matter how, we may inquire in what manner the large fragments acquired their spheroidal form! How did they find their way to their respective orbits? Whence did they receive their projectile force, so exactly in the direction and with the velocity requisite to ensure their continuance and steady motions in their orbits, amidst so many soliciting and disturbing powers? How came they to move so near each other, and yet to remain so distinct? Till these and similar questions be satisfactorily answered, it will be as philosophical to believe that the four newly discovered planets were formed in their orbits, and projected by a powerful and wise Intelligence, as to embrace the theory now mentioned concerning their origin.

After the planets are projected in a direction and with a velocity so exactly proportioned to the quantity of matter in each, and to its distance from the sun, as that they shall nearly describe circles, still there is no physical necessity for their revolving on their own axes. But that most of them do revolve on their own axes we certainly know. That this should happen in so many different bodies, must be the result of design. Those persons who are best acquainted with the doctrine of probabilities, will not, I apprehend, ascribe it to chance. By this constitution of things a beneficial purpose is served, in our world at least, and we have not the means of judging so fully of any other. To it we owe the agreeable vicissitude of day and night, a vicissitude accommodated to our nature, as it gives us the opportunity of refreshing ourselves with sleep by night, to prepare for the toils and enjoyments of returning day. Here design is obvious; and benevolence characterizes the designing mind, for the end is beneficial. Wisdom, also, plainly appears in the contrivance.

All the twenty-nine primaries and secondaries, belonging to our system (if the moons of Uranus, the planes of which are nearly at right angles to the orbit of their primary, be not considered an exception), perform their revolutions in the same direction. In the zodiac they all proceed from Aries to Taurus: none of them moves in the opposite direction. The diurnal rotations, so far as we know, all follow the same course. It is impossible to ascribe this to chance: it must be the effect of design; for, considered as casual productions, the chances of their all moving in a direct, and none of them in a retrograde course, are almost incalculable.* That the planets should all move in the same direction, in their orbits, is essential to the stability of the system.[*] For, had it been otherwise, the inequalities would not have had their regular periods of increase and decrease, as at present, but would have gone on increasing till they brought on the destruction of the whole fabric.

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* See Professor Robison in Supplement to 3d edition of Encyclopædia Britannica, voc. Astronomy, p. 53.

* La Place has calculated, that the probability of the motions of the solar system have taken place without the operation of a superintending mind is so small, that it may be considered as nothing. It is as 2 : $2^{42} - 1$; *i. e.* it is as 2 is to 4398046511103. These motions alone furnish an almost decisive proof of the existence of a designing cause.

It may be inquired, whether the planetary system be steady and permanent. Are there no principles of dissolution operating in the apparently harmonious combination of globes? Are there no soliciting and disturbing causes which shall ultimately accomplish the overthrow of the whole? To such queries we answer, that in every system of bodies gravitating towards a centre, and reciprocally acting upon each other, there will be perturbations; and such perturbations exist in our system. The planes of the planetary orbits are subject to a variation in their situation; the inclinations of the orbits to the ecliptic are liable to a change: the figure of the earth's orbit is approaching towards a circle; and, owing to this cause, the mean motion of the moon is increasing: the obliquity of the ecliptic is diminishing. But have these changes no limits? Will they go on increasing till they terminate in the dissolution of the system? To these questions the investigations of modern science enable us to reply, that these changes have limits; and that the variations, irregularities, or inequalities of the solar system are periodical, and return into themselves. The whole oscillates round a certain quantity from which it can never greatly depart. These variations travel their rounds in fixed periods. The periods of some of them are short, while those of others involve hundreds of years. But still, at the close of their respective periods, each returns to the point from which it set out, and is found in its orbit as if no such disturbance had happened. After certain periods the planes of the planetary orbits will return to the positions from which they departed; the inclinations of their orbits to the ecliptic will return into themselves; the figure of the earth's orbit will come back to its original form; and the mean motion of the moon will decrease by the same steps by which it has increased. The obliquity of the ecliptic will never change above two degrees; and, vibrating within such narrow limits, the seasons will never be sensibly affected by it.

For the permanency of the system necessity cannot be pleaded, as it depends on conditions which are not necessary. These conditions are, that the attraction be inversely as the squares of the distances; that the orbits be not far removed from circles; that the planets all move in the same direction; and that the planes of their orbits are not much inclined to one another.[†] These conditions are not essential to a system of bodies mutually gravitating towards each other. They do not necessarily arise from the action of any physical cause known to us. Any of them might be changed, while the others remained the same. The appointment of such conditions, therefore, as would ensure the stability and permanency of the system, is not the work of necessity: it cannot be the work of chance, for chance could never have brought together such an assemblage of independent conditions. It must, therefore, be the work of design; yea of boundless wisdom, which at one comprehensive glance, saw the system in all its variety, and perceived the conditions essential to its permanency.

The comets are bodies of little density, and consequently their disturbing power is little felt on the planets.[‡]

Having made these observations on the solar system, let us now glance at the fixed stars.

On departing from the orbit of Uranus, the remotest of the planets, so far as we at present know, we must traverse, in all probability, between two and three hundred thousand times the distance of the earth from the sun, a space which we may compute in numbers, but which imagination can scarcely conceive, before we reach the nearest of the fixed stars.[*] From that point, sound would take millions of years to travel to our earth. Notwithstanding this immense distance, some of the fixed stars, probably the least remote, such as Sirius and Arcturus, shine with great brilliancy. In a clear night, by reason of their twinkling, they seem to be innumerable. But, in reality, the number discernible by the naked eye is not very great, being only about three thousand; and it is but seldom that one-third of that number can be seen, even by a good eye, at the same time. On using a powerful telescope, however, their numbers exceed calculation. They are clustered throughout the immensity of space in such multitudes as to bewilder the imagination in their countless number, and in the inconceivable extent of the universe.[†]

They shine by their own light. The delicate discovery of the aberration of the fixed stars shows that the velocity of their light is the same as that which comes from the sun. It is also capable of the same modifications as the solar light, being reflected and refracted according to the same laws. Hence it appears that the sun and the fixed stars are bodies of the same nature: and, according to the opinion of the most enlightened philosophers, these stars are so many suns, each surrounded with its own planetary system; although, on account of their immeasurable distance, these planets are altogether invisible to us.

We speak of these stars as fixed, because they preserve the same relative position with respect to one another. But there is no clear evidence of their absolute immobility. Sirius, Arcturus, and Aldebaran, have been observed to make a small change in their places; and, according to some, the solar system is not confined to a certain region in absolute space, but has a progressive motion. Perhaps all the great bodies of the universe are grouped together in systems mutually supporting each other, and moving in orbits round a central point in the immensity of space; or they may be supported in their stations in a way of which we have no conception. For although we see processes of vast extent going on, and principles of wide operation established, yet we are not to confine the Supreme Architect to these principles and processes only, because we know of no other. We see enough to convince us that He can vary his means as circumstances require, and that no end is beyond his powers of execution.

What a great and glorious scene, then, do the heavens exhibit to our view! Millions, and tens of millions of suns are stationed at convenient distances throughout the immensity of space, enlightening, and warming, and fertilizing hundreds of millions of worlds, all wheeling in busy and silent revolution round their several points of attraction; or bound together in systems of mutual gravitation. Judging from analogy, and from all that we can perceive of the operations of HIM who never works in vain, we are constrained to conclude that all these worlds, formed, and projected, and guided by the potent arm, and under the immediate inspection of the Almighty Sovereign, are inhabited by different orders of beings, with organs accommodated to the different circumstances in which they are placed, and endued with different degrees of intellectual capacity. What a noble scene! How ambitious ought we to be to extend our acquaintance with it in the progress of our existence! If creation be so great, O how great must the Creator be! He not only made, but he upholds and governs the mighty system of the universe. Not a movement of any orb but is guided by his hand; and not an action of a rational creature that escapes his eye. How well is he entitled to our homage and obedience!

Our earth, in all its beauty, variety, and magnificence; oceans, lakes, and rivers, mountains, valleys, and plains, clothed with verdure and enriched with plenty, diversified and enlivened with numerous inhabitants, presents a rich and charming scene to the imagination. But when we contemplate the number and magnitude of the heavenly orbs, the myriads of worlds profusely spread throughout the immeasurable regions of space, upheld by Almighty power, arranged and directed by consummate wisdom, replenished with inhabitants, many of whom, no doubt, occupy a higher station, are endued with nobler powers, and clothed with a brighter glory than man, then the magnificence of our earth dwindles away, and the dignity of our nature and race seems absorbed in the brilliancy of the mighty constellation of intellectual being. Instead of overpowering our faculties, or damping our energy, let the view elevate the soul, awaken the ambition, and invigorate the exertions of rational and immortal man. Let him rejoice that he forms a part in such a mighty scheme; that he stands so high on the scale of existence. Other beings may be endued with more vigorous and enlarged faculties; but he is not doomed to remain stationary in the place which he now occupies. His powers are capable of high improvement: and who shall set limits to his progress in the pursuit of excellence? What attainments are within his reach, how far his faculties may yet expand, what noble rewards may yet crown his diligence and activity, and with what dignity he may yet appear among the chosen of the universe, no language can express, nor imagination conceive!

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[*] As the planes of the satellites of Uranus are nearly perpendicular to the orbit of the planet, the direction of their motion, whether retrograde or otherwise, can have no sensible influence upon the system.

[†] This last condition, it may perhaps be alleged, does not hold in some of the new planets; but these planets are very small bodies, and their action on the system must be altogether insensible.

[‡] The very different positions and inclinations of the orbits of comets to the ecliptic seems not to be the effect of chance; but give us reason to acknowledge and admire the wisdom of Deity. If the planes of their orbits had been in that of the ecliptic, or very near it, then every time that a comet descended towards the sun, or returned from its perihelion, we would have been exposed to the danger of being struck by it, if unhappily the earth had then happened to be at the points of intersection; or at least, according to Whiston, we would have run the risk of being inundated by its tail. But according to the present constitution of things this risk is avoided.—See MONTUCLA, vol. ii. p. 636, 2d edition.

[*] The annual parallax of the fixed stars has not yet been ascertained. But if we suppose it not to exceed 1″, the distance of the fixed stars cannot be less than 206265 times the radius of the earth's orbit. As light traverses the latter in 8′ 13″, it will require 3 years and 79 days to come from a fixed star to the earth.—See PLAYFAIR'S *Outlines*, vol. ii. p. 217.

[†] The more powerful the telescope, the greater is the number of stars seen. La Lande computed, that, with a forty foot telescope, a hundred millions were visible.—MONTUCLA, vol. iv. p. 29.

The wise and benevolent Sovereign of Nature, reigning with vigilant affection over innumerable worlds, peopled with inhabitants whose organs are suited to their respective situations, all rejoicing in the existence, adoring the perfections, and grateful for the goodness of the bountiful Creator; what a magnificent and ennobling scene! While the melody of praise and the incense of thanksgiving ascend from all quarters of the universe towards the throne of the Almighty, what shall we think of those few beings, perhaps of our race chiefly, who refuse to join in the general symphony, and who not only withhold the tribute of adoration and gratitude, but audaciously deny the existence of the Creator? Guilty and miserable creatures! they cast themselves out from the great society of blessed intelligences, and forfeit the felicity prepared for the grateful and obedient subjects of the Universal Sovereign.

In our cursory glance at Nature, we have seen a wonderful scene: minute precision, and splendid magnificence; striking uniformity, and endless variety; apparent carelessness and irregularity, and the most perfect order and exquisite arrangements, all united. In examining the parts, we meet with skilful contrivance, admirable workmanship, and exact adjustment. As there is an accurate adaptation and reciprocal dependance of the parts, so those parts are combined in one harmonious and magnificent whole. Obvious traces of design everywhere occur; and as certainly as design proves a designing cause, so certainly do we prove the existence of an intelligent Creator. We do not, indeed, see or feel the Deity, in the same manner as we see or feel a material object. But although he himself is invisible, his operations are manifest. Creation proclaims the being of the Creator. The attributes of mind are evidently displayed, and the existence of God is as fully ascertained, as if we saw him with his right hand upholding the sun, with his left directing the stars in their courses; and heard his voice proclaiming, "I form the light, and create darkness; I the Lord do all these things."

BOOK III.

OF THE PERFECTIONS OF DEITY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE UNITY OF DEITY.

Design and contrivance are fully established by the facts and arguments stated in the preceding part of this treatise. But design and contrivance are acts of mind, and their existence in the universe plainly proves it to be the production of an Intelligent Cause. We now, therefore, proceed to inquire into the character of the Supreme Intelligence, in so far as it is discoverable in the works of his hand. We, indeed, know, and perhaps at present we can know but little about the Divine Essence, and the manner in which the Deity exists and acts; but our ignorance or imperfect knowledge of those things is not even a shadow of argument against the existence of the Supreme Being. It is nothing more than a proof of our limited capacity. In investigating the character of the Deity, as discoverable from his works, we may assume it as a principle, that whatever qualities appear in the design and contrivance, may justly be ascribed to the designing and contriving Mind, in the degree, at least, in which they are manifested in the design and execution. For instance, the planets, bodies of vast magnitude, have been projected with prodigious velocity; and that velocity and the direction have been so nicely adjusted to the quantity of matter in each of the planets, and to their respective distances from the sun, as to make them describe such orbits as shall ensure the stability and permanency of the system. We cannot err in ascribing to the Author of the system a power equal to the projection of the planets in their orbits with the requisite velocity, and a wisdom equal to what was necessary in order to the establishment of such conditions as are sufficient for the security of the system. And in so far as the constitution of things promotes the happiness of sentient beings, the attribute of goodness must also be admitted.

Although we cannot err in ascribing to the Deity those attributes which are manifested in creation, and in that degree in which they are there displayed, yet we are not to limit the perfections of God by his works. Before we can pretend, from the works of Deity, to set limits to his attributes, two conditions seem to be requisite. First, we must completely understand the work in all its extent. Secondly, we must perceive some defect in the obvious plan, which could arise only from a limitation of the perfections. If the plan be perfect in its kind, we are not authorized to infer that he who contrived and executed it was unable to have contrived and executed a nobler plan. Because the architect has built a cottage, we are not to conclude that he was incapable of constructing a palace. He has executed his plan, and we have no evidence of his incapacity for a more extensive and splendid work. If the present work be well finished, according to the obvious design, the presumption is, that he could equally well have built a more superb mansion if he had undertaken it.

In like manner, while we ascribe to God all the perfections manifested in his works, we are not to imagine that all the resources of his perfections were exhausted in the execution of those works which fall under our inspection. He has exercised all that perfection which his plan required, and the presumption is, that he could have exercised more if more had been needful. For example, mighty power is displayed in the projection of the planets; but we are not authorized to infer that all the power of God was exerted in that projection. The power requisite in order to the accomplishment of the end was exerted; the exertion of a greater degree of power would have been subversive of the end, and, therefore, the exercise of power was regulated as well as directed by wisdom. A similar observation may be applied to the other attributes of God. In judging of his perfections from his works, we must not lose sight of his plan, and we are to ascribe to him all the perfections manifested in the plan, and all that by legitimate reasoning can be deduced from the execution of it.

It is reckoned a fundamental rule in philosophy, not to suppose more causes than are needful to produce the effect. This principle conducts us to the unity of Deity; for the necessity of finding an adequate efficient cause does not compel us to have recourse to a plurality of gods. The power that was equal to the creation of a part was equal to the creation of the whole. But we are not obliged to rely on a principle of this kind, in order to establish the unity of Diety. The uniformity of plan that pervades the system indicates unity of counsel, at least in its formation. We can trace unity of plan in the great fabric of the universe, so far as we are capable of observing it. The law of gravitation prevails throughout the solar system. All the bodies in that system seem to revolve on their own axes: all the planets move in the same direction in the zodiac. The light of the fixed stars affects the eye in the same way as that of the sun; and it travels at the same rate, as we learn from the delicate discovery of their aberration. On descending to our earth we find a similar uniformity prevailing, and can easily trace the harmonious combination of many great parts in one magnificent whole.

The earth is a component part of the solar system; and in it many independent conditions must meet, in order to render it a convenient residence for beings organized as its present inhabitants are. It is a terraqueous globe, clothed with an invisible aërial robe; and the dry land is covered with a mould capable of imbibing moisture, and supporting vegetation. The earth is enlightened and warmed by the sun, the central body of the system. If the earth had been a detached body, wholly unconnected with any other orb, darkness and sterility would have established upon it an everlasting empire. But the sun is provided; a condition essential to vegetable and animal existence. The atmosphere also was requisite. It refracts and reflects the beams of the sun in all directions, and sheds a flood of light on the earth. The sun exhales vapours from the ocean; the atmosphere supports those vapours, and by its currents carries them to the dry land, where they descend in refreshing showers, affording nourishment to vegetable, and a wholesome beverage to man and beast. With all the conditions mentioned, the earth might have been the mansion of melancholy silence and eternal sterility; for, the sun, the atmosphere, the ocean, the soil, cannot produce a single pile of grass, or a single herb, or a single tree, without seed. But seed is liberally provided; and hence the earth is clothed with verdure and enriched with plenty.

The sun, however, might have beamed in the firmament, the rain distilled on the tender plant, and luxurient herbage crowned the mountain and waved on the plain, without a single sentient being to enjoy the scene, or partake of the rich feast which the bountiful Creator had provided. But God does not work in vain. Having fitted up such a noble habitation, he replenished it with tenants of many different kinds, all capable of enjoying the accommodations with which it is stored, and of relishing the happiness which it is calculated to afford. There are perhaps 20,000 different kinds of living creatures upon our globe. Among these there is a great variety; but at the same time an uniformity so striking, as to indicate the same skilful hand in their formation. They all respire by lungs, gills, or air tubes. All animals take in food: in all, the processes of digestion and assimilation are carried on; and an excrementitious part is thrown off. They all propagate their kinds.

Vegetables draw sustenance from inorganic matter, and prepare food for sentient beings. Plants have their appropriate vessels, for conveying the sap and peculiar juices through the stem, branches, and leaves: animals have blood vessels for an analogous purpose. The gradations in the animal world all proclaim the workmanship of the same hand. Here we see a very complicated system: many independent parts are combined into one harmonious whole. The different parts of nature are admirably adjusted to each other. The relations between the different parts of the system; between the sun, the earth, the air, and the ocean; between the animate and inanimate parts of creation; direct us to one powerful Creator.

One agent is often made subservient to many different purposes. One sun illuminates many worlds; the light and heat which emanate from that luminary answer many valuable ends. To man the uses of air and water are multifarious. The ocean is also the seat of much enjoyment, and the air the chief scene of felicity to many a happy being. In travelling over the earth we meet with different climates; nature pust on various aspects; and nations differ in their appearance, manners, and laws. Still we meet with nothing indicating the hand of a different artist, or the government of a different sovereign. All nature points to one great Author. Unity of plan pervades the universe; and from this unity of plan we may fairly infer the unity of Deity. One Supreme Mind planned the great system of nature, still upholds it in existence, and continually superintends the government of the whole.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE POWER OF DEITY.

That the Deity is an all powerful Being evidently appears from his works. The Architect who could build the stupendous fabric of the universe must be omnipotent. We can conceive no bounds to the power of HIM who was able to station the sun in the firmament, and to launch the planets with such velocity in their orbits. Limiting our view to the solar system, which is merely a speck in the immensity of space and amid the myriads of worlds with which space is replenished, must we not be amazed on beholding the sun in majesty occupying a central position, and presiding over the great globes, which in silent and unceasing revolution wheel around him. Think on the dimensions of the planets, and their rapidity in their orbits. What a potent arm must have projected, with such prodigious velocity, those vast bodies into the illimitable void! Our earth, almost eight thousand miles in diameter, travels about fifteen hundred thousand miles in a-day; and, at the same time, it is spinning on its own axis, and turning up, successively, the vegetables and animals which it nurses on its bosom, to the genial influence of the solar rays. And, with this inconceivable rapidity, how unceasing, steady, and uniform, are its motions. The same holds in the other planets, some of them vastly larger than our globe. Each of them regularly and steadily performs its revolutions. The power capable of producing those effects is immeasurably greater than what we experience in ourselves, or perceive in any visible agent, and may with propriety be described as Omnipotent; because nothing in our observation or experience authorizes us to set limits to it.

We ascribe *infinity* to all the attributes of Deity. But infinity is a word to which we can attach no precise conceptions. The very use of the word is an admission that the thing to which it is applied is above the grasp of our comprehension; and when applied to any of the perfections of Deity, it means that those perfections go as far as our minds can follow them, and how much farther we cannot tell. And certainly, when we contemplate the power displayed in the universe, and the numberless instances and incalculable variety of the manifestations of wisdom and goodness, we may with reverence, admiration, and gratitude, describe those perfections of Deity as infinite.

It is obvious that the power which could create the world is able to uphold it in being. God must preserve the world which he has created, for that which derived its existence from another does not necessarily exist. It could not so exist in the first moment of its being, nor yet at any future period; and must, consequently, owe the continuance of its existence to HIM from whom its being was primarily derived. There is no medium between necessary existence and dependance on a cause. A creature can no more preserve than make itself.

There is an essential difference between creation and works of art. For though works of art cannot make themselves, yet, when made, they can continue to exist without the artist who made them. A house cannot build itself; but, when built, it stands as long as the materials and workmanship last. We must observe, however, that the artist merely gives a particular form to that matter which depends on the power and will of the Creator for the continuance of its existence. The particular form given by the artist exists in subjection to the laws which the Creator has established for the government of that matter which he upholds in being. Although the facts that God at first created, and that he still preserves all things are clear, yet the manner of creation and of preservation are equally above our reach.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE WISDOM OF DEITY.

Wisdom is manifested in employing fit and adequate means for the accomplishment of its ends. It obviously appears to have been the purpose of God that this world should be a proper place of residence for animals of many different kinds, and that all the animals should enjoy the means of preserving for a time the life of the individual, and of continuing the species. These ends are completely accomplished, and accomplished by such a complicated and diversified combination of independent circumstances as gives a most exalted view of the Divine wisdom. This world was to be fitted up as a place of residence for its present inhabitants. For this purpose, light and heat, and air and moisture, were necessary. Accordingly, the sun was provided to enlighten and to warm the earth; a vast basin was scooped out, and the waters of the ocean poured into it; the atmosphere was thrown around the earth to be the carrier and dispenser of this moisture exhaled by the sun.

Between the animated and inanimated parts of nature we see the most astonishing relations. There is a fine correspondence between the atmosphere and the respiratory organs of animals. These organs are very different in different living creatures; but in each they are wisely accommodated to the configuration and circumstances of the animal, and in all they accomplish their great vital function. In the atmosphere, and in the organs of respiration in connection with the other parts of the constitution, we have an adequate provision for the existence of the animal; but it is subject to a daily and hourly waste, and needs a frequent supply. This supply is provided, as well as a complete apparatus for taking it into the system.

The earth is clothed with a great variety of vegetables which extract nourishment from inorganic matter, and afford sustenance to man and beast. All the different animals are furnished with means of subsistence; and when we attend to the manner in which every animal is fitted for collecting, eating, and digesting its food, we perceive a display of consummate wisdom in the admirable adaptation and combination of means, in order to the accomplishment of an end. As wisdom undeniably appears in the complete provision made for the preservation of the individual, so it is equally manifest in the efficacious means which are employed for the continuance of the species. Some classes of animals live longer and some shorter, but all are capable of continuing their kinds; and we see a wonderful system established, for nursing and protecting the young till they are capable of providing for themselves. No species perishes either through a failure of the means of subsistence to the individual, or from incapacity to continue the species; and the reproductive powers of the several kinds are adapted and proportioned to the term of their existence, and to the dangers to which they are exposed.

When we, then, consider the boundless extent and vast variety of things, the skilful adaptations that every where occur, and the beautiful order and regularity that prevail in nature, we must pronounce HIM who was capable of conceiving and executing such a plan a Being of infinite wisdom. His wisdom no difficulty can baffle; it is equal to every emergency. In every possible combination of circumstances, he at once perceives the best plan, and the best means for carrying that plan into execution. But on the wisdom of the Creator we have already had frequent opportunities of remarking, when contemplating particular parts of his works; and, with respect to man, considered as a moral agent, a number of observations relating to this attribute of Deity will present themselves in a subsequent part of the Treatise.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE GOODNESS OF DEITY.

THE same observations which prove the wisdom of Deity, may, in general, be adduced as evidences of goodness; for if the end to be accomplished promote the happiness of sentient beings, then every display of wisdom in the accomplishment of that end is a demonstration of benevolence; and, in most instances, the same facts which demonstrate wisdom, prove benevolence also. In order to prove malevolence, or even the absence of goodness, it would be necessary to show that the life of the individual is a state of misery, or utterly destitute of enjoyment, and that the preservation of that life, and the continuation of the species, are merely a prolongation of suffering, or of insipid existence. It would be necessary to prove this, not in a few insulated cases only, but to show that it predominates in the system of nature. A proof of this kind no person in the right use of reason will attempt.

Dr. Paley rests the proof of the Divine goodness on the two following propositions:

1st, "That in a vast plurality of instances in which contrivance is perceivable, the design of the contrivance is beneficial."

2d, "That the Deity has superadded pleasure to animal sensations, beyond what was necessary for any other purpose; or when the purpose, so far as it was necessary, might have been effected by the operation of pain."

Both of these propositions can be clearly established; and the establishment of them proves the goodness of Deity. I shall therefore make a few observations in illustration of them.

1st, "In a vast plurality of instances, in which contrivance is perceived, the design of the contrivance is beneficial." This proposition I am inclined to render more general than it is stated by Dr. Paley. For in animated nature, which is the region where goodness is felt and enjoyed, I know of no instance of contrivance which is not beneficial to the being which is the object of that contrivance. The benefit of the contrivance is indeed more obvious in some cases than in others; in most cases, I believe, it may be perceived; and in no instance can it be shown to be injurious. It is obvious in most of the organs of sense; and all the organs of sense are undeniably beneficial. Are not the articulations of the bones beneficial! Is not the configuration of the alimentary and intestinal canal beneficial! Are not the hoof of the horse, and the paw of the lion beneficial? Take any animal, and in attending to the whole, or to any part of its organization, you will find it adapted to the manners and circumstances of the animal and conducive to its existence, security, and happiness. Consider the vast variety of sentient beings, as well as the various contrivances in their structure, and when you reflect that all these are conducive to their welfare, you must be astonished at the comprehensive beneficence of the Creator.

The goodness of Deity is manifested in the liberal provision made for the subsistence of every living creature. There is a relation, strongly expressive of benignity, between animated and inanimated nature; for the earth produces a sufficiency for the subsistence of all the living beings upon it; and in life all animals seem to have enjoyment. The heart of him who sympathizes with the inferior creatures in their pleasures, will often be delighted on contemplating their felicity, and will feel its own happiness increased by witnessing their enjoyments. If we turn to mankind, they also enjoy much felicity. Even after all the evils that we bring upon ourselves by the abuse of our free agency, we are oftener in health than in sickness, oftener in joy than in sorrow. That there are sorrows and pains is evident; but in human life they do not preponderate. They will engage our attention in a subsequent part of the work.

2d, "The Deity has superadded pleasure to animal sensations, beyond what was necessary for any other purpose; or where the purpose, so far as it was necessary, might have been effected by the operation of pain."

If it be the will of the Supreme being that sentient creatures shall exist, he must endow them with the means and capacities requisite to the continuation of their existence. But those means might answer the end, without contributing in any degree, to the happiness of the animal. They might demonstrate power and wisdom, and yet be no proof of goodness. For instance, food is necessary to the support of animal life; every animal, therefore, must be provided with the means of taking in food; and if these means be well adapted to the end, they certainly demonstrate wisdom. But the act of eating might be attended with no pleasure: nay, it might be attended with positive pain; and the animal might be prompted to it merely by the desire of removing a greater pain by submitting to a less. If there be enjoyment in taking in food, which is certainly the case with all animals, then this is a demonstration of goodness in the Creator; for it shows that he has superadded pleasure beyond what was necessary for the accomplishment of the purpose.

The organs of sense were either necessary to the existence of the animal, or they were not necessary; but in either case they prove goodness in the Deity. For if we consider them as necessary, still they might have performed their office without communicating any positive pleasure; but, in fact, they are all sources of enjoyment to the creature, and consequently proofs of goodness in the Creator. If we consider them as not necessary, the proof of goodness is, at least, not weakened. For, in this case, they must have been bestowed merely as inlets to happiness, and are marks of gratuitous goodness. If we glance at the organs of sense, however, we will find them not only useful, but also sources of pleasure. What a variety of enjoyments do we obtain by means of the eye! That it is a large inlet of felicity, no person in the right use of reason will deny. But if the Deity had been a malevolent being, this organ might have been the occasion of incredible infelicity and pain. In a diseased state, it sometimes cannot bear the light. Unless the Deity had been benevolent, the eye, even in its natural state, might have been as much or more irritated by the action of light, than it presently is even when diseased. Compare, then, the difference between a sound and a diseased eye; consider that the latter might have been the natural state of the organ, and certainly you will acknowledge the goodness of Deity.

Our minds are so constituted, that we receive pleasure from the sight of many objects in nature: they might, however, have been so constituted that the sight of those objects would have been a source of perpetual irritation and pain. The verdure of the earth, which is so grateful to the eye, and the variegated landscape, the mountain and the wood, the valley and the stream, so exhilarating to the mind, might have produced a contrary effect, and might have weighed as much in the scale of pain, as they now do that of pleasure. What is true with respect to the eye, also holds of the other organs of sense. The ear is a source of much enjoyment. Music yields high gratification, and often sooths and cheers the mind under the anxieties by which it is assailed. But the ear might have been otherwise constituted. It might have been so formed, that the gentlest whisper would have acted as powerfully upon it as a peal of thunder now does; and that the most melodious note would have been as grating as a piercing scream. How much more felicitous is our present condition, than what it could have possibly been in such circumstances!

The sense of smelling, also, not only contributes to our security, but greatly promotes our happiness. How exhilarating is the breeze impregnated with fragrant odours! how sweet the scent of the fields after a gentle summer shower! If the Deity had not been benevolent, we might have been so constituted that every object around us would have affected our olfactory nerves as disagreeably as asafœtida, or even the intolerable stench of the zurilla. Taste, likewise is a source of much pleasure. But if a malevolent being had been the author of our existence, everything might have been made to taste like gall and wormwood. Feeling, also, might have been the cause of great suffering; for everything we touched might have irritated like a nettle; but at present it is the source of much pleasant sensation. All our senses are wisely and beneficently accommodated to our nature and circumstances, and so formed as both to contribute to our security and to promote our happiness. When we enjoy health and the approbation of our moral nature, how cheerful and happy do we feel! Notwithstanding the murmurings of the querimonious satirist, or the complaints of the discontented philosopher, man really is, or may be a happy being. Nature around him wears the aspect of placid satisfaction, exhibits cheering scenes of active enjoyment, and utters the gladdening note of felicity.

The goodness of Deity appears not only in the general structure of our body, and in the formation of the different organs of sense, but also in that constitution of animated beings in which there is an effort to heal wounds and expel disease. The slightest bruise might have festered, and, like the breaking out of waters, might have increased till it demolished the organized fabric. But nature makes a healing effort, and often wonderfully succeeds. This, however, is not all. Medicinal substances are provided in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, of which man may avail himself to aid the efforts of his constitution in healing wounds and curing diseases. Here, as in every department of nature, we meet with an order of things fitted to awaken the curiosity, invite the research, reward the ingenuity, and increase the happiness of man.

The goodness of Deity has provided means not only for healing wounds and curing diseases, but also for aiding our organs of sense under the infirmities of nature and the decays of age. The eye, for instance, is a beautiful and useful, but delicate organ. It is liable to infirmity and decay; but spectacles may be made to assist the sight under almost every configuration of the eye, and in every period of life. Similar remarks may be applied to the ear; and the eye and the ear are two great inlets of pleasure. An observation of the same kind may be extended to our bodily diseases. The malignity of the small-pox was greatly mitigated by inoculation, and appears to be still farther subdued by vaccination. These remarks show wisdom and goodness plainly engraven on the face of nature; for those attributes evidently predominate, so far as our observations extend. But before we are able to explain all the phenomena, and to answer objections, we must have some conception of the plan of Deity, particularly in reference to man, who is unquestionably the chief living being on this earth. He stands at the head of the animal creation on our globe, and the scheme of government which he is under must, to a certain extent, affect the destiny of the inferior creatures. The uniformity of the system requires that, in so far as they share a common nature with man, they shall be under the operation of common laws.

In forming an estimate of the perfections of God from his works and government, we must attentively consider the end he has in view. To form some imaginary scheme of our own, and to pretend by that scheme to measure the Divine perfections as exhibited in the conduct of a very different plan, is altogether absurd. We must take the plan of God, as it may be fairly collected from the established system of things; and if that plan and the means employed for carrying it on be compatible with wisdom and goodness, then all objections against the Divine perfections, arising from some imaginary plan of our own, are nugatory. I shall, therefore, in the following chapter, attend to the character and state of man, which will lead to observations on the design and government of the Deity respecting him.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CHARACTER AND STATE OF MAN.

MAN is the lord of this world, and he is honourably distinguished from its other inhabitants by peculiar qualities. In considering his character and state, we observe that he is a rational and immortal being; that at present he is in a state of trial and discipline, under a system of moral government; and that his improvement and happiness are carried on and promoted by the exercise of his faculties. To each of these we shall for a little attend; and a careful contemplation of the phenomena will enable us to discover and understand the plan of God respecting him.

1. Man is a rational being. While the inferior animals are under the guidance of instinct, he is endued with nobler principles. Besides appetites, which he has in common with the brutes, he is dignified with intellectual, active, and moral powers, which they do not possess. Reason, memory, and imagination; desires, affections, and a moral faculty, are wonderfully combined in his nature, and form a singular and interesting being. He can observe, compare, and judge: he can vary his means, and suit his operations to the circumstances in which he is placed. He can turn in upon himself and trace the operations of his own mind. He can survey the vast system of the universe; discover the laws by which it is governed; and learn the attributes of the Creator and Governor from the works of his hand. He can surround himself by a new creation, and combine in endless variety the objects with which he is acquainted. He remembers the past; and the lessons of experience not only furnish him with instructions for the regulation of his present conduct, but also enable him to anticipate what he may expect from the future. He hopes and he fears; he loves, and desires, and pursues; he dreads and he shuns. His moral faculty indicates the path of duty, and it applauds or condemns. His intellectual, active, and moral powers are finely adjusted to each other, and form a being capable of much present enjoyment, and of vast improvement in intellectual and moral excellence. How absurd is it to allege that undesigning chance produced such an intelligent and contriving being as man!

2. Man is immortal. The Creator has not constituted him an ephemeral being. He is destined to inherit eternity. And we are not driven to a future state in order to find a remedy against present disorders. The conclusion naturally results from a fair and candid consideration of the phenomena.

First, Our bodily fabric dies and is dissolved; but an opinion in favour of the immortality of the soul has almost universally prevailed in every age, and in every nation, among all ranks of men, and in every stage of society. It is not the badge of a sect, but the creed of man. We may find him without arts and without laws; but the sentiment of immortality seems everywhere, and in every period, to have been entertained. The mind is impressed with an involuntary presage of existence; and although the notion of a future state has been differently modified, according to the different circumstances of those who have believed it, still the same general notion has prevailed. On this subject, the joint opinion of mankind, respecting a matter of common interest, is the voice of their nature proceeding from the universal Parent, intimating to his children the happiness which they are formed to enjoy, and the dignity and perfection which they are capable of attaining.

Secondly, The doctrine of immortality, the grand problem respecting the nature of man, is attended with the same difficulty as the being of God, and arising from the same cause; the invisibility of the immortal principle. We are so much accustomed to bring everything to the test of our bodily senses, and to be guided by their evidence, that we are disposed to withhold belief in cases where they are incapable of giving testimony. This, I believe, is a chief source of scepticism, both with respect to the being of God and the immortality of man. Some think that all the operations of mind are the result of corporeal organization, and hence they infer that mind must perish on the dissolution of the organized fabric. Our knowledge, however, is by far too limited to encourage us to lay much stress upon this inference, even although the premises from which it is deduced were correct. "I do not see," says Dr. Paley, "that any impracticability need be apprehended by these; or that the change, even upon their hypothesis, is far removed from the analogy of some other operations which we know with certainty that the Deity is carrying on."[*]

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[*] Paley's Natural Theology, p. 591.

For anything we know, matter, under all its modifications and combinations, is incapable of intellectual operations. If the case should be otherwise, who can for a moment doubt the ability of HIM who could attach thought and volition to matter, to continue those faculties under different organical modifications. If the being of God be proved, the existence of invisible mind is proved; and the various and wonderful combinations in the universe may lead us reasonably to think that somewhere in the scale of being, matter and mind shall be united. It has been correctly observed, that our notions both of body and mind are merely relative; that we can define the former only by the qualities perceived by our senses, and the latter by the operations of which we are conscious, and therefore the immateriality of mind is involved in the only conceptions of matter and mind that we are capable of forming.*

The doctrine of immortality, how wonderful soever it may seem, is not more amazing than many facts presented to our daily observation. Man, at the hour of his birth, undergoes a mighty change in the means of his subsistence and mode of his being; and were he capable of anticipating that change, and of reasoning upon it, his life in the world would appear a problem as difficult as immortality does at present. Death may immediately, in the natural course of things, put us into a higher and more enlarged state of life, as our birth does. The one, like the other, may be a continuation and enlargement of powers.† After birth there is a continuation and enlargement of the same material fabric, which was formed before we saw the light. That fabric death dissolves: we have no reason, however, to conclude that death destroys the thinking principle. The vegetable dies, to live no more; but it cannot be fairly pleaded that man falls under the same law. The analogy does not hold; for the vegetable attains the utmost maturity of which it is capable, and it is wholly destitute of that which is the subject of our present consideration; the cogitative substance, the capacity of perfection and action. Now, it is about the continuation of this principle only that we are at present inquiring. Its material means and instruments of perception and action may be destroyed; but, in a future state, it may have organs of perception and means of communication, of which at present we can form no idea.

Thirdly, Organized bodies may be dissolved, and the forms and combinations of material substances altered. By these alterations, the qualities as well as the form of bodies may be changed. Our bodies are in a state of unceasing mutation; and these mutations, in many instances, greatly influence our corporeal qualities; but the consciousness of identity is in no degree affected by those continual changes. Hence, as well as by the only conception which we are capable of forming of mind, we are led to infer that the thinking principle is a simple and immaterial substance; and if it be so, the dissolution of the body by no means involves the extinction of that principle. It may continue to exist, to think, and to will, after the material tabernacle in which it is at present lodged shall be laid in ruins. Indeed, it must exist as a thinking principle, unless it be annihilated; for it cannot perish by alteration of form or dissolution of parts, and that it will be annihilated we have no reason to suspect. From the will in Deity to create, we may infer the design to preserve; and of annihilation we have no instances in the material world. Forms are changed; but substances remain, merely passing into new combinations. A simple and immaterial substance, however, is not subject to a process of this kind. While it exists, it must exist with properties unchanged. The removal of its material instruments cannot alter its essential qualities. But still, like every other created being, the continuance of its existence depends on the will of the Creator.

Fourthly, Creation bears testimony to the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. All his plans are wisely contrived and executed; and we see nothing like a system of abortion in his works. All orders of organized beings seem to reach the utmost perfection of which their constitution admits, and to enjoy all the happiness of which they are capable. This is equally true of the plant and of the animal; and we have no cause to suspect that man is an exception from the general rule. He is endued with faculties capable of high progressive improvement; and we have no reason to think that, in this world, he attains to all the perfection of which his nature is susceptible, or that his powers of progressive excellence, either moral or intellectual, are exhausted. We not unreasonably presume, then, that he is destined to survive the stroke of death, and continue his progress in improvement in a more advanced stage of existence.

We do not here assume the wisdom and goodness of Deity to prove the immortality of the soul, in order that by the doctrine of immortality we may obviate objections against the Divine attributes. No: We merely contend, that in so far as wisdom and goodness appear in the other parts of nature, they are exercised towards man. If they be so exercised towards him, he must reach all that perfection, and enjoy all that happiness, of which he is susceptible; for this seems a law which pervades the system of sentient being, and we have no evidence that man is an exception from it. Accordingly, he must make all that progress in excellence of which his nature is capable; but we think that his capacity of improvement is not exhausted in this world; and, therefore, we look for another where all his faculties will be fully expanded and attain maturity.

Can we suppose that a creature endued with such noble faculties, and capable of such progressive improvement, shall, at once and for ever, be arrested in his progress towards perfection? Has the Deity bestowed upon him powers capable of grand advances in excellence, and shall he stop him in his glorious career, blast his hopes, and destroy the fruit of all his toils? Has he inspired him with the sentiment of immortality, merely to disappoint him? With all his lofty capacities, attainments, and anticipations, is man merely an ephemeral being? Must his labours and his hopes perish in the dust? Must all the splendour of his moral and intellectual nature vanish, like the meteor which gleams for a moment, and is extinguished for ever? Are all the intimations of his nature, and of the world around him, mere delusions? These things cannot be so. The phenomena of the universe justify no such suppositions. Everything conspires to intimate a different result. The sentiments of humanity, and the perfections of God, as engraven on his works, bear testimony to the immortality of man. The faculties which have budded here shall blossom hereafter: the course of improvement begun in time shall be continued in eternity. How far his faculties may yet expand, to what degrees of excellence he may yet attain, and with what dignity he may yet appear among the rational offspring of the Supreme Intelligence, no language can express or imagination conceive. O my soul, still cherish, fondly cherish, the sublime hope of immortality! While the dark and cheerless infidel looks to the grave as terminating his existence, like a river drunk up by the sand of the wilderness, still fix thine eye on the ocean of eternity! Remember the grandeur of thy prospects, the loftiness of thy hopes, and study to think and act as it becomes a being who shall yet associate with the highest created intelligences in the universe, be engaged in the most exalted employments, and stand near the throne of the mighty Sovereign of Nature!

On this subject, I have merely glanced at the phenomena of nature and the sentiments of humanity; and I contend for the truth which they seem to establish. If the evidence of the immortality of the soul be not so clear and decisive as some might desire, it may be remarked, that a certain degree of obscurity is not unsuitable to a system of moral agency, where we are called upon to act on probable and reasonable grounds, without expecting such a degree of evidence as will irresistibly force conviction: for if we suppose conviction to be irresistible, and also that such conviction irresistibly regulates conduct, what is this but necessity? But that man either is, or ought to be, a necessary agent, cannot for a moment be admitted.

Farther, the degree of evidence on this subject is sufficient to influence human conduct; for it appears probable, at least, that man shall exist in a future state of being, and that his condition in that state shall be determined by his dispositions and conduct here. What in such circumstances is the dictate of sound wisdom? It surely is, to live as if we were certain of a future state of existence, for by pursuing this course we cannot possibly be losers. If there be a future state, then, we shall gain all the advantages resulting from our wise conduct: if there be no future state we lose nothing. Nay, we are gainers; for the dispositions to be cultivated, and the conduct to be pursued, in the view of a future retribution, are such as ensure the greatest share of happiness in a present world. On the other hand, if any, because the evidence of immortality is not so clear and cogent as they could wish, shall live in the total disregard of a state of future retribution, then, if such a state actually awaits them, is there not great danger of their having committed an irreparable error, and of having subjected themselves to a dreadful, perhaps irretrievable loss?

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* Stewart's Outlines, pp. 29, 228. 2d. edition.

† Butler's Analogy, chap. i.

II. Man is at present in a state of trial and discipline, under a system of moral government; and to fit him for this state he is constituted a free agent. He is endued with intellectual and active powers: he has judgment to know the meaning of a commandment, and ability to obey it. By "moral government" we understand the establishment and operation of laws for the direction of rational beings, and the enforcing those laws by rewards and punishments. The subject of such a government must be a free agent.

1. By the liberty of a moral agent we understand a power over the determinations of his own will; and we call man a free agent in the same way, and with the same limitations, as we pronounce him a rational being. Every man has a conviction that he is free, and acts towards others in the persuasion that they also are free. Our deliberations, purposes, and promises, all suppose liberty in ourselves; and our advices, exhortations, and commands, suppose it in others. That man is a free agent appears to me indubitable. On this subject philosophers may talk, but consciousness and experience decide. I am conscious of freedom. I can weigh motives and desires. I can judge which are most consonant to sound reason and to my best interest; and yet can decline regulating my conduct by them. I can choose and refuse. I can act agreeably to the convictions of my understanding, or I can pursue a different course. Advice and exhortation may influence conduct, but they do not impair liberty. The same is the case with motives; they may prompt to action, but they do not act. A necessary agent, whose actions are as irresistibly determined by desires or motives as a stone in falling to the ground is by the great law of gravitation, cannot be the subject of moral government. He is incapable of virtue or vice, and unfit for reward or punishment.

> "Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
> Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love,
> Where only what they needs must do appear'd,
> Not what they would? What praise could they receive?
> What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
> When will and reason (reason also is choice,)
> Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
> Made passive both, had served necessity,
> Not me?"[*]

Necessary agency and moral government are altogether incompatible. The one of them naturally excludes the other. Every encroachment on free agency implies a corresponding limitation of moral government. A necessary agent can neither be praised nor blamed. Resembling a magnet traversing on its pivot, and turning towards the polar points, his will has no part in the determination of his actions. Such a being cannot, any more than the magnet, be the subject of reward or punishment. The determination of the will is the first part of the action, on which alone its moral value depends. Unless man be a free agent, there can be no more moral worth in any part of his conduct than in the beautiful colouring of a fly's wing, in the melody of a thrush's note, or in the neat construction of a chaffinch's nest. Moral government implies free agency.

2. Man is not only a free agent, but also an accountable creature. He is the subject of a moral government.

Some ancient philosophers, although they professed to believe in the being of God, yet taught that he gave himself no concern whatever about the affairs of this lower world. They represented him as enjoying a state of listless tranquillity and indolent repose above the clouds; inattentive to the actions, and careless of the destiny, of men. This monstrous doctrine was a proper sequel to the irrational creed, that the world had been formed, nor by the power and wisdom of Deity, but by a fortuitous concourse of atoms. In order to the belief that God took no notice of the affairs of the world, it was necessary first to exclude him from any concern in its formation; for if they had admitted that all things were made by him, it would not have been easy to have proved that he had divested himself of all regard to the works of his hand, and, like an unnatural parent, had ceased to think of them, to love, and to protect them. But sound reason, contemplating all the phenomena, rejects as absurdities the dogmas of the Epicurean school; and pronounces that the Deity exercises not only a providential care over all his works, but also a moral government over man.

The providential care of the Almighty is evident in the preservation of the established order of things, so that an adequate provision is made for supplying the wants, and administering to the enjoyments, of sentient beings. He more particularly exercises the right of an equitable sovereign over his rational offspring. His will is to them a law, and this law harmonizes with the system of nature in proclaiming the benevolence of Deity, by promoting the happiness of man. The law is not the arbitrary and capricious volition of an Omniponent Ruler. It emanates from wisdom and benignity, and is directed towards the general good, in a consistency with all the attributes of the Creator. The great principle of the law is utility; or, in other words, what the Deity, in his boundless wisdom, saw would be best, not merely for one or a few individuals, but for all; best for all, if all were to obey it.

The law is intimated to us by reason and the moral faculty, and the course of nature countenances and supports it. Reason, pondering all the phenomena, instructs us to revere the Deity; to exercise justice, candour, and mercy towards our fellow men; and to cherish temperance, fortitude, and diligence in our several avocations. But for the discovery of the great outlines of the will of God and duty of man, we are not left to the exercise of reason alone. Conscience, or the moral faculty, comes in to the aid of reason: and by reason and conscience all men perceive the great features of moral law.[*] Accordingly, there are certain dispositions and actions which have been always applauded or commended, and others which, as generally, have been the subjects of censure or detestation. All men approve of piety, benevolence, integrity, veracity, temperance, fortitude, industry: all men disapprove of contrary dispositions and conduct. Reason and the moral faculty may be perverted. This perversion, however, results from the abuse of free agency; and for it mankind have themselves to blame. Man is a free agent; but his body, his mind, and nature around him, are so constituted, that if he exercise his freedom in an irregular and capricious manner, in defiance of the dictates of reason and conscience, he must suffer a corresponding loss of happiness, or degree of pain.

3. Man, even in his present state, is happy or unhappy, rewarded or punished, as he obeys or disobeys the law. This is a demonstration of a moral government.

That the virtuous person, or he who performs his duty by obeying the will of God, enjoys much happiness; and that the vicious person, or he who lives in the habitual violation of the law intimated to him by reason and conscience, is subject to much infelicity, are truths so obvious, that they have not escaped observation in any age. All men, indeed, suffer a greater or less degree of uneasiness and pain: but the virtuous man experiences far less than the vicious. The first tastes all those joys which the moral constitution of his nature imparts: the last not only loses those joys, but suffers the miseries flowing from a disapproving mind.

There are sources of pleasure and pain common to us with the inferior animals, and consequently independent on moral conduct. Active exertion, animal gratification, worldly success, and the contemplation of some kinds of excellence, yield enjoyment both to good and bad men. Although the Deity has demonstrated his goodness by multiplying the sources of felicity, yet the purest and most constant stream flows into the bosom of the virtuous person. He who obeys the will of God has the fairest prospect of enjoying bodily health. If two persons, with constitutions equally sound, enter together on the career of life, and if one of them pursue a moral and the other an immoral course, it will appear, at no distant period, that moral conduct has the advantage in point of bodily health. The virtuous man also enjoys most peace of mind; and this peace of mind contributes in no small degree to health of body.

We are so constituted that reason and conscience not only indicate the will of God and the path of duty, but encourage and applaud us when we follow their direction, and disapprove and censure us when we pursue a contrary course. The good man, feeling the favour of God in the approbation of his own mind, looks forward with a humble and cheerful confidence to the future. There is no load on his breast, and he dreads no evil. But the bad man is often uneasy: he is haunted by remorse, and depressed and agitated by gloomy and painful anticipations. How soothing are the accents of an approving mind! What a sweet serenity, what a delightful complacency do they diffuse over the soul! On the other hand, the condemnation of reason and conscience is bitter as gall and wormwood. Under their censure and reproof we feel restless, mortified, and unhappy; and against the chidings of those internal monitors no bad man can at all times fortify himself. They are perpetual spies on his thoughts and actions, and their bitter reproaches will be as thorns in his pillow. No external circumstances can rob the good man of the exalted enjoyment flowing from the approbation of his own mind.

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[*] Paradise Lost, book iii. line 103.

[*] By reason I understand the faculty by which we judge between truth and error, and combine means for the attainment of ends: by conscience, that by which we distinguish between right and wrong.

Obedience to the will of God is the surest way to obtain a competent portion of the good things of the world; for he who regulates his conduct by the law is temperate and industrious, diligent in gaining and moderate in spending, and thus likely to enjoy a competency. I see no superstition in believing that the righteous Governor of the Universe, looking down with an eye of complacency on his dutiful children, may graciously crown their exertions with much success.

The good person also enjoys the esteem and affection of his fellow men. Look at two characters; the one is pious, upright, humane, temperate, and industrious; the other is irreligious, unjust, malignant, treacherous, indolent, and debauched. Which of these two would you choose for your friend? To which of them would you commit a trust? All men instantly, and with one voice, give the preference to the virtuous character. They esteem him; they love him; they wish him well. But the vicious person is the object of their contempt or detestation. Now, health of body, peace of mind, a competency of the good things of the world, and the esteem of mankind, are rewards which the righteous sovereign, in the ordinary course of his government, bestows upon his obedient subjects. A diseased body, an unhappy mind, poverty, and contempt, are punishments inflicted on the disobedient. It is obvious that the natural course of things tends to the production of these effects; and if it be so, we are entitled to affirm, that the system of nature gives a sanction to the laws of the sovereign, and that a moral government is now carrying on. The instances in which such effects are not produced are exceedingly rare; and at these exceptions we need neither be surprised nor offended, in a vast scheme of free agency going on under the operation of general laws. Such conceptions are perfectly compatible with a state of trial and discipline, in which all our powers of body and mind must be improved and strengthened by exercise.

4. Exercise and trial are powerful means of improvement and sources of happiness; and a future retribution awaits us.

Man, as we have already seen, is a moral agent; and, generally speaking, he is happy or unhappy, as he obeys or disobeys the law intimated to him by reason and conscience. He is at present in a state of probation and discipline, under the eye of his Sovereign and Judge; and his improvement is carried on, and his happiness promoted by exercise and trial. We come into the world feeble in body and in mind, but with the seeds of improvement in both; and these seeds grow according to the cultivation they receive from exercise. The body grows in stature and in strength, and the mind gradually expands. But exercise is requisite to the developement both of our corporeal and mental capacities. In the course of years, indeed, the body grows; but without exercise it is lumpish, feeble, and inactive; and the mind, wholly undisciplined, remains in a weak and infantile state. That exercise which is requisite in order to bodily health and vigour, and to the evolution of our intellectual and moral powers, is not only the chief means of our improvement, but also the main source of our happiness. Without exercise of body and of mind there can be no enjoyment.

The constitution of nature and the government of the Creator, are such as to call forth our bodily exertions, and to solicit and encourage the exercise of our intellectual and moral capacities. We are placed in circumstances calculated to awaken our faculties, to rouse activity, and to stimulate exertion. And man, when his powers are fully brought into action, can both do and suffer beyond what he would have previously imagined. He can pass triumphantly through scenes which, in anticipation, he would have thought overwhelming. Under these trials, if he act wisely, he makes the most rapid progress in improvement, and the retrospect yields him the most exalted enjoyment.

In all our conceptions, exertion is connected with success and renown. A triumph without an enemy combated and a victory won; a prize where no course is marked out, and no competitor starts with us in the race, are notions which do not find a ready admission into our minds. Such is our constitution, that, according to our usual train of thinking, where there is no exertion there can be neither honour nor reward. Progress in moral and intellectual excellence is our duty, our honour, and our interest. To be stationary or retrograde is disgraceful. In the progress of improvement, the present life soon comes to a close; but we are immortal beings, and we have reason to think that there is an intimate connexion between the present and the future. The whole of the Divine government, as exhibited in the course of nature, manifests a regard to piety, integrity, and sobriety; and an opposition to vice. The probability certainly is, that the great scheme, which is evidently going on at present, will be continued in a future state of being; and that they who have done their duty here, by employing their faculties and the talents entrusted to their care in conformity to the will of the Creator, and who have passed through their various trials with improvement, will, after death, enter on a nobler stage of existence, where they will still pursue the course of excellence; while they who have disregarded the intimations of reason and conscience, will suffer a corresponding loss.

CHAPTER VI.

EVIL IN THE WORLD.

From our inquiries in the foregoing part of this treatise, it appears that there is a Being all powerful, wise, and good, by whom everything exists. The existence of this Being is demonstrated by every part of the universe which we are capable of observing; for, throughout the immense field that lies within the limits of the telescope on the one hand, and of the microscope on the other, we everywhere meet with manifestations of contrivance, with mutual adaptations, and reciprocal dependencies; and by the constitution of our nature we are induced and constrained to believe in the existence of a designing and contriving mind, an essence in which perceptions meet, and from which volitions flow. It is obvious, that to this contriving mind we must attribute power, wisdom, and goodness, in the degree at least necessary for constructing and carrying on the great system of the universe; and we have seen that the manifestation of those perfections pervades the whole scheme of nature.

But do all appearances in the natural and moral world exactly correspond with this representation? Does everything throughout the universe obviously harmonize with the belief of a God all powerful, wise, and good? Are there no difficulties, no apparent inconsistencies, either in the natural or moral world? To such inquiries we may answer in general, that, in a syctem which we do not fully understand, it were unreasonable to expect that in every instance we should be able to give an explanation admitting of no doubt and of no reply.

From the phenomena of nature it clearly appears that the Deity is immeasurably exalted above us. We inhabit a small province in his boundless empire, forming perhaps a link in a mighty chain of intelligent being under him, and ought not to consider ourselves as a detached fragment of his works, but as a harmonious part of one great whole. His plan no doubt embraces the whole destiny of our race, from the beginning to the end of the world. The administration of such a scheme is too comprehensive to be understood by us in all its extent; and certain and perfect knowledge is by no means necessary to a moral agent. It is enough if we have such information as shall lay a rational foundation for the regulation of our conduct, for encouraging our hopes, awakening our ambition, and quickening our diligence. There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that there are higher created intelligencies than we: they no doubt know more than we do; but it is likely that their knowledge of the universe and of the Divine government is by no means perfect, and that the Author of the system is the only being who fully comprehends every part of it.

Difficulties which we are unable fully to solve may occur; but these difficulties, it is reasonable to think, arise solely from our ignorance and incapacity, and not from any imperfection in the works or government of God. Accordingly, the difficulties will appear more numerous or more formidable to some persons than to others. They will vanish in proportion as the light of knowledge increases, in the same way that darkness disappears before the rising sun. Being of a higher order, of greater capacity, and more extensive knowledge than man, probably meet with fewer difficulties in the works and government of God than we do, and perhaps not in the same instances. To a well-informed person, of a sound understanding, many things may appear plain and orderly, that seem dark and inconsistent to one of less knowledge and sagacity. In the progress of knowledge, those things which seem inexplicable to one generation may be well understood by another. We know more than they of past ages did; but still there are many things of which we are ignorant, and many things, perhaps, of which man will always remain ignorant. Of the cause of gravitation we know nothing. Why the magnet attracts iron, and when allowed to move freely turns itself towards the polar points, and why poles of the same name repel each other, we do not understand. Many things relating to electricity have hitherto escaped our research, and the operations of this substance on the great scale of nature we can neither fully estimate nor explain. Our knowledge of the works of the Creator is limited and partial, and that of his ways is not more perfect.

Even in these circumstances, however, we hold it to be a rational and edifying exercise to inquire into the attributes of Deity as manifested in his works and government; but our investigations ought to be conducted with reverence, and under a sense of the immeasurable distance between God and man. Many of the objections which have been urged against the wisdom and goodness of the Creator we can fully and fairly answer, and of others we can give a probable solution: but wisdom and goodness appear in so many instances, that it is not unreasonable to believe in their existence even when we are unable to trace them. What we purpose to say farther on this subject will be arranged under the heads of Evils of Imperfection, Moral Evil, and Natural Evil. The first of these will not detain us long; but on the two last we intend to dwell at greater length.

I. EVILS OF IMPERFECTION.

Why was not man made so tall as to be capable of wading the ocean? Why has he not the strength of the elephant, and the piercing eye of the eagle? Why are not his intellectual faculties more powerful, so that his perceptions of truth might be more clear, and his conduct more regular? That the objections involved in such questions are absurd, can, I think, be plainly shown. This class of objections, in reality, precludes all gradation of being, for they may be urged against the existence of every creature. Why was not every clod of earth made a sentient being? Why was not every sentient being endued with reason? Why was not every rational nature adorned with all the attributes of Deity? Such is the extent of the objection, and its extent proves its absurdity; for absurd must every objection be which still remains in full force, what changes soever we suppose introduced in consistency with the notion of a Creator and creatures, of a Sovereign and subjects.

If it be alleged that this is straining the objection, which is meant to be applied to beings in certain circumstances only, then let the objector give a clear and consistent account of these circumstances. Let him determine the point beneath which sentient existence ought never to descend. Does he fix it at reason? Man possesses that faculty and to his nature on that point no objection can be made. A gradation of creatures is unquestionably consistent with wisdom and goodness in the Deity; for, if a good objection lies against creatures occupying any one place in the scale, a similar objection may be urged against those occupying any other place in it. Is the capacity of happiness reckoned essential to sentient existence? It is evident that animals, under the guidance of instinct merely, are susceptible of much enjoyment. And do not irrational creatures, while enjoying much happiness themselves, contribute to the comfort and felicity of rational beings? This, I apprehend, cannot be denied. Unorganized matter nourishes vegetables. Vegetables feed many sentient beings. Vegetables and irrational animals support rational natures. In the gradation, the inferior ministers to the sustenance, improvement, or happiness of the superior parts. This process reaches as far as our observation extends. While the inferior are thus related to the superior parts in the scale, every class of sentient beings enjoys happiness in its own sphere.

The question is not whether we can conceive man to have been made a nobler being than he is. I perceive nothing unreasonable in believing that, in the multitude of worlds with which the universe is replenished, there are many creatures vastly superior to the human race. But the inquiry is, whether the constitution and circumstances of man, such as they are, be compatible with the existence of an all-powerful, wise, and good Being, the Creator and Governor of the universe. The discussion of this subject leads to the consideration of moral and natural evil, from which the most important difficulties respecting the perfections and government of God arise. Before entering upon these topics, we shall here state some facts or principles, which, although they have been already mentioned more or less diffusely, may be here repeated, in order that they may be more distinctly remembered.

1. Man is a free agent. If the Deity be possessed of all moral perfections, it must be agreeable to his nature to exercise a moral government. But the subjects of a moral government must be free agents; for a necessary agent is a mere machine, and is as unfit for being the subject of a moral government as a steam engine or a windmill. Now, if it be consistent with wisdom and goodness to create free agents and to place them under a moral government, then the consequences of free agency and moral government cannot be pleaded as objections against those attributes.

2. We are so constituted that our improvement and happiness are carried on and promoted by exercise, discipline, and trial. On this fact, however, I shall not at present dwell; for it has been already stated, and will be farther illustrated in a subsequent part of the treatise.

These are unquestionably two great principles in the human constitution, and unless it can be shown that they are inconsistent with wisdom and goodness in the Deity, all objections against those attributes must be dissipated like smoke before the wind. The first of these principles accounts for the moral evil in the world; and the second throws light on the natural evils to which we are exposed, in cases which remain unexplained by the first.

In the course of this discussion, it must still be remembered that we are not to conceive of the Diety as a being of blind and indiscriminating benevolence, but as possessing all possible excellencies in the highest degree, and in a state of harmonious combination. He is not good only, but wise, and just, and faithful, and holy; and all those attributes act consistently with each other. We are also to remember that the evils in the world are comparatively rare and partial occurrences, spread over a large surface; sufficient to stimulate activity and encourage virtue, but, unless prodigiously increased by the abuse of free agency, are by no means so great or so numerous as to overwhelm our faculties or destroy our happiness. True, indeed, were we to collect all the variety of wickedness, suffering, and distress, from every period of time, and from every place in the world, and to present it in one unmingled assemblage, it would exhibit a fearful aggregate. But this aggregate would not be a picture of human life. It would not be a fair picture of the earth to heap together all the volcanoes, naked rocks, sandy deserts, thorns, and briars, which occur on its surface. It would not be a fair representation of the animal world, to crowd together into one horrid spot all the serpents, and scorpions, and lions, and tigers of the earth. This were to collect in one point, and without mixture, what in nature is spread over a vast surface, and interspersed with large scenes of beauty, and copious sources of enjoyment. It were to represent what is uncommon and extraordinary, as if it were the universal state of the earth, and the common lot of man. It were like describing the sun as a mass of darkness, because black spots are at times discernible on its disk.

The evils that are in the world, in many instances, serve as the seasonings of life. They not only give a relish to its enjoyments, but they also promote the developement of our faculties and the improvement of our virtues. And it is evident that, amidst all the vicissitudes of this chequered scene, man is more commonly in health than in sickness, his countenance is much more frequently enlightened by joy than clouded by sorrow.

II. MORAL EVIL.

The human body is a noble structure, indicating consummate wisdom and great goodness in the Architect; and it is a suitable temple for the residence of the mind. It is a material fabric, and consequently subject to the laws by which the material world is governed.

The mind, whether we contemplate it in a moral or intellectual point of view, is endued with high capacities. The understanding is susceptible of great improvement, and capable of splendid attainments. Complaints, however, against the moral constitution of our nature and the evils thence resulting, have been loud, by those who wish to devolve upon the Author of our being the blame of our own misconduct. But whatever may be the cavils of the querimonious sophist, we are not cast as a wreck upon the moral ocean, without a pilot or a helm. Our Creator has graciously bestowed upon us a moral nature. He has with his own finger written the law of virtue upon our heart. Reason and conscience point out the path of duty and happiness; and they applaud and encourage us when we do well, and disapprove and censure us when we disobey their intimations. When we pursue an upright course, we feel complacency and elevation of soul arising from the approbation of our own mind. When conscience condemns us we stand degraded in our own estimation.

All men commend the good and the virtuous. A pious, benevolent, equitable, industrious, temperate, and prudent person meets with general approbation, while one of a contrary character is as generally blamed. Besides, the constitution of the natural world supports our moral perceptions and judgments, tending to confer bodily health and a competency of the good things of life upon the virtuous man; while, from the moral constitution of our nature, he also enjoys peace of mind, and the respect and good will of his fellow men. It is a law in the natural world that bodies tend towards the centre. It is, in like manner, a law in the moral world that virtue promotes happiness, and that vice is the parent of misery. If we are capable of taking a full and comprehensive survey of the government of the world, in all its bearings and relations, we would perceive that virtue as certainly tends to our welfare, as the fruits of the earth to our physical comfort. According, then, to the moral and natural system of the world, the path of virtue is the road to happiness: the way of vice, how gay soever may be its decorations, conducts to the region of sorrow.

In opposition to what has now been said, it may be alleged than men differ in their moral perceptions and estimates; that what one people reckons blameless or praiseworthy is condemned by another; and that the inhabitants of one country esteem honourable what in a different nation is thought degrading: that the Chinese expose their infants, and Indians knock their aged parents on the head, or leave them to starve in the wilderness; that a Georgian boasts of the number of public executioners that have been in his family, while in Iceland no person can be found to inflict a capital punishment.*

To this we reply, that our moral powers as well as our other faculties may be misled and perverted. They are fitted to each other, and are equally susceptible of improvement or deterioration. Education, fashion, and habit, have a vast influence on our intellectual operations; and exercise a powerful sway over our moral judgments. But this does not disprove the moral constitution of man, nor establish any original difference of moral sentiment among different families of the human race, any more than an artificial difference in the figure of some parts of the body proves a different organization. On viewing the distorted cranium of some tribes of American Indians, or the small feet of the females in the Chinese empire, shall we maintain that nature has assigned no particular shape or size to the human head and feet? Because different nations entertain different opinions concerning the figure of the earth, or the motions of the solar system, shall we argue that reason is essentially different in the inhabitants of different nations, or that the figure of the earth, and the motions of the solar system, are merely ideal, and have no real existence? In like manner, on witnessing a difference of moral sentiment, shall we imagine that the Creator has bestowed no moral nature on man, or that there is an original difference in the moral constitution of human beings? No: both in the one case and in the other the peculiarity is a perversion. It is the triumph of bad education and vicious fashion over the appointment of the Creator. It is a deviation from the common character of the race, and has arisen from some particular combination of circumstances. And were we thoroughly acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of those nations among whom any singular moral perversity prevails, we would likely be able, in those circumstances, to trace the causes of the aberration. False moral judgments need not surprise us more than any other intellectual aberration.

While the law of virtue is engraved on our hearts we are not compelled to obey it. Obedience is encouraged by many powerful motives, but it is not enforced by a mechanical or irresistible impulse. We are free agents; and beings of this description, although formed with an original bias towards rectitude, may abuse their liberty. If it be consistent with the attributes of Deity to create free agents and to exercise a moral government over them, then neither the abuse of free agency nor the consequent suffering constitutes any objection against the Creator: blame attaches to the creature only.

On this subject, nothing comes fairly under discussion but the original constitution of the agent, and the circumstances in which he is placed. Now, the moral faculties of man are well adapted to his condition. They may yield to the temptations by which they are assailed; but are strong enough to repel those temptations, if we choose wisely to exercise them. Where there is no risk of failure, there is no honour in success: if our moral faculties had been so vigorous and active as to impel us in the right path, without any hazard of deviation, there would have been no value in moral rectitude. Such a constitution would not have been adapted to a state where the agents are to rise towards perfection, triumph, and safety, by steady perseverance and vigorous exertion in a scene of discipline, difficulty, and trial.

As free agents may abuse their liberty, so, after moral evil is once introduced, it is continued and fostered by bad education, false maxims, and vicious example. Our Creator has endued us with noble capacities; but the evolution of those capacities and their particular direction are left to ourselves. By persevering discipline we can render the body capable of surprising operations, as is evident in the feats of the juggler, rope-dancer, and tumbler. The mind is still more completely subject to our dominion, and we may stamp upon it what impressions soever we please, almost with as much certainty as the Indian, by compression, gives to the head of his infant the shape which the fashion of his tribe dictates. Whether the moral germ, planted in our mind by the finger of the Creator, shall become a lovely plant, or a crooked and stunted shrub, depends on ourselves. We are empowered to be the architects of our character, and the authors of our destiny.

By education and discipline we can form any particular temper, and give the empire of our mind to what dispositions soever we please. If we propose to ourselves a standard of conduct, we can regulate our actions by it. I do not mean to say that we can instantaneously form our temper and conduct according to a given model; but we can do so by degrees, particularly if the attempt be made in early years. Practice is the parent of habit. We cannot all at once become proficients in any bodily exercise or mechanical art. We cannot on a sudden give our mind the vigour requisite in order to high intellectual attainments, nor at once make ourselves masters of any particular science. But we can do so gradually, by exertion and persevering diligence. In the same way we can form our temper, discipline our affections and passions, and learn to regulate our conduct. If, with the proposed model always present to our imagination, we employ the same vigilant attention and persevering industry, we will be as successful in the one case as in the other. If a whole community combine their efforts in the same way, and emulously press towards the same point, the imitative propensities of our natures will greatly facilitate the process.

Nations are often distinguished by a peculiar character, which may be owing in some measure to external circumstances; but which is formed chiefly by education, fashion, and habit. A Turk and a Greek, born in the same climate, and inhabiting the same country, are very unlike in character. The Turk is grave and silent; the Greek volatile and talkative. Is not this difference entirely owing to education and habit? What a difference is there between the American Indian chanting his death-song and setting the cruelty of his enemies at defiance, and Patkul on the wheel! Is not the sensibility of the Indian as great, and his sufferings as acute as those of any other person in similar circumstances? Education, sentiment, and habit, however, have fortified his mind against the sense of pain, and the fear of death.

That there is some original and inexplicable difference of constitution and temper, as well as of talents, among human beings, may be admitted. But, generally speaking, what is called *natural temper* is merely, I apprehend, a certain state of mind which indulgence has formed into habit. If we have a bad temper, it is because we have not been duly careful to form a good one. If unworthy passions predominate in our minds, it is because we have cherished them. If our conduct be incorrect, it is because we are not attentive in regulating it. When temper is very bad, all men condemn it. When actions proceed to a certain degree of enormity, human laws punish them. This condemnation and punishment show that, according to the general conviction of mankind, the temper might have been better, and the conduct refrained from; for otherwise, neither blame nor punishment could with propriety follow. It may be pleaded, perhaps, that the passions gain strength sooner than reason, and that the character is in a great measure formed before the understanding is sufficiently matured to take any important part in the operation. But if reason be cherished as much as passion, their growth is more simultaneous than is commonly imagined. At any rate, reason, on attaining maturity, can correct temper, subdue passion, and regulate conduct.

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* Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. p. 210. Mackenzie's Travels in Iceland.

Socrates was the most illustrious moral sage of the ancient heathen world. Zopyrus, an eminent physiognomist, on examining the countenance of the philosopher, pronounced him the slave of viscious passions. The friends of Socrates ridiculed the pretended skill of Zopyrus: but the son of Sophroniscus, with that candour and ingenuousness which formed such a prominent feature in his character, acknowledged that in his early disposition he was prone to vice; but that, by obeying the dictates of reason with persevering attention and exertion, he had overcome the worthless propensities which had once predominated in his mind, and given a cast to the lineaments of his countenance. Are we to neglect education, to cherish a bad temper and unworthy affections, to contract bad habits, and to persist in them, and then impute to our Creator the blame of our own misconduct? God has made us free agents; but at the same time he has endued us with reason and conscience for the government of our hearts and lives, so that the blame is entirely our own if we abandon the path of rectitude.

Besides, our Creator does not permit us to disobey the voice of reason and of conscience with impunity. His government is so constituted that the abuse of free agency is checked not only by our moral nature, but by the natural evil which it introduces or increases. The waters of the ocean, although containing many corrupting substances, are preserved from putrefaction. The contamination of the atmosphere by respiration and other causes, is not allowed to go on continually increasing: principles of counteraction and compensation are in continual activity. As it is in the natural, so it is in the moral world. The abuse of free agency is subject to checks, and is not permitted to exceed certain limits. Our moral faculties oppose its progress; and if this opposition be borne down, an insuperable barrier at length presents itself in the accumulation of natural evil. Thus, by the constitution of nature, moral evil, after proceeding to a certain extent, is made in some measure to cure itself. When human affairs reach a certain point of perturbation, then, like the inequalities in the planetary system, they gradually return to the point from which they set off. They vibrate within certain limits. The accumulation of moral evil is wrought off like a scum from fermenting liquors. In the natural world the tempest is a powerful means of purifying the atmosphere; an analogous scene presents itself to our view in the moral world.

The sufferings which result from the abuse of free agency are employed, by the wisdom and goodness of the Creator, not only as means of correcting our errors, but also of exercising our virtues, strengthening our faculties, and improving our nature. Suffering has a tendency to awaken our moral sensibilities, and to make us reflect seriously on our actions. If it be the means of bringing us to a due perception of our folly and guilt, of reclaiming us from error, and of leading us to a correct use of our freedom, we will again taste the sweets of virtue, and rejoice under the administration of a wise and benevolent Parent.

Suffering, in consequence of perverse affections and vicious conduct, may be considered as the kind castigation of a wise and affectionate Father to bring back his erring children to the path of duty and of happiness. In this point of view, the sufferings of moral agents are evidently consistent with the perfections and government of an infinitely wise and good Being. Indeed, in a great system of moral agency, the absence of suffering, except in cases where the agents have passed victoriously through a state of trial, and by means of instruction, discipline, and practice are confirmed in the habits of virtue, would constitute a more formidable objection against the perfections and government of God, than any that the atheist has been able to adduce. The parent who never chides or chastises, neglects the interest of his erring child; and were the universal parent never to inflict chastisement upon the disobedient, this would furnish a presumption that he looked with an indifferent eye on the conduct of his rational offspring, and was careless about their moral improvement. But he takes a lively interest in the welfare of his children, and, by wise instruction and salutary discipline, restrains their wanderings, corrects their errors, encourages, exercises, and improves their virtues, and prepares them for a more exalted stage of existence; for associating with the numerous and chosen society of those who, having passed triumphantly through a course of trial, are confirmed in virtue, and far advanced in the perfection of their nature.

We often suffer from the abuse of free agency in others. Discord in families; jealousies, calumnies, envy, hatred, and mutual injuries among neighbours; and wars between nations, occasion the greater part of human misery, and may frequently involve us in trouble without any fault of our own. In answer to this objection, we observe that the moral, as well as the natural world, is governed by general laws; and free agency can be limited only by the nature and abilities of the agents, subject to the counteraction of one another. In a great scheme of free agency, as in our world, the agents mutually operate upon, encourage, and aid, or oppose, check, and restrain each other. Restraints by special interpositions of Deity are as inadmissible here as in the general laws of the natural world, and would produce similar injurious effects. No restraints can be imposed upon the agents, but such as arise from their physical and intellectual capacities, and the circumstances in which they are placed. It is the interest of all to regulate, direct, and keep within due bounds the free agency of all; and to this common interest, in connexion with our moral nature, the matter is left. I cannot conceive how it could be otherwise without the destruction of free agency.

"What, in the name of wonder," exclaims one, "can be the final cause of cruelty, slaughter, and devastation? Why should we be both able and willing to pervert the benevolent purposes of nature?"* Might he not with equal propriety have asked, what is the final cause of lying, slander, theft, or any other action which proceeds from the abuse of free agency? Ought he not rather to have asked, what is the final cause of our being made free agents, creatures endued with freedom of will and liberty of choice, and not mere machines? For this is the point on which his questions ultimately bear. War, with its frightful concomitants, is a dreadful abuse of free agency, and ought not to be held up as a stain on the perfections or government of God, but as a melancholy instance of human perversity. If many suffer by war, many are guilty by aiding and abetting, or not opposing and counteracting that profligacy by which it is begun and carried on. Some, indeed, talk of wars as necessary, and seem to place them by the side of the volcano and the hurricane. But it is a monstrous absurdity to confound the guilt of the creature with the wise and gracious appointments of the Creator. Shall we vindicate murder by the plea that man is born to die, or defend the conduct of the incendiary because lightning sometimes sets our property on fire?

If, under the operation of general laws, we suffer from the abuse of free agency in others, without any fault of our own, this suffering exercises and improves our faculties, and gives scope for the developement of virtuous dispositions and affections which otherwise would have lain dormant. If we meet with no rude treatment, we have no occasion for meekness and forbearance. Without injuries we have no room for the exercise of forgiveness. The sufferings which we endure from the misconduct of others, if we behave well under them, do not rob us of the approbation of our own mind, and consequently cannot deprive us of happiness. Our bearing them well, and our passing through the uncertainties, dangers, and trials of the present state with prudence and fortitude, are means for training us up in a meetness for a more excellent state of being.

Bad education, corrupt maxims, and vicious example have a powerful and unhappy influence on human opinions and conduct. Bad government combines and aggravates all these causes of wickedness and misery, and has certainly been an abundant source of tribulation among men. These are adversaries with which we must strive in the moral course; enemies which we must combat and overcome in our moral warfare. And in order to success in the race and in the battle, it behoves us to use all the means in our power for the illumination of our understandings and regulation of our hearts; to form correct notions of duty and happiness; to cherish virtue in our minds, and with inflexible constancy to practise it in our lives.

The existence of moral evil forms no solid objection against the divine wisdom and goodness. It is not so predominant in the world as some gloomy theorists have represented; and with respect to that portion of it which really occurs, we can vindicate the perfections of Deity from every imputation. We are free agents, a condition necessary to moral government, virtue and vice, reward and punishment. We are endued with reason and conscience for the regulation of our conduct. Our temper and character are of our own formation. Our actions flow from our own free choice. If we follow a right course we enjoy much happiness. If we act otherwise we have ourselves to blame for the consequences; nay, the suffering which ensues is a kind warning that we have erred. The evils which we suffer from the misconduct of others, without any fault of our own, while they leave us in the full possession of the approbation of our own mind, give room for the improvement of our intellectual and moral nature. In the moral as in the natural world, partial evil is made subservient to general good.

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* Smellie, Philosophy of Natural History.

III. NATURAL EVIL.

Having considered moral evil, we shall now turn our attention to natural evil; and shall arrange our thoughts on this part of the subject under the following heads:

1. The physical constitution of the earth, and the quality of some of its productions.
2. The nature of some of the inferior animals.
3. The pains and sorrows to which man is unavoidably exposed from his very constitution, and the circumstances in which he is placed.

These topics open a large field, and will give room for a variety of observations. But before entering upon these things we shall take notice of a principle of our nature, which has been already briefly mentioned, but which deserves a more particular attention; namely, its progressive capacity, together with the means by which, according to the constitution of things, that capacity is operated upon and unfolded. This seems to be a matter of considerable importance on the subject under discussion, and I shall, therefore, illustrate it at some length.

Every creature must be finite, and what is finite is susceptible of melioration. At what point soever in the scale of intellect any created being appears, there is room for progressive improvement. The being may advance from a lower to a higher degree of excellence. A progressive is nobler than a stationary creature. The latter, if any such exist in the rational universe, whatever may be his place in the scale, may ultimately be greatly surpassed by one who started from a much lower point, but who is endued with a progressive nature. The progressive principle pervades the system of the world. The early dawn gradually ushers in the morning light, which shines clearer and clearer till the meridian sun beam upon the earth. The seed germinates, and, by a gradual progress, the plant attains maturity. The noble oak springs from the humble acorn; but it must bear the chilling blast of many a winter before it lift its head with majestic grandeur among the trees of the forest.

Animals of all kinds advance, some more rapidly, some more slowly, towards the perfection of their nature. The progress is still going on, although imperceptibly. The plant or the animal grows; but we cannot at any given moment discern its growth, and point out the increase it has received since the moment immediately preceding. This gradual and imperceptible progress takes place not only in plants and animals, but also in the rational nature of man, the only intelligence that falls under our observation. Every step in the progress prepares the way for that which is to follow. We have no reason to complain that we are children before we are men, for the exercises of our boyish years are needful to fit us for the duties of maturer life; and we have good reason to conclude, that the dispositions and habits formed and cherished by the active and virtuous discharge of the duties of the present life, educate and prepare us for entering into the enjoyment of a higher state of existence.

Our being endued with a capacity of progressive improvement is of itself a strong presumption of goodness in the Deity. If the means provided in nature for unfolding this capacity answer the end, God must be wise: in so far as we have pleasure in the use of these means, it demonstrates that he is benevolent. Now, we contend, that the means are adequate to the end, and, generally speaking, we have pleasure in the use of the means; consequently God is both wise and good. Even in those instances where we have no immediate pleasure in the means, nay even where they give us pain, there is no proof of malevolence, because even these painful means are excitements to improvement and consequent happiness. They are often occasioned by our having been careless of the means of improvement. The schoolboy may dislike the discipline by which he is urged to his task; but if the ambition of excellence, and the hope of reward do not spur him on, the lash must be applied. This, however, is no proof of malevolence in the teacher. We are impelled to the means of improvement by reward and punishment; happy when we use, unhappy when we neglect them.

The means provided in nature for the expansion of our capacities, both of body and mind, are adequate to the end. Exercise is the chief means of our improvement. It braces and invigorates the body; it unfolds and strengthens the powers of the mind: and to exercise we are prompted both by the constitution of our nature, and the circumstances in which we are placed. Like Sisyphus, we must roll our stone; but we do not, like Sisyphus, roll it in vain. By every wise and vigorous exertion we rise in excellence, and never lose ground but by folly, carelessness, or sloth. Within certain limits, the vigour of our faculties increases in proportion to the employment which we give them.

Bodily exertion renders the whole frame active, robust and hardy; and any particular member of the body or organ of sense, that is much employed, acquires a corresponding degree of strength and dexterity in the peculiar manner of its application. Those persons who bear on their backs the produce of the Mexican mines exhibit a robust appearance. The diminutive Bosjesman bounds over the mountains with the agility of a roe. The American savage discerns the footsteps of his friend or of his enemy, where a European eye does not perceive any vestige. The mariner descries a ship at sea, where a stranger to maritime life cannot behold a speck in the distant horizon. The Bedouin Arab who, after sweeping the view with his eye, alights from his horse and applies his ear to the ground, listening for the tread of the distant traveller of the desert, catches the sound which entirely escapes one unpractised in his manner of life. A blind person has been seen to walk the streets of a town, and turn every corner with the utmost precision; and in some blind persons, the sense of feeling has become so delicate as to enable them to distinguish cloths of different colours, and even in cloth of mixed colours to ascertain the particulars. The senses of smell and taste are equally susceptible of improvement.

Practice is the parent of dexterity in any manual operation, as is evident in all the mechanical arts. It likewise improves skill in the conduct of any difficult enterprise. An American Indian will safely shoot a rapid in his canoe, or steer his frail bark in the tempestuous ocean, where the most experienced European seaman would perish. As the body is braced by labour, the organs of sense meliorated by careful application, and manual dexterity acquired by practice, so the mind is improved and strengthened by the exercise of its faculties. Ingenuity is sharpened by the occasions which call it forth. By being brought into action, our mental powers acquire an increase of strength and modification of habit. Every faculty, judgment, memory, or imagination, is improved, according to the exercise which we give it. The tool with which I perform any manual labour wears away in the operation. The axe and the saw become blunt; and, by frequent attrition the substance of the ploughshare and of the spade is gradually diminished; but the hand of the labourer hardens, and accommodates itself to his work, while his arm waxes stronger by employment. The mind, if allowed to slumber in drowsy indolence, becomes feeble and palsied; but call it into action, and its dormant powers are awakened. When employed on external objects, it operates beneficially on itself, for its capacities expand; and, like a plant under the genial influence of the solar beam, all its powers are unfolded. Both body and mind bear a resemblance to the magnet, which, by gradual additions, may be made to bear a weight which, at first, it was utterly incapable of supporting.

All our pleasures have a close connection with the exercise of our bodily and mental powers; and one outward situation is more favourable to happiness than another, only in proportion as it gives opportunities for a more varied and unconstrained exertion of them. The love of exercise plainly appears in the inferior animals. Lambs running and gamboling round a hillock; horses scouring the plain; dogs keenly pursuing each other; and even the timid hares sporting together, are proofs that the felicity of the animated being does not consist in motionless repose and inactive gratification. We see children actively employed in their amusements. They delight in the exercise of their limbs; and that exercise preserves their health and promotes their growth. Happiness is not found on a bed of down, nor in a state of listless sloth and luxurious gratification. Cheerless languor, lingering disease, and early death, are the common lot of wealthy indolence. But the person who labours diligently for his daily bread, is in general healthy, cheerful, and contented.

It is a common law of our nature, that what costs little exertion imparts little pleasure; what is obtained without labour or expense is possessed without enjoyment. He who gains a fortune by his own industry, feels a relish in the possession of it, to which he who succeeds to a similar fortune, without toil, is a stranger. Indeed, there is often more pleasure in pursuit than in possession, in hope than in enjoyment, in toil than in reward. Many things are valued chiefly on account of the pleasure which the pursuit affords. Game is hunted not so much for its intrinsic worth as for the gratification of the chase.

The mind of man has no pleasure in unvarying rest. Its enjoyment springs from action. Hence men in every rank, and in every stage of society, devise employment for themselves, if it be not imposed upon them by necessity. The South Sea islander exercises and amuses himself by sporting among the breakers like a walrus. The North American Indians, in the vicinity of the Athapascow and Slave lakes, instead of enjoying all that rest and ease of which their circumstances admit, court exercise and employment at the expense of severe privation and great danger. They can easily find a plentiful subsistence for their families during winter, by catching deer in a pound; but only the aged and infirm, the women and children, and a few of the more indolent and unambitious, will submit to remain in the parts where food and clothing can be so easily procured. To this they prefer the uncertainty, fatigue, privations, and dangers of the chase, and of a wandering life. "In my opinion," says the hardy traveller who states the fact, "there cannot exist a stronger proof that man was not created to enjoy happiness in this world, than the conduct of those miserable beings who inhabit this wretched part of it." Here we have an example of the incorrect thinking, not unfrequently entertained by persons whose lives are more devoted to action than contemplation; for the opinion rests on the supposition, that happiness consists in undisturbed repose, and in the enjoyment of unsolicited abundance. But in a state of unvarying ease and spontaneous plenty it does not consist: it is in earnest pursuit and vigorous exertion that the energies of the human being are unfolded; and in them is his happiness obtained. The hunter is pursuing and enjoying pleasure amidst the fatigues of the chase and the perils of the wilderness.

In civilized society, the opulent, who are under no necessity of earning their means of subsistence by daily exertion find employment for themselves by engaging in play, in hunting, or in other similar occupations. The man of science and liberal curiosity renounces literary ease and domestic comfort, traverses the globe, mingles with savage tribes, ascends the Alps or the Andes, encounters the cold and storms of polar regions, or visits the crater of Ætna or Hecla. Our most exalted pleasures flow from successful exertions of intellect. What sensual gratification deserves for a moment to be compared with the joy of Pythagoras, on discovering that the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of the right angled triangle; with the transport of Archimedes, when he sprung out of the bath, exclaiming, "I have found it!" on discovering a method by which he could ascertain the quantity of silver which a goldsmith had put into Hiero's crown; or with the ecstacy of Franklin, when he perceived the fibres of the cord attached to his kite exhibiting signs of electricity? These are the most sublime enjoyments of which man in his present state is susceptible; and all these advantages, which we gain by skill, industry, and virtue, give us high pleasure on reflection. Thus, exercise is the chief means of our improvement and happiness; and to exercise we are impelled not only by the constitution of our nature, but also by the circumstances in which we are placed. Our constitution and circumstances are as much adapted to each other as the wing of the bird and the atmosphere; the gills of the fish and water. Here we have a striking instance of that relation of one thing to another which pervades the universe, and which demonstrates unity of plan, and skilful contrivance in its formation.

Had we been set down in a situation where every want was at once supplied, every wish and desire gratified without difficulty or delay, and where there was no room for ingenious contrivance and active exertion; we would have been the miserable victims of languor and satiety. Without something to awaken fear, encourage hope, and stimulate activity, life stagnates in supid torpitude and melancholy indolence. But nature around us is admirably fitted to rouse activity, encourage ingenuity, and reward industrious exertion. Everything conspires to animate our diligence, to improve our talents, and to promote our happiness. The earth is wisely accommodated to our active and intelligent nature, for its bowels as well as its surface administer to our comfort; and every part of nature around us may be made to increase and diversify our enjoyments, according to our circumstances and taste.

There is no danger that the means of employing either our bodily or intellectual powers will ever be exhausted. To cultivate the earth, drain the marsh, straighten the watercourse, and embank the river; to form roads and bridges, and to carry on the various branches of manufacture and commerce, will still furnish abundant scope for human industry. There will also be an ample field for the operations of intellect in the progress of science; for although our present attainments are great, yet the next generation will find enough to exercise their ingenuity. Every step we advance in knowledge enlarges our views, and opens new subjects of investigation and discovery. It is like travelling in a winding and interminable valley, bounded on each side by woods and mountains. At each bend, where we expected to find its termination, we perceive that the scene is only varied, and new prospects disclosed to our view. Notwithstanding all the industry, skill, and discoveries of Davy, there still remains abundance of room for labourers in the same field; to trace matter to its elementary forms, and through its various combinations. Newton improved on the discoveries of Kepler and Galileo. La Place has executed what Newton left undone; but there is still room for adding to the sublime discoveries of La Grange and La Place. The intellectual hero will never need to sit down and weep because he has conquered the world of science, and exhausted the mines of discovery. To a person of determined and persevering industry, to whom no labour is irksome, and no difficulty appears insurmountable; to him no enterprise is too great, and no attainment hopeless: no department in science, and no discovery in nature is above his reach.

We may farther remark, that employment is an advantage to our moral as well as to our intellectual nature. It is a powerful preventive of temptation, for he who has nothing to do has much need to be confirmed in virtue. Such then is our active nature, and such the circumstances in which we are placed. In so far as these circumstances are fitted to exercise and develope our powers, they may fairly be adduced as evidences of wisdom; and if we have enjoyment in the exercises to which our nature and circumstances prompt us, the Author of the system must be benevolent.

I now proceed to the consideration of natural evil, under the several heads already mentioned: namely, the physical constitution of the earth; the nature of some of the inferior animals; and the pains and sorrows to which man is liable.

1. The physical constitution of the earth.

Some have objected to the general appearance of the earth, representing it as a shapeless mass without order or beauty; inundated by the ocean, disfigured by ragged promontories and irregular indentations; the dry land deformed by mountains and morasses; occupied by lakes or deserts; yielding poisonous plants and minerals; in one quarter parched by the beams of a vertical sun, and in another bound up in chains of everlasting ice. Such representations, at first sight, have an imposing appearance, and, when expressed in pompous language, may please the ear, and have no small tendency to mislead the imagination. But, on a closer inspection, those apparently mighty difficulties in a great measure disappear, and the due consideration of them teaches us a lesson of caution and humility when examining the works of the Almighty. It teaches us not to be hasty in supposing that improvement would follow a change in any of the great conditions of nature; for such a change, it is likely, instead of improving the world, would break the harmony of its parts, and destroy the symmetry and use of the whole.

That the earth bears marks of having undergone some great convulsion is not denied: but we do not admit that from this any inference can be drawn against the perfections or government of Deity; for the earth, as it presently appears, is a convenient habitation for man and for the inferior animals. These animals all find subsistence. With respect to man everything around him is fitted for supplying his wants and for promoting his enjoyments, by calling forth his activity and by giving scope to his exertions. Everything is adapted to his physical and intellectual constitution; and is suited to preserve his health, to brace his body, and to invigorate his mind.

The great extent of the ocean, in the estimation of some persons, is a mark of imperfection. And on this subject let us listen to the complaints of the atheist, and call in his wisdom to remedy the evil. Let us empower him to dry up the waters, and to reveal the deep channels of the ocean; yea, if he will, to elevate the bottom of the sea to a level with the adjacent land, and to give the earth the exact convexity of an artificial globe. He has remedied what he thought a defect; he has introduced beauty where, in his imagination, deformity prevailed. What is the effect of his supposed improvement?

By one great operation he has destroyed a vast number and variety of sentient beings, which dwelt in the ocean and enjoyed happiness. He has also laid the sure foundation for the speedy extinction of animal and vegetable existence; for if there be no ocean, the sun will exhale no vapours; no clouds will float on the atmosphere, and neither dew nor rain will descend on the earth. But if there be no dew and no rain, where shall we find the aliment of vegetation; the murmuring brook and the majestic river? Experience teaches us that without springs and rivers there is no fertility; and, consequently, without them man and beast must expire, and lifeless stillness and sterility take possession of the vast desert. Such are the effects of atheistical wisdom and improvement. Before any complain of the extent of the ocean on the terraqueous globe, let them show that a less surface of water would equally well answer all the purpose served by the sea. This, we may without hesitation affirm, they can never do. We may, therefore, dismiss their complaints on this subject, as the offspring of ignorance and folly.

The ocean is a vast field of enjoyment to sentient beings, and it yields inexhaustible treasures to the human race. If we look to the two extremities of the American continent, we see, at the one, the wandering savage of Terra del Fuego devouring fish; and, at the other, the Esquimaux spearing salmon in the Copper Mine River. Although many of the human race draw a considerable portion of their subsistence from the deep, yet this great storehouse has, perhaps, never hitherto been turned to the best account by civilized nations. The sea also facilitates the intercourse of nations, and harmonizes with the whole system of nature, in presenting a scene fitted to awaken the energy, and to give employment to the activity and enterprise of man.

The ocean is preserved at a moderate temperature by the statical principle by which the heavier columns of a fluid displace the lighter; and consequently it tends to modify the temperature of the land.* For the temperature of the ocean communicates itself to the superincumbent atmosphere on every side; and, in this way, the sea cools the land in tropical climates, and increases the temperature in high latitudes, How refreshing is the sea breeze to one panting under a vertical sun! And do not the insular inhabitants of high latitudes enjoy in winter a milder atmosphere than they who dwell on great continents under the same parallel?

Humboldt has observed, that the interior provinces of America, between 30° and 38° north latitude, like the rest of North America, have a climate essentially different from that of the same parallels on the old continent. A remarkable inequality prevails between the temperature of the different seasons. German winters succeed to Neapolitan and Sicilian summers. This is no doubt partly owing to the configuration of the land and the course of the mountains; but a grand cause of it seems to be the breadth of the continent, and its prolongation towards the north pole: for great and unbroken continents are favourable to the extremes of heat or cold, because the surface of the land is heated or cooled sooner than the water. This principle may be applied in explanation of the fact, that in proceeding eastward from the shores of the Atlantic, through Europe and the north of Asia, the temperature of any parallel of latitude still becomes lower as we advance. The ocean then is a great source of animal enjoyment. It is of essential importance to our world; and we have no reason to conclude that a less basin of water would answer all the purposes in the economy of nature. The deep indentations of bays and gulfs are highly useful for commercial purposes; and they also contribute to supply the wants of man, by bringing the stores of the sea into the bosom of the land.

Some complain that the surface of the earth is broken down into many inequalities, rogged mountains, deep valleys, and morasses. But this constitution of things, instead of being a just ground of complaint, serves many valuable purposes. It gives the productions of different climates under the same latitude; furnishes a residence and food for different kind of animated beings; is a powerful means of clothing the earth with beauty and fertility; and gives scope to the ingenuity and exertions of man. In ascending the Andes, for instance, at different points above the level of the sea, we meet with the productions of equatorial and polar regions, and of all the intermediate climates. In Mexico, the same parallel of latitude produces the banana, the apple, the sugar-cane, wheat, the manioc, and potato. There the nutritive gramina, which vegetate among the ices of Norway and Siberia, cover the fields of the torrid zone. There the oak grows only at an elevation above the level of the sea of between 2500 and 10,000 feet: the pine never descends farther down towards the coast of Vera Cruz than to about 6000 feet above the level of the sea, and is never found higher in the mountains than about 13,000 feet. The wheat of Europe occupies a belt on the declivities of those mountains, between about 4500 and 10,000 of elevation, the banana tree, the fruit of which constitute so much of the food of the inhabitants of many tropical regions, scarcely bears any fruit at a higher elevation than 5000 feet above the level of the sea. Some plants live only in cold and mountainous places; and it were vain to look for them but in regions bordering on everlasting snow.

Although many mountains do not rise to the height of those now referred to, yet, in their several degrees, they yield nourishment to a proportional diversity of plants. If it be alleged that this can hold true of mountains in tropical or temperate regions only, it may be remarked that the height of mountains diminishes as we advance from the equator towards the pole. Chimboraço, at the equator, is about 20,000 feet high: the mountains of Iceland, on the confines of the Arctic circle, are not above a fourth or fifth part of that height.

The variety of mountains and valleys furnishes different kinds of animals with a residence and food suited to their natures. The ox delights in the plain, as there he finds the food which to him is most palatable. Sheep prefer the naked hill, because their beloved *festuca* grows there. Goats climb the precipice to browse on tender shrubs; and, by their agility and the structure of their feet, they are well qualified for springing from crag to crag. The argali or wild sheep, and some of the deer kind, give the preference to the bare mountain. In warm climates, high mountains, by means of the ice and snow with which they are perpetually clothed, lower the temperature of the neighbouring plains. The towering Andes cool the contiguous countries, and the mountains of Thibet render the spreading plains of Hindostan habitable.* Mountains also modify and direct the course of the winds, and shelter the low lands from the blast. To mountains the plain is indebted for its beauty and fertility. They attract the clouds, condense the vapours, are the sources of streams and rivers, and convey a fructifying moisture to the valley and the plain.

Ray, in his valuable work on "the Wisdom of God in Creation," distinctly states the fact, that more water is exhaled from the sea in vapour than is returned to it in rain; but for the fact he is at a loss to account. "Why," says he, "should not the winds carry the vapours that are exhaled out of the earth, down to the sea, as well as bring them up upon the earth which are raised from the sea? Or, which is all one, why should not the wind blow indifferently from sea and land? To which I answer, that I must needs acknowledge myself not to comprehend the reason hereof." In explanation of the fact, for which this well-informed writer did not attempt to account, we may observe, first, that the surface of the land is more easily heated than the sea, consequently the wind blows from the sea towards the land to restore the equilibrium, and carries the vapours along with it: secondly, mountains attract the clouds, stop them in their course, and make them pour down their contents on the earth. These two observations go far to explain the fact that more rain falls on the dry land than is exhaled from it; and they tend to show the utility of mountains.

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* The singularity respecting the freezing of water may be mentioned as a manifestation of the wisdom and goodness of Deity. The general law is, that fluids decrease in bulk, as the temperature becomes lower. But from this law water is an exception. Its greatest density is about 40° Fah. Without the knowledge of this fact, we should be disposed to say with Dr. Johnson, when speaking of Loch Ness, that its profundity can have little part in its exemption from freezing. But the curious anomaly now mentioned explains the matter, and displays the wisdom and benificence of Deity. The water cooled to 40° sinks and yields its place to that of a higher temperature; which, in its turn, when about 40°, allows warmer water to rise to the surface. The whole body of water is cooled to 40°, and then that at the top, becoming specifically lighter as it becomes colder, remains at the surface and is congealed. The ice is a bad conductor of heat; it thus increases slowly, and shelters the water below. If the water be deep, the fish under the ice are at a temperature not lower than 40°. Were it not this singularity, the rivers and lakes of high latitudes, in winter, would become a solid mass of ice, which the heat of a whole summer would scarcely dissolve. The sentient inhabitants of the waters would be destroyed. By a departure from a general law these effects are prevented, and the wisdom and benificence of Deity manifested.

* Under the equator, the region of perpetual snow commences at an elevation of 15,750 feet: in 45° N. lat. it commences at 8350 feet

If we trace the course of any great river, it conducts us to mountains. The Orinoco and the De la Plata lead us to the Andes. The Mississippi and the Saint Lawrence have their sources in an elevated region; and a mountainous ridge separates the basin of the Columbia from the waters of the Missouri. The Alps send forth the Danube and the Rhine, the Rhone and the Po. The vapours exhaled from the Mediterranean pass over Egypt almost without dispensing a single shower; but the lofty mountains in Abyssinia arrest them in their course, and rob them of their treasures. The Nile, spreading fertility over its banks, conveys the swelling waters to the Mediterranean. Thus the mountains of Abyssinia, lying in about 12° N. latitude, are the means of clothing the Thebais and Delta, from 24° to 31°, with beauty and abundance. Without the mountains of Abyssinia the valley of Egypt would remain an arid and inhospitable desert. We might run over the globe, and everywhere we would find mountains of essential benefit to the earth. While they attract the clouds, their structure is such as to retain much of their water, and to give it out in perennial streams.

Mountains contain iron, copper, lead, and many other mineral substances of indispensable utility to agriculture and the arts; and although to some they may appear marks of irregularity and deformity, they are nevertheless the perfection of order, and essential to the beauty and fertility of the earth. Without them we can have no magnificent or pleasing scenery. They afford a commodious residence or a safe retreat to many of the inferior animals, and they diversify, adorn, and enrich the prospect to man. While so extensively beneficial, they do not so much affect the sphericity of the earth, as a few grains of sand scattered on the surface of an eighteen inch globe affect its sphericity. For the diameter of the earth is nearly 8000 miles; and the top even of Chimboraço, the loftiest peak on our globe, is only about 4 miles above the level of the sea.*

As mountains contribute to the beauty and fertility of the earth; so to drain the morass, and convert the quaggy swamp into a beautiful and fertile field, exercises the ingenuity and employs the activity of man. The mountain is essential to our subsistence; the marsh contributes to the developement of our powers. The materials of subsistence and comfort are spread plentifully around us; but they do not drop into the lap of drowsy indolence and lumpish inactivity. In order to obtain them we must exert our powers both of body and mind. We must cultivate the earth, cut down the forest, drain the bog, straighten the watercourse, and apply proper manure to the soil. By the diligent and skilful exertion of our powers and application of our means, we can produce mighty changes on everything around us, and make the influence of our operations be felt even on those parts of nature which, at first sight, seem entirely above our reach. We can in some measure disarm the elements of their rigour, and improve the climate as well as the soil by cultivation; by draining marshes and lessening evaporation, which carries off a quantity of caloric, and occasions a corresponding degree of cold; by turning up the soil and exposing it to the rays of the sun; and by thinning and cutting down forests, which by their shade exclude the solar beam from the earth.

The barrenness of many parts of the earth has been the theme of discontented declamation, and has been plausibly urged as an objection against the wisdom and goodness of Deity: like other objections, however, it is deceitful, and more showy than solid. Men have agreed to give the character of fertility to the soils which are favourable to the production of a few kinds of farinaceous grains, and to pronounce others barren and unfruitful. But many seeds, plants, and herbs, require a peculiar soil and climate to bring them to maturity, and the soil to which the character of fertility has been attached answers a few only. The fact has been known since the days of Theophrastus, and is mentioned in the pleasing verse of Virgil. The willow thrives in a moist soil; the alder, in marshes; the wild ash, on the rocky mountain; the vine, on the open hill; the yew, in a moist and elevated situation. When mahogany grows in a barren soil, the grain of the wood is beautifully variegated; on rich soil, it is pale, open, and of little value. The cinnamon-tree thrives amidst arid sands. There are plants suited to every soil. Even the trunks of trees and stones are covered with various kinds of liverwort.

Grasses are the most useful, and also the most common, of all vegetables. They clothe the mountain and adorn the plain; they vegetate luxuriantly within the tropics, and in the summer months beautify and enrich the polar regions. The cereal grasses yield a rich nutriment to man; and many grasses, which everywhere cover the earth with spontaneous verdure, afford a suitable provision to the brute creation. Those grasses, herbs, and shrubs, which are rejected by one class of animals, are greedily eaten by another. As there is a vast variety of plants, many of which require both a peculiar climate and soil to bring them to perfection, so the wise and gracious Creator has provided a suitable climate and soil for plants of every kind. Animals have different tastes; and their diffusion over the earth is promoted by these tastes, as well as by a corresponding variety of plants. And certainly it is a matter of no small moment, that the climate which suits the constitution of the animal, also produces the food which to it is most palatable.

Even supposing any spot so barren and miserable as to afford neither subsistence nor shelter to any sentient being, this would furnish no other argument against the perfections of Diety than what would arise from a diminution of the surface of the earth. It would be merely so much of the globe withdrawn from the immediate use and service of living creatures. But we have no evidence that any part of the earth is so withdrawn. The poles are encompassed with a great barrier of ice: as far, however, as man has been able to penetrate towards them, the water abounds with inhabitants, some of which occasionally repair to the ice. In Nova Zembla there is no human habitation; but there foxes and bears find a place of residence, and a scene of enjoyment. The ostrich delights in the burning sandy wilderness.

From the nature of the soil and the inconstancy of the elements, the crops at times may be deficient: but, in every case of famine, there is either a neglect or misapplication of our means, and of our physical and intellectual powers, or an abuse somewhere of free agency; for, with diligence and precaution, even the chill Icelander may always secure the means of subsistence either from his native soil and circumambient seas, or by commercial intercourse with foreign lands. And even within the tropics, and in the most fertile regions, when industry lifts a palsied hand and cultivation is neglected, scarcity and famine are not unknown. When the distant supplies which prudence and industry have provided are intercepted by hostile violence, there is an abuse of free agency; and, in a system carried on by the operation of general laws, this abuse at times may be severely felt even by the harmless and unoffending.

Some have complained of poisonous herbs and minerals. Poison, however, is merely a relative term. No plant, I believe, is absolutely destructive of animal life. Those vegetables, which are disagreeable or poisonous to one class of living creatures, are grateful and nourishing to another. The horse gives up the common water hemlock to the goat; the goat leaves monkshood to the horse. Even wormwood and the acrid spurge yield an agreeable repast to some kinds of insects. The inferior animals are guarded against danger from what they eat by an instinctive delicacy of smell and taste. Man, at least after he has acquired an artificial taste by means of cookery, must exercise vigilance and sagacity; although his smell and taste, unless greatly perverted, will seldom or never mislead him. Even from those vegetables which are most destructive of human life, we can extract a salutary nutriment or a healing virtue.

Some plants we can disarm of their poisonous qualities, and convert into materials of wholesome aliment. The bitter jatropha is an active poison. The natives of Haiti, who preferred death to involuntary labour, killed themselves by fifties with swallowing the raw juice of the plant. But even the juice of the bitter jatropha is rendered harmless by boiling and skimming, and is then used without danger as a sauce. The root is also baked into bread; but, in order to deprive it of its noxious qualities, it must be grated down and compressed." The empyreumatic oil of tobacco is an active poison. But tobacco in a variety of ways is advantageously used. It is even employed as a remedy against other poisons. "The Caraibs," says Humboldt, "used mashed tobacco leaves as a counter poison. In our journey on the Orinoco, we saw mashed tobacco successfully applied to the bite of venomous serpents." Foxglove, hemlock, poppy, and other similar plants, have each medicinal virtues.

We may remark, that different parts of the same plant, in many instances, have different qualities; and the same may be said of plants in their different stages. Different plants elaborate different juices from the same soil; and different animals elaborate different substances from the same plant. Bees form honey from thyme and roses; and from the same plant spiders draw a poison. From vegetables, innocuous and agreeable, a deleterious substance may be extracted. The laurel is pleasing, the almond beautiful and nutritive; but the laurel and the bitter almond yield most powerful poisons.

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* The Himalaya mountains have been estimated at about 27,000 feet; but their height is not yet well ascertained.—See Colebrooke's *Essay in Asiatic Researches*, vol. xii. p. 253, &c.

Minerals do not constitute any part of human food, but they are of vast importance in the arts; and their value in the arts not unfrequently depends on those very qualities which render them destructive when taken into the stomach. Only a few are poisonous; and most, or all even of these, are serviceable in medicine. Arsenic itself is employed with advantage in the healing art. In short, the constitution of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, like everything else in the world, is adapted to the rational, active, and progressive nature of man. The existence of poisonous substances serves to awaken his vigilance, and exercise his sagacity; and we may safely conclude, that there are neither plants nor minerals but what have been, or may be, turned to his advantage. The discovery of their qualities and uses exercises his ingenuity; the application of them administers to his comfort, and diversifies his enjoyments. The discoveries which may yet be made in the progress of science, and the consequent advantages, we are unable to anticipate.

On the surface of the earth there are very different climates; and if it could be demonstrated that this could originate in nothing but a defect of power, wisdom, or goodness, then we would be compelled to admit that such defect adhered to the Author of the system; for difference of climate is part of the plan in the constitution of our globe. Towards the equator the heat is always considerable, except at great heights above the level of the sea: as we approach the poles, generally speaking, the cold increases. The climate of a country, however, does not depend altogether on its latitude; but also on its elevation above the level of the sea, its contiguity to the ocean, the configuration of the land, and a number of other local circumstances. The temperature of the earth varies from about 100° to —10° Fahrenheit: the mean temperature for the whole surface may be estimated at 58°: the greatest summer heat is only about 42° above this: the greatest winter cold is about 98° under it. The temperature of man is about 96°, and is nearly the same in summer and winter, in an inhabitant of the torrid, and in one of the frigid zone. The temperature of the human body is much above that of the surrounding medium.

In the different climates there is no defect either of wisdom or goodness: they exhibit a display of those attributes by opening a field of enjoyment to a greater variety of sentient beings. Both in the sea and on the dry land there are animals peculiar to certain climates. Some fishes are found chiefly within the tropics; others have their residence in polar regions. A similar economy prevails on the dry land. Many animals, such as the monkey and the elephant, are natives of warm climates, and there they find that sort of provision for which they have the greatest relish: others, such as the rein-deer, delight in high latitudes; and there they find the food which to them is most palatable.[*]

While many of the inferior animals are fitted, by their peculiar constitution, for living comfortably in one climate only, man is endowed with a flexibility of organization which enables him to bear the temperature of every country. He can accommodate his dress to the climate, and can live, perhaps with equal degrees of happiness, in every parallel of latitude between Cape Horn and Greenland. Everywhere his intellectual and moral nature is equally susceptible of improvement. The Icelander, touching the Arctic Circle, is as intelligent, virtuous, and happy, as the native of any country between the tropics.

Man is so constituted, that habit produces great effects both on his body and mind; fortifying the one against fatigue and privations, the rigour of the seasons, and the most rapid transitions from one degree of temperature to another; and not only reconciling the other to various modes of life, but even rendering these agreeable and pleasant. The Finlander amuses himself, for half an hour or an hour, in a bath heated to 150° or 160° Fahr.; and frequently goes naked out of the bath to roll himself among the snow, when the mercury stands at 20° below the freezing point. From this great and sudden transition he receives no injury. It has been found that persons accustomed to attend an oven, have borne for ten minutes a heat equal to 280° Fahr. In common cases suffocation begins to take place in about half a minute after the body is submersed in water; but the divers in the pearl fishery can remain under water five minutes, almost as long as the seal, porpoise, and amphibia. The dexterity of the South Sea Islanders in swimming is well known.

We are apt to set up our adventitious tastes and habits, sentiments and employments, as the standard of excellence and measure of comfort, and to imagine that those things only which are sources of enjoyment to us can yield satisfaction and happiness to others; and that what is disagreeable or painful to us must be equally so to all our fellow men. The native of a tropical country may imagine that the inhabitants of polar regions are a torpid, hungry, and miserable race; but they who dwell in high latitudes are not less active, cheerful, or vigorous, than they who bask in the rays of a vertical sun. The delicate European may shudder on seeing the Esquimaux or Kamtschadale feasting on putrid fish and rancid oil; but the Esquimaux or Kamtschadale would spit out with disgust the choicest viands of the European epicure. A Laplander can form no conception of the wealth of a man who does not possess a single rein-deer; and pities him who never feasts on the flesh of the bear, nor drinks the oil of the seal or the whale. A Turk imagines that the enjoyment of a man who does not smoke cannot be greater than that of a beast. A man in clothes appears as ridiculous to an Indian of California, as a monkey dressed in human apparel does to the common people of Europe.

Notwithstanding all the differences of climate, almost every individual, from habit and sentiment, is disposed to give a preference to his native land. The Greenlander will not abandon his icy coasts and the management of his frail *kajak*, for any other country or employment. To the Icelander no other spot on the globe has such charms as Iceland. The Kamtschadale in his *jourt*, surrounded by deserts and tempests, believes his native land to be the most eligible part of the earth, and considers himself the most fortunate and happy of human beings. The Laplander in the midst of mountains and storms, enjoys good health, often reaches old age, and would not exchange Lapland for the palace of a King. The native of Congo believes that every other part of the world was formed by angels; but that the Kingdom of Congo was the workmanship of the Supreme Architect, and must therefore have prerogatives and advantages above the rest of the earth. Although every other tie were broken, the dust of their fathers would bind most men to their native land. Let not the cold sceptic deride the thought. The native of Asia frequenting the tomb of his ancestors, or the afflicted wanderer of the American wilderness piously pulling the grass from the grave of a departed relative, will awaken sympathetic emotions in every ingenuous and affectionate mind.

In the attachment to country we have an auxiliary to our social affections, and a bond for uniting men in large communities. But the attachment is not so strong as entirely to prevent dispersion, or hinder migration to unsettled countries by an oppressed or overflowing population. As men, generally in every climate, are pleased with their country, and love it above every other, so in every stage of society they give the preference to those modes of life to which they have been accustomed. Hence changes and improvements in the economy and intercourse of any people are the result of a slow and gradual progress. Although men may be well pleased with their several circumstances, yet we must never forget that the most exalted enjoyment of the rational being flows from the acquisition of knowledge, and the practice of virtue.

It thus appears, that we need not be forward in affecting to commiserate the destiny of those who are placed in circumstances different from our own. Their habits and sentiments are accommodated to their condition, and they would not exchange situations with us. As to climate, we are by no means to imagine that tropical countries are perpetually scorched by an unclouded sun; or that the inhabitants of the polar circle, in winter, are buried in total darkness. Captain Cook informs us, that in general the tropical regions seldom enjoy that clear atmosphere observable where variable winds blow, nor does the sun shine with such brightness. A dull whiteness, that seems a medium between fog and clouds, for the most part, prevails in the sky. This is an advantage; for otherwise, the probability is, that the rays of the sun being uninterrupted would render the heat insupportable. The nights, nevertheless, are often clear and serene.

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[*] Lord Woodhouselee, in his edition of Derham's great work, the Physico-theology, has given, from Mr. Zimmerman, a map of part of the world, in which, instead of the names of towns, we have the names of quadrupeds in the countries where they are found. A map of this kind of the whole earth, and comprehending all known classes of animals, on a moderately large scale, would be both entertaining and instructive.

On the other hand, in high latitudes, although the sun be withdrawn, yet the inhabitants are not enveloped in complete darkness. At Spitzbergen, a sort of twilight, the splendour of the Aurora Borealis, the stars, and the reflection of the snow, serve to light the hunters on their excursions, and enable them to continue the chase during the long night of a hyperborean winter. Hearne tells us, that in the vicinity of the Athapuscow lake, in the middle of December, the brilliancy of the Aurora Borealis and the stars, even without the assistance of the moon, made it frequently so clear all night, that he could see to read a very small print. The Indians make no difference between night and day when hunting the beaver. It may be added, that the annual distribution of heat over the surface of the earth is by no means so unequal as many persons are apt to imagine. The seasons give occasion to different employments, according to the climate and the nature of the country; they also relieve insipid uniformity, and give variety to the appearances of the world, and to the pursuits of man.

Thus, from the physical constitution of the globe, its water and dry land, its mountains and valleys, its different soils and different climates, there is no argument against the perfections of Deity; for, on the greater part of the earth man can subsist, and that with equal degrees of happiness. Where man does not or cannot subsist, other sentient beings find a place of residence, and a scene of enjoyment suited to their natures. No part of it is void of animal existence. If there be any argument, drawn from any part of the earth against the Divine attributes, it must equally apply to every part; and, if it be admitted that any part of it exhibits indications of wisdom and goodness, the admission must be extended to the whole. The earth is truly a convenient and pleasant habitation for man and other living creatures, and bears abundant testimony to the wisdom and goodness of the Creator.

It may be pleaded, that mankind at times are afflicted by ungenial seasons, scanty crops, and consequent famine; and that earthquakes, hurricanes, and inundations, overthrow the works, disappoint the hopes, and destroy the enjoyments or the life of man. That, to a certain extent, these things occasionally happen must be admitted; that they constitute a difficulty, and may be alleged as an objection against the attributes of Deity need not be denied. But here, as in other instances of the same kind, the difficulty arises entirely from our ignorance, and in proportion as knowledge increases the difficulty will disappear. I meet the objection with these observations—that the world is governed by general laws; and that this constitution of things is adapted to the nature and condition of man, as an intelligent and active being, in a state of trial and discipline, whose capacities must be unfolded, and his virtues improved by trial and exercise.

All the phenomena prove that the world is governed by general laws. Although these laws be wise and good, yet they may sometimes interfere, and by their interference produce partial evils. For example, the laws of gravitation, of the equilibrium of fluids, and of the disturbance of that equilibrium by heat, are formed and arranged by wisdom and goodness; but in the administration of these laws, such a concurrence of circumstances may sometimes happen as to produce partial evils. High winds arising from the disturbance of the equilibrium of the aërial fluid by heat, may cooperate with the action of the sun and moon, and occasion remarkably high tides. The combinations of the same general laws may produce tempestuous commotions in the atmosphere, causing partial evils. There is reason, however, to believe that even these tempestuous commotions are subservient to general good. The storm that commixes the atmosphere and the ocean is, probably, one grand means of purifying the air contaminated by respiration, vegetation and combustion. The effect of general laws may be partial evil; but it unquestionably is general good. There are no general laws, either in the natural or moral world, that are more injurious than advantageous.

It may be said, why is not the good produced without the evil? Why are not the general laws so constituted, as to yield all the advantages which we derive from them without any of the disadvantages? Or, if they cannot be so constituted, why are not the disadvantages prevented by special interpositions? That the world should be governed by general laws is not only proper, but indispensibly requisite, in order to the regulation of human conduct. If there were no general laws, man would be the sport of irregular occurrences, and wholly at a loss how to act. He would be suddenly defeated in all his undertakings, and reason would be of no avail for the direction of his steps. If the sun rose and set at irregular and uncertain periods; if the return of the seasons were at variable and unknown intervals; if the tides followed no regular course, man would be obliged to act at random, and would be tossed to and fro by circumstances which he could neither foresee nor prevent. But general laws everywhere obtain; and man can observe them, and act accordingly. They serve as beacons for the direction of his course, and he can use them almost every moment in the voyage of life. Whether general laws could be so framed as to produce all the good effects which we derive from them, without any of the evils, we know not, nor is it needful to institute any inquiry on the subject; for although it were possible that they could be so constituted, yet such a constitution would be improper; and it would be equally improper to prevent the partial evils by special interpositions.

If man were exposed to no danger; if at all times he were secure from want, and disappointment, and pain, he would be a careless, lazy, stupid, and unhappy animal. Place the human being, constituted as he is, in a situation where exertion would be either useless or needless, where the difficulties were insuperable, or where every object of desire spontaneously flowed in upon him, and he would be miserable. If the the course of things were invariably accommodated to our wants and desires; if, either by general laws or special interpositions, every evil were infallibly prevented and every good thing secured, then prudence and industry would be altogether useless. There would be no room for human skill, and no motive to human action. There could be no display of skill where every object of desire was certainly obtained without it; and no motive to action where nothing could be gained by foresight and industry, and nothing lost by inattention and sloth.

A state where dangers are to be provided against and averted by foresight, caution, and vigilance; where wants are to be supplied by industry and prudence; enjoyments procured by diligence and ingenuity; difficulties encountered, and trials borne with courage, fortitude, and patience; where there is still something to excite desire, cherish hope, and stimulate and reward exertion; such a state accords with the constitution of the human being, and is calculated both for his improvement and happiness. Such is the state of this world; fitted to rouse our energies, to animate our activity, and to reward persevering industry. Whenever, to any individual, the world ceases to be such a state, life stagnates, enjoyment flies away, and the consciousness of existence becomes a burden. Now, tempests and floods, and other partial evils resulting from the operation of general laws, are means of exercising and improving our faculties, of giving scope to prudence, fortitude, and activity, and thus promoting our happiness. Besides being suited to our rational and active nature, there is reason to believe that those phenomena which occasion partial evils are productive of great general benefit in the economy of the world. But here our ignorance intervenes, and in a great measure prevents us from tracing the steps of the Creator in his government.

2. Nature of some of the inferior animals.

It is not against the inanimate parts of the world only that the objections of the sceptic have been directed: different departments of animated nature have furnished him with materials of querimonious declamation. "Why are we infested with such multitudes of ferocious and venemous animals, which endanger the safety, and often destroy the life of man? Why does the earth abound with useless and noxious creatures: with myriads of insects, which frequently counteract our labours, destroy the fruit of our industry, torment our persons, and devour the means of our subsistence!" With respect to declamation of this kind, it may be observed, that nothing is more common than to take certain principles for granted, and to reason from those gratuitous assumptions as if they were incontrovertible truths, although not a word has been said in proof of them. If any phenomena do not obviously and exactly agree with those assumed principles and preconceived notions, the persons who have embraced them murmur and complain, as if disorder reigned in the universe, and as if the vestiges of goodness were buried under the rubbish of irregularity and imperfection.

Some persons, resembling the Ouadelim Arabs, who fancy that the sun rises for them only, have ambitiously assumed that not this earth merely, but all the splendid luminaries of the firmament also, were formed solely for the accommodation and comfort of man. On this proud assumption they may wonder why there is such a vast apparatus of planets and fixed stars, which by their feeble light impart such inconsiderable advantages to the earth. But the moment that we think of numerous orders of intelligent beings stationed in the different provinces of the universe, and inhabiting worlds suited to their different organizations and faculties, the misconception and the difficulty pass away. Others more modest in their pretensions, claim for man this lower world only, with the common advantages of the system. This claim they seem to advance for him exclusively, and to suppose that the world should furnish a scene of enjoyment to him alone, while no other creature should partake of the rich feast provided by the bountiful Creator, but in subserviency to man's pleasure and gratification. This assumption is equally gratuitous and false with the former, although not to the same extent. Man, indeed, is the noblest inhabitant of this world, and has dominion over the inferior animals; but to them as well as to him the Creator has given a charter to inhabit the earth, and there to enjoy a scene of happiness suited to their natures. In some instances, it may be from invading those parts of the globe which the sovereign Distributor of the earth has allotted to them as their domain, that man exposes himself to their vengeance.

The relations and dependencies of the different orders of sentient beings we at present do not fully comprehend. Perhaps a certain concatenation runs through the whole extent of animated nature, the lowest order of sentient creatures being closely connected with inorganic or vegetable matter, and, in the ascending series, every order joined to that which is immediately above it, till the highest is linked to the throne of the Creator; or some gradation and concatenation of this kind may obtain among the innumerable worlds stationed in the immensity of space. Such speculations are above our reach. We do not understand all the relations and dependencies of animated nature even in our own world. If one class of sentient beings, which we think the most useless or noxious, were removed, this would perhaps pave the way for the destruction of a second; the destruction of the second might ensure the extinction of a third, so that we are unable to calculate what might be the consequences of withdrawing any one species of living creatures from the face of the earth.

The Creator may surely, in a consistency with wisdom and goodness, make provision in the same world for different orders of sentient beings. And, if he do so, he may likewise, in a consistency with the same perfections, place in that world the several orders of beings from whom he has made provision, if the happiness of one order do not interfere with that of another, or if the interference, like general laws, produce general good, and only partial evil. If this principle be admitted, which I think it may, it will go far to vindicate the ways of God with respect to the sentient inhabitants of this globe. If the earth were overrun with rattlesnakes; if lions and tigers lay in ambush in every thicket, this would certainly be too much for the precaution, the vigilance, and the activity of man. It would overpower instead of exercising his faculties; it would destroy his happiness, instead of promoting his improvement. But ferocious and venomous animals are thinly scattered over the globe. Elephants and buffaloes feed in great herds; but lions and tigers, like robbers, are few in number, and lead a solitary life. There are multitudes of the serpent kind, but only a few are venomous. Their fangs are excretory ducts connected with the poison-bag; and the very action of the jaws which inflicts the wound mechanically injects the poison into it. These few are a protection to all the serpent kind.

The Creator has implanted in every living creature the desire of self-preservation, and has also bestowed upon each of them some means of security and defence in aid of this desire. The defensive weapons of some animals are far more formidable than those of others. The fang of the serpent and the tooth and paw of the lion are instruments of defence or offence, like the horn of the bull or the hoof of the horse: they are more terrible to others, but they are beneficial to the animals themselves. Instruments of defence are as needful to the animal as means of procuring food. Indeed, these often run into each other: in many instances the same organization is employed for both purposes. If any instrument of defence be objectionable, if we admit the tooth of the dog and the hoof of the horse to be consistent with wisdom and goodness, then our objections against the paw of the lion and the fang of the viper can be of no great weight. In both we find weapons of defence; there is merely a difference in the degree of force. If in the one case the weapon is more formidable, it is a more sure protection to the animal, and a motive to greater caution in awakening its anger. The venomous tribes serve to arouse the vigilance and exercise the ingenuity of man in avoiding their bite, or in expelling or neutralizing their poison. In this way they contribute to the developement of our powers, by presenting difficulties and dangers which are not overwhelming, but which serve to awaken activity and quicken ingenuity.

Man must be careful, vigilant, and active in cultivating the earth, in clearing it of weeds, and in superintending the growth of his crops. He must exercise a similar care, vigilance, and activity, in avoiding the tooth of the serpent and the paw of the lion. These and similar animals are, for the most part, natives of climates where nature dispenses her treasures with rich profusion, and therefore, if the faculties of man be not expanded in soliciting the earth for subsistence, they find a certain degree of exercise in watching and providing against surrounding dangers. Besides, venemous and ferocious animals, which are comparatively few in number, teach us duly to value the inoffensive kinds. It is by contrast chiefly that we learn the worth of our enjoyments. If the stream of felicity flowed without mixture and without interruption, it would cloy the appetite. Some bitter ingredient must be cast into our cup to make us relish what is sweet. We are more sensible of the beauties of a fine day after experiencing a tempest. The barren wilderness illustrates the value of the fertile field; and, in like manner, the ferocity of the tiger may teach us duly to estimate the meekness of the lamb; and the envenomed tooth of the *cobra capella* to value the innocuous qualities of the frog.

It has been remarked, that throughout nature things which have a relation to each other for the advantage of man are found together. Thus, mines of gold and silver abound in South America; and mercury, which is used in separating these metals from their ores, is also found there. Coal, which is so useful in smelting iron ore, is found along with it. Compensations, in like manner, accompany what is noxious. Travellers often fall ill of nervous fevers on the road between Caraccas and Cumana; but the valley and forests that emit the dangerous exhalations which occasion these fevers, also produce a tree, the bark of which furnishes a salutary remedy for the disease. Where there are many venemous reptiles, there the herbs which are the most certain antidote to their poison are found in the greatest plenty. If dangerous serpents abound in intratropical America, there the *habilla de Carthagena* grows, by eating a little of which, fasting, the hunters in their excursions in the woods fortify themselves against the bite of the rattlesnake itself.*

To some persons, those animals which in general estimation have a most disgusting appearance furnish an agreeable article of food. Depons informs us that, on the banks of the Lake Tacarigua, in South America, the Indians and some of the Spaniards make their most delicious meal on the *iguana*, a kind of lizard of a greenish colour, and about too feet and a half long. This to persons unaccustomed to it would form a most loathsome dish. Dr. Shaw was told, that in Cairo and in its vicinity upwards of forty thousand persons lived on lizards and serpents only. The savage devours with avidity the vermin that prey upon him. In some countries, frogs are esteemed a delicate dish. Locusts at times sweep the face of a country like a conflagration. No green thing escapes their devouring tooth, and ruin marks their progress. But, besides furnishing a rich feast to the locust-bird, starlings, sparrows, and swallows, their myriads yield a nutritious repast to the Arab; and thus in some measure compensate the desolation which they have occasioned.

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* Ulloa, Voyage Historique, &c., liv. i. c. 6, & liv. vi. c. 10. —The habilla de Carthagena is a sort of bean which grows on a kind of willow. It is about an inch broad, nine lines long, flat and heart-shaped. It is of an extremely hot nature, and an ordinary dose is less than the fourth part of a bean or kernel. For an account of the rattlesnake herb, by which the natives of Louisiana heal the bite of that snake, see Le Page de Pratz, History of Louisiana, vol. ii. pp. 43—73, English translation.—*Carver's Travels*, p. 482.

Horses, cows, dogs, and fowls, seem to have an innate sense of their danger from snakes, and show evident symptoms of fear in approaching them, even when dead; but hogs, so far from being afraid of them, pursue and devour them with the greatest avidity, totally regardless of their bites.—*Corver's Travels*, p. 483. *Weld's Travels*, vol. i. pp. 202-3. Hesychius of Miletus informs us that Neptune employed storks to exterminate serpents from the island of Tine, in the Grecian Archipelago.—*Tournefort*, *Voyage*, tom. i. p. 258. *Virg. Æn.* xi. 751. *Juvenal*, xiv. 74. *Hor. Car.* lib. iv. *Od.* iv. l. 11. *Iliad*, xii. 201.

Captain Seely, in his "Wonders of Ellora," p. 452, second edition, speaks of the *mongos*, a little animal of the ferret kind, which eagerly fights large snakes, provided a particular grass grow near. If bitten, it eats a quantity of this grass, vomits, rolls itself on the ground, and again engages in the combat; but it will by no means act offensively if this particular grass be not at hand. For *mongos*, see also *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, vol. viii. p. 36.

The bee may sting; but it furnishes us with honey and wax. Some insects toil diligently in our service; and others, which at first sight seem useless or loathsome, may be applied to beneficial purposes. The silk-worm provides for us the materials of a fine attire. The cochineal imparts a beautiful colour to our raiment. Leeches, cantharides, and other inferior animals, can be made to contribute to the preservation of our health, or the removal of our diseases. Many small animals may, no doubt, be applied to valuable purposes with which we are yet unacquainted. Here, as in other departments of nature, there is room for patient observation and careful experiment; for the exercise of ingenuity and the progress of discovery. We many never, perhaps, find out all the uses of every species of insects, but even at present we know enough to justify the ways of God to man.

Thus, when we survey the inferior animals, we perceive that their vast number and variety exhibit a brilliant display of the perfections of Deity. Wisdom and goodness are manifested in the bodily organization and instinctive propensities of every species, as well as in the provision made for supplying their wants. When viewed in reference to man, they harmonize with other parts of the scene in which he is placed, serving to awaken his vigilance and activity, to exercise his ingenuity, to aid him in his labours, to supply his wants, and to diversify his enjoyments.

Why, it may be inquired, do living creatures prey upon one another? Why do not all animated beings on earth live together in harmony, and with mutual affection partake of the common bounty of the Creator? That animals prey on each other cannot be denied. Their doing so is agreeable to the constitution of nature; for the bodily conformation of some of them furnishes unequivocal evidence that they were designed to wage war against others; and fact corresponds with the indication. A scene of hostility pervades the ocean, and prevails to a considerable extent on dry land. Among the inhabitants of the waters, the strongest, with a few exceptions, prey voraciously upon the weaker. Flight and pursuit, escaping from one and devouring another, constitute their employment. On land, the lion and tiger encounter each other; both of these prey upon other quadrupeds, and attack even man himself. Man also is a carnivorous animal.

The hostility that prevails among sentient beings exhibits a strange scene; and seems, at first sight, to militate against the attribute of goodness, in the Author of the system. But when we reflect that this scene in a great measure stands alone, and is everywhere surrounded by plain indications of benignity, we must feel ourselves constrained to pause before we come to any conclusion unfavourable to the perfections of Deity. Although we could give no explanation whatever of this phenomenon, yet in the midst of so many proofs of goodness, it would rather become us humbly to acknowledge our ignorance, than to impeach the attributes of the Author of all our mercies. Puzzling as the fact under consideration may appear, we need not abandon it in despair, as incapable of explanation. The following observations may satisfy us that it is not incompatible with that wisdom and goodness which are so obvious in the general constitution of the world.

First, Immortality upon this earth, as Dr. Paley has justly observed, is out of the question. On the supposition of immortality here, it is obvious that the process of propagation must soon terminate. The world would soon be replenished with inhabitants; there would be no room for more, and a great source of animal happiness would be dried up. The term of life assigned to different animals can form no objection; for if we object to the short term of a day, we may object on the same principle to a hundred years, or to any other limited period; and still ask, why was not the term of life longer? The consonancy of death with wisdom and goodness must be admitted; and the term of life assigned to any animal cannot fairly be urged as an objection. The whole question then is reduced to this point: the manner in which the sentence of death is carried into execution. This can be only by the decays of nature, by disease, or by violence. When the animal dies by violence, I apprehend that, generally speaking, it suffers much less pain, than when it dies by the decays of nature, or by the operation of disease. The pain may be more intense, but it is of much shorter duration.

Harsh seems the ordinance, that life by life
Should be sustain'd; and yet when all must die,
And be like water spilt upon the ground,
Which none can gather up,—the speediest fate,
Though violent and terrible, is best.*

Man, under the decays of nature or the pressure of disease, has commonly some tender friend to sympathize with him, and to assist him. When he is destitute of this sympathy and assistance, we deem his condition the most deplorable to which a human being can be exposed. Who, without feeling his heart melt within him, can think of the aged or sick Indian in the wilds of Canada, unable any longer to travel with his band, covered over in the depth of winter with a few bushes, and left alone to perish with cold, and hunger, and disease? But the beast, not under the immediate protection of man, that dies by disease or old age, is in a state resembling that of the Indian. A violent death abridges instead of increasing suffering.

Secondly, The present constitution of things does not diminish the happiness of the inferior animals during life; they are afflicted by no painful anticipations. Attack and defence, flight and pursuit exercise their activity, and seem to constitute no small part of their enjoyments. The ocean is a great scene of hostility, and so far as we are able to judge of its inhabitants, their pleasure is not small. It seems in no degree lessened by the perpetual war that is going on. On the dry land, the dangers to which animals are liable do not deprive them of the happiness of which their natures are susceptible. It is only in the moment of actual suffering from violence that the present constitution of things gives the animal any pain.

Thirdly, While the present constitution of things does not appear to subtract from the happiness of sentient beings during life, and while it abridges the pains of death, it is the means of providing subsistence for a greater number and variety of animals than could have otherwise existed in the world, and thus increases the general sum of happiness. If all animals had been herbivorous only, it is obvious that the same number and variety of them could not have subsisted in the same place, as may do so according to the present constitution. But, within certain limits, which have never yet been exceeded, the more numerous animals are, the greater is the sum total of happiness on earth. I have already had occasion to observe, that the fecundity of the several tribes of animals is well suited to their several terms of life, and to the dangers and waste to which they are exposed. Not one species perishes by the voracity of others. The predaceous kinds are not nearly so numerous as those of a more mild and inoffensive nature; there are thousands of sheep for one tiger; innumerable larks for one eagle.

The fecundity of animals enables us to regulate the numbers of any kind, according to our wants or our pleasure. It is also the means of filling up the blank where man does not dwell. Such is the constitution of nature, that if we turn up the soil in any spot, it will ere long be clothed with verdure, although we sow nothing there. Seeds will find their way to the place. In like manner, although man retire from any part of the earth, it will not remain an untenanted wilderness. Some of the inferior tribes will take possession of it. It will still be a scene of life and of enjoyment. If man return, he can make the inferior animals of every kind retire before him, contribute to his subsistence, or aid him in his labours.

The depredations of animals, then, upon each other is only an apparent, not a real evil: it forms no solid objection against the goodness of Deity, for it does not appear to diminish the happiness of any animal during life. It abridges suffering at death, and furnishes subsistence to a greater number of animals than could otherwise live on the earth. Moreover, the inferior animals have no moral nature to be depraved by the system of depredation, or to be improved by the sufferings preceding death in the slow decays of nature, or in the progress of disease. Man may act towards them in such a way as to deprave his moral faculties: wanton cruelty will harden his heart. But if he make only a legitimate use of his dominion, he may avail himself of them, either to assist him in his labours, or to supply his wants, without any perversion or debasement of his nature.

3. The pains and sorrows to which man is exposed from his constitution, and the circumstances in which he is placed.

We may here take notice of an objection on which some persons seem to lay considerable stress. They complain that the progress of population always presses upon or outstrips the means of subsistence, and that the consequent unavoidable misery is an evidence that the Author of Nature is careless about human happiness. This constitution, however, is in exact accordance with the other parts of the system, and produces most beneficial effects: it calls forth exertion, sharpens ingenuity, prompts to the appropriation and culture of the soil, and to the arts and improvements which enrich and adorn society; it spreads mankind over the different parts of the globe, and conducts the genial stream of knowledge and civilization to every country. The band of wandering savages subsists by gathering the spontaneous productions of the earth, and by hunting and fishing. When their numbers multiply they seek an addition to their precarious maintenance by a partial cultivation of the ground. The principle of multiplication, acting as a propelling power, presses them forward in the career of agricultural improvement. Arts are invented, commerce is undertaken, the variety of roots, fruits, and grains is accommodated to a growing community.

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* Montgomery's Pelican Island.

When by a skilful agriculture, and a judicious adjustment of crops, the soil is made to produce the greatest possible quantity of human food, then cultivation has attained perfection. In no country, however, has agriculture hitherto reached this point; for in many parts even of China, of the great population of which so much has been said, the cultivation of the earth is in a very imperfect state. Unoccupied or thinly inhabited regions are open to receive an overflowing, or discontented and restless population, just as some part of our native country commonly receives us when we quit the paternal roof which sheltered our infant and youthful years. These emigrants carry along with them part of the manners and attainments of their native land, and diffuse knowledge and civilization more widely over the earth. In this way industry is kept in constant activity, and mankind are gradually improved. But while the principle of population is of such vast and beneficial importance in the course of human affairs, it is not to be forgotten that the passions and appetites ought to be under the guidance of reason; and that marriage ought not to be entered into, without foresight and a due consideration of circumstances. In densely peopled countries, prudential restraints operate as a silent, but powerful check on the increase of the species. Instead, however, of dwelling on this subject, we shall pass on to other topics.

From the constitution of our nature, and the circumstances in which we are placed, we are unavoidably exposed to occasional pain, grief, and disease; and we must at last die. Pain, grief, and disease are sometimes entirely owing to the abuse of free agency; and sometimes they are greatly increased by it. In so far as they flow from this source, we have ourselves to blame; and this part of the subject has been considered in a preceding section. At present, it is only that portion of pain and grief to which we are unavoidably exposed by the constitution of our nature and the circumstances in which we are placed that claims our attention. This, comparatively speaking, forms but a small portion of human suffering. If from the sum total we subtract the product of imprudence, folly, and vice, we will leave but a small remainder behind: and with respect to this remainder, it is the result of wise general laws, and is productive of good effects.

Our body is a material fabric, and must be subject to those general laws by which matter is governed. General laws, as we have already seen, are highly advantageous. Without them we would be altogether at a loss how to act. They are beacons for the regulation of our conduct. Yet from their operation partial evils may arise. The law of gravitation is good; but a stone may fall, and hurt or kill a man; or a man may fall and be hurt or killed. But why were we made susceptible of pain? To this it may be replied, that we cannot easily conceive a material being susceptible of pleasure, and not also susceptible of pain. Certain it is that pain is often the means of giving a higher relish to pleasure, while its removal is a source of sweet enjoyment. It is even productive of good effects in the measure in which we are exposed to it; for who would wish to be deprived of that sensibility which is the occasion of pain? We may even go farther, and assert that it proves benevolent intention, for it is never inflicted on us merely for its own sake, but is a sentinel to watch over our preservation and our happiness.

What has been said of pain may be applied in some measure to grief. Some sorrows are counterbalanced by concomitant pleasures. "The joy of grief," at first sight, may seem a solecism in language; but the propriety and beauty of the expression are recognized by those who have attended to the operations of their own minds. I pass over the griefs which arise from false estimates, lofty pretensions, violent passions, and the whims of a sickly and perverted imagination. They are the creatures of our own folly, and can never with justice be set down in the account against our Creator. The mortifications, the griefs, and the sufferings from political institutions of society, fall under free agency. If men chose, those things might be otherwise. If the institutions are really best for all, there is no reason to complain of them. If they be the means of sacrificing the happiness of the many to the interests or caprice of the few, this is an abuse of free agency, and falls under the observations made in a former section.

Similar remarks may be applied to bodily disease. Where there is no neglect or perversion of our means, no abuse of free agency, disease does not often occur. It is a common and a true observation, that exercise and temperance are the best physicians. Most persons find occasion for the first of these in the course of their lawful avocations: it is our own fault if we neglect the last. By industry we are able, generally speaking, to procure the means of satisfying the desires of nature: to pamper luxury is injurious to health; for if one die of hunger, or of disease induced by too spare a diet, ten hasten their dissolution by repletion and surfeiting. When we consider the complicated mechanism of the human body, and the variety of circumstances in which we may be placed without injury, we are justified in saying that health is not easily impaired. It often remains uninjured, or is but little affected, although the body be in very different states and circumstances.

The decays of old age, or long continued disease, reconcile us to dissolution. The love of life, in general, is sufficiently strong to induce us to use every means in our power for its preservation, and to submit to all our trials rather than resign it. Still the mind, as well as the body, is gradually prepared for a change. Death has a formidable aspect to a person in health; but to one who has passed through the gradually declining stages of old age, or of lingering sickness, it has lost much of its terrors. Every step prepares for that which is to follow. Death is the lot of humanity, and the time when we shall undergo that change is uncertain. This uncertainty is a wise appointment. It preserves the spur to caution and activity, neither checking the spirit of enterprise by the prospect of impending dissolution, nor yet encouraging temerity, presumption, or procrastination, by the certainty of a prolongation of life.

This world is not a place for our everlasting residence. Here we cannot reach the perfections of our nature; and if we could, this earth would be found an unsuitable habitation. It would present too many causes of irritation, and would not afford adequate sources of enjoyment. It is fitted merely for the introductory stage of our progressive being. It is admirably adapted to our intellectual and moral improvement in that stage; and we are called off before the scene becomes unmeet for us. The generations of the human race pass away in succession to another state of existence, and this succession seems accommodated to the greatest sum total of happiness on earth. The young have the keenest relish for the world and its enjoyments. True, indeed, the evening of a good man's days is by no means comfortless; but his chief happiness arises from the retrospect of a well spent life, and the anticipation of a nobler state of being. In this world, we pass through a course of education for a better.

Is it objected that many of the human race make little or no improvement, either intellectual or moral? If they neglect their talents and opportunities, the blame is their own; and their misconduct can form no objection against the Author of their existence, and fountain of their mercies. Do you complain that you are cut off in the midst of your days? Your constitution is not indestructible, and in certain circumstances, you expose yourself to disease, which, operating according to general laws, may terminate fatally. In this, however, there is no *chance*, for *chance* is introduced only when knowledge ends; it is merely the operation of general laws to which we may not have duly attended. Many children die. But that so many infants die, is owing, in no small degree, to carelessness and mismanagement. In some foundling hospitals, scarcely any survive. In healthy situations, with healthy and attentive parents, few die. If children were not liable to death, parents would be utterly careless; but by the existing constitution of things, the carelessness of parents is punished by the wounds which the death of children inflicts on parental affection. As to the future state of children, we need have no difficulty in confiding it to that great and gracious Being who gives such innumerable instances of goodness in every department of nature around us.

Men are placed in very different circumstances in the world, and exposed to a variety of vicissitudes. But difference of external circumstances seems to occasion no diminution of happiness. The labourer who earns his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, is as healthy and as happy as he who wears a crown. The one is insensible to what we consider the hardships of his condition, the other is familiar with what we think his enjoyments; and in point of happiness, habit, and sentiment, have set them nearly on a level. That constitution of things by which trials overtake us, is adapted to the state of discipline in which we are placed, and aids conscience in indicating the path of duty, by checking our aberrations, curbing our passions, and producing salutary effects both on our intellectual and moral nature.

Without trial and suffering, both in ourselves and others, some of our best affections would lie dormant, and some of the noblest energies of our nature have no room for action. Where can courage, and fortitude, and patience, be acquired and displayed, but in the face of difficulties, and under the pressure of affliction? The skilful and intrepid mariner does not acquire his knowledge, dexterity, and courage, on the bosom of the sleeping lake. He must encounter the hardships and perils of the tempest. The hardy and fearless warrior is not trained in the calm sequestered vale of pastoral life: he must mingle in the fatigue, noise, and carnage of martial achievements. In like manner, the candidate for moral and intellectual excellence must not slumber away life on a bed of down: he must submit to laborious exertion and severe trial. How is a compassionate sympathy excited, except by scenes of sorrow and suffering? Hence the Hebrew sage, who was no inattentive observer of the moral tendencies of our nature, says, "It is better to go to the house of mourning than go to the house of feasting; for by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better." Our sufferings and sorrows, even when they produce no salutary effect on ourselves, may prove beneficial to others. Prosperity and adversity are different modes of education and trial, and our limited knowledge does not enable us to say which of them, in any given case, requires the steadiest exercise of virtue, or is the most efficacious means of improvement. In a higher stage of existence there may be no need for courage, fortitude, patience, and pity; because there danger and suffering, may be unknown. But there may be need for the temper formed by those virtues.

We have seen that the terraqueous globe is admirably fitted up as a place of residence for sentient beings; and a gradation of sentient beings is consistent with the wisdom and goodness of Deity. To deny this were, in effect, to deny that any creature could exist in a consistency with the divine perfections. If we declare it to be incompatible with wisdom and goodness to form creatures in any one point of the scale, we may, with equal propriety, make a similar declaration with respect to any other point. The earth is replenished with a great variety of animals, and it is fitted for being a scene of enjoyment to every species. Many of the kinds prey upon others; but this constitution impairs the happiness of none: it is the means of supporting a greater number than could otherwise have found subsistence, and consequently increases the sum of enjoyment. Man is the noblest inhabitant of the earth, and has dominion over the inferior creatures, He is a rational being, a free agent, the subject of moral government. He may abuse his liberty, and subject himself to a corresponding punishment. But this punishment results from his own perversity, and cannot be pleaded as an objection against the wisdom and goodness of God; for the agent might have acted otherwise, and not only avoided the punishment, but enjoyed reward. Moral evil, therefore, and all its consequences, must at once be laid out of the question, when estimating the perfections of Deity by his works and government.

The inferior animals are guided by instinct, and their nature is stationary. Man, however, is not only a rational but a progressive being; and he is endued with a restless activity. Here he is placed in a school, not seated at a banquet; and both his improvement and happiness are promoted by exertion. Everything around us is fitted to our constitution, to stimulate activity, to encourage hope, to reward industry. Nature does not spontaneously supply our wants and gratify our desires, but she yields to our ingenuity and diligence. A succession of wants and desires prompts to a repetition of exertions, and promotes progressive improvement. Difficulties occur; but they are not insuperable: they awaken our energies and exercise our talents. The prize is within our reach; but we must run vigorously in order to obtain it. The victory may be acquired, but we must combat valiantly in order to remain masters of the field. Of this constitution of things men may complain; they may complain that we must run to obtain the prize, that the crown is not set upon our head till we are qualified to wear it. This, however, is the only constitution of things suited to our nature. If we were placed in a scene where every want was easily and instantaneously supplied, and every wish at once gratified without contrivance or exertion; where there was no room for hope or fear, for ingenuity or activity, for the operation of the affections of the heart or the powers of the understanding, we would be torpid creatures, overwhelmed with melancholy languor, and scarcely able to support the burden of life. But the vicissitudes and trials to which we are exposed call forth our energies, awaken the noblest sensibilities of our nature, and strengthen our best affections.

Disease is not unfrequently the means of leading to the path of virtue; it has a salutary operation on our moral constitution, and prepares us for the rewards of obedience. Death is a departure from the present scene; and we have good reason to conclude that, with respect to those who have acted virtuously here, it is a transition to a more exalted state of being. No virtuous person, then, has reason to complain: the vicious ought to direct their murmurs and complaints, not against the Author of their existence and their enjoyments, but against their own folly and perversity in disobeying the dictates of reason and conscience, and so forfeiting that happiness which the bountiful Creator has placed within their reach.

BOOK IV.

THE GOSPEL.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOSPEL A MESSAGE FROM GOD.

Having attended to the evidence of Nature in support of the being, perfections, and government of God, we shall now listen to the testimony of Revelation on the same interesting topics. The Deity evidently appears in his works; but there we see only the great outlines of his character, and these outlines dimly and at a distance. We see so much of Him that we can be in no mistake as to his existence and some of his attributes; but we have only a general notion of his character, as we have of the features of a person whom we see in the twilight. If we wish to obtain a nearer and more distinct view of the perfections of the Creator, we must turn to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, which throw a bright glory around the throne of our Father.

Jesus addresses us as the prophet of the church and "the light of the world." He speaks with authority as the ambassador of God and the Saviour of men; promises the noblest rewards to his faithful and obedient followers; and denounces vengeance against those who refuse to listen to his voice and walk in his way. As he assumes such an authoritative tone, and enforces his doctrine by such lofty sanctions, it is natural and interesting to inquire upon what grounds his pretentions rest, and how he proves his commission from God. Therefore, before entering on the consideration of his doctrines, we shall glance at the proofs of his mission; although it is not intended to enter fully into the evidences of the gospel, but merely to make a few short remarks on the subject; and we assume the facts recorded in the evangelical history as true, in so far at least as they are not miraculous. That Jesus lived in Judea, and was put to death as a malefactor in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, is attested by heathen historians as well as by Jews and Christians. We may as well deny that Tiberius Cæsar was emperor, and Pontius Pilate procurator of Judea, as deny the leading facts recorded in the history of Jesus. Besides, in the gospel all the allusions to manners, customs, and opinions, to natural and to civil history, and to local circumstances, are strictly correct. This gives no small degree of credit to the narration. Assuming, then, the truth of the ordinary facts in the gospel, the question is, whether, in all the circumstances of the case, we have sufficient reason to believe the miraculous facts, and to receive the doctrine as the word of God.

The single fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ draws after it the divinity of his mission and the truth of his doctrine. Concerning many things that have been stated as doctrines of Jesus, Christians may dispute among themselves. But how much soever those disputes may affect the peculiar creed of sects or of individuals, they make no impression on the divine mission of Christ, or on the truth of the doctrines which he really taught. If we have credible evidence of his resurrection from the dead, according to his own prediction, we have at the same time credible evidence of the divinity of his mission, and truth of his religion. Overturn the evidence of the resurrection, and you destroy the claims of Jesus as a teacher sent from God; but if you establish his resurrection, you place his divine mission and the truth of his doctrine beyond the reach of suspicion. At the tomb of Jesus the great controversy between the infidel and the believer must be decided.

The evidence that Christ rose from the dead, although it do not obviate every cavil and silence every gainsayer, is such as may satisfy the sober and candid inquirer after truth. Jesus repeatedly foretold his resurrection. This cannot in fair argument be denied. The reality of the prediction is closely connected with an ordinary fact, the stationing of a Roman guard at the sepulchre. The prediction cannot be denied without also denying that a guard watched the tomb; for the one was the cause of the other. If any person refuse to admit this, he may just as well deny any other historical fact, the crucifixion, or even the very existence of Christ. With the extravagance of Boulanger and Dupuis, he may maintain that Jesus and his twelve apostles were merely personifications of the sun and of the twelve signs of the zodiac; or, with the ignorant and unblushing effrontery of others, he may assert that Jesus selected his disciples from among the learned men of his nation. But the reveries of the disordered imaginations of fanatics in infidelity and atheism are not to be substituted in the room of the dictates of sound reason and the genuine records of history. Unless historical evidence is to be entirely set aside, the stationing of the guard, and consequently the prediction of the resurrection, must be admitted.

Now, for a person to foretell his own resurrection from the dead, and to suspend, as Jesus did, the credit of his character and claims upon the accomplishment of this singular prediction, is surely, in a person of a sound understanding, as Jesus unquestionably was, a very surprising circumstance. But when we see this singular and unprecedented prediction fulfilled, we cannot account for it in any other way, than by admitting the divine mission and inspiration of Him who uttered it. We have, however, credible and satisfactory evidence that this prediction of Jesus was fulfilled. Without entering minutely into circumstances, or stating the proof of the resurrection in detail, we shall mention merely one branch of the evidence; the plain and decisive testimony of eleven men. With respect to the fact under consideration, those eleven men could not themselves be deceived, and we have no reason whatever to suspect that they had any intention of deceiving others. They could not themselves be deceived. Their opportunities of obtaining certain information preclude this supposition. They were not easy of belief. One of them, in presence of the rest, examined the fact with all the jealous attention of incredulity. His doubts were completely removed, and his faith firmly established.

As we cannot imagine that these eleven men were themselves deceived, shall we suppose that there was a collusion among them to deceive the world? Both their characters and their circumstances set this supposition aside. Everything on the face of the record, the whole tenor of the gospel history, proclaims them honest men. Indeed, none but honest men would have acted the part they did. They had no worldly motive to declare that their Master was risen from the dead. They well knew that from this they were not to derive either ease, or honour, or emolument. Obloquy, persecution, and death, were the only fruits which they could expect to reap from their testimony. They must, then, have acted from a thorough conviction of the truth of the fact which they published, and from a full persuasion of its unspeakable importance to their own happiness, and to the best interests of the human race. Any apparent discrepancy in their account of the event merely shows that they did not act in concert, but in no degree invalidates their testimony. The resurrection of Jesus is only one instance of the great argument arising from prophecy and miracles. It combines the two. It is a miracle in fulfilment of the prophecy. Instead, however, of a more minute discussion of this subject, we shall take a cursory view of the evidence of the divine mission of Jesus as resulting from miracles, from prophecy, from the character of Jesus, and from the intrinsic excellence of the gospel. It is not our intention to treat of these at large, but merely to make a few remarks, corresponding rather with the brevity of the other parts of this treatise, than with the importance of the subject under consideration.

Even the possibility of a revelation from God has been denied: and were the thing impossible, it were mere trifling to adduce evidence that it had actually happened, for no evidence could prove it true. The impossibility, however, of a divine revelation is not only a gratuitous but an absurd assumption. For if there be a God, wise and good, by whom all things exist, as we think has been already proved, then it is pure folly to deny the possibility, either physical or moral, of his communicating the knowledge of his will to his rational offspring. Has his potent arm projected the planets in their orbits; has he endued us with organs of sense, with instinct and with reason, and can he not impart to us the knowledge of his will, and of our duty? Has he made a liberal provision for the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and shall be withhold instruction from his erring children? Has he provided, in the natural world, for the removal or our bodily disorders, and shall he neglect our moral diseases? Let the cheerless partisan of infidelity brood over these absurdities, and flatter his own guilty passions by denying the existence, or limiting the perfections of the Creator; but let every one who is desirous of knowing his duty, and of rising to intellectual and moral excellence, rejoice in the full persuasion, that the Sovereign of the universe can easily communicate the knowledge of his will to all on whom he has bestowed understanding, and that he will not withhold instruction from the subjects of his government.

It has been alleged that revelation was unnecessary. But if it appear that "the world by wisdom knew not God," then the expediency of revelation is manifest. We may, with perfect certainty, discover the existence of the Almighty by his works and government; and we are capable, in some degree, of acquiring a knowledge of the perfections of his nature, from the same sources. Accordingly, some heathen writers have expressed many just sentiments concerning the attributes of God, and the duty of man; but without either the certainty or precision of revelation. Their doctrine, however, had no influence on the opinions, worship, or conduct of the multitude. The mass of mankind are neither qualified nor inclined to follow any chain of reasoning, nor to trace the links of a system. They need to have the truth set before them in a plain and practical manner, and enforced by solemn and affecting sanctions. With the single exception of the Hebrews, let us take any ancient nation of which we have an authentic record, and we will find their faith, worship, and practice, at variance with the dictates of sound reason. Let us take any modern nation, such as the Chinese or Hindoos, where the creed of the people has in no degree been influenced and modified by the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and we will find their faith and their worship equally absurd.

As far then as an experiment of vast extent, and carried on in almost every possible variety of circumstances, can enable us to judge, we may fairly pronounce, that, without a revelation, neither the faith, worship, nor practice of the bulk of mankind would have been consistent with sound reason. Perhaps one great cause of postponing the appearance of Jesus Christ till such a late period was, that men might have an experimental proof of this important truth, and be led to a grateful sense of the value of the gospel; for if, in the face of such a mass of evidence to the contrary, some persons plead that there was no need of a revelation, this plea might have been far more plausibly urged, if the state of the world without a revelation had never been exhibited to view. But the history of mankind, previous to the appearance of the Son of God, evinces the expediency of a divine revelation; and some of the wisest of the heathens were sensible of their need of such a blessing.

The denial of the possibility of a revelation requires no common measure of effrontery: and an impartial review of the state of the world previous to the Christian dispensation must satisfy every candid and serious inquirer of the expediency of such a communication from heaven. Jesus Christ laid claim to the character of a teacher sent from God; and, if called upon to show his commission, instead of any abstract reasoning, to which few would have attended, and which still fewer would have understood, he appealed to miracles, which multitudes could attest, and which force conviction equally on the untutored and on the cultivated mind; or to predictions contained in well known books, written many ages before. We have already taken notice of his resurrection, and shall now shortly attend to his miracles, and the prophecies concerning him.

1. The miracles performed by Jesus attest his divine mission.

We may consider a miracle as a transgression or suspension of the established laws of nature. What those laws are, on any given subject, observation and experience must determine; and in some cases phenomena may occur, concerning which it may not be easy to decide whether they be miraculous or otherwise. In other instances there is no room for any doubt of this kind. The restoration of life to one really dead, giving sight to the blind, and health to the sick, instantaneously, and by merely uttering a word, may, without doubt or hesitation, be pronounced miraculous. They are evidently out of the ordinary course of nature.

I see no impossibility in miracles, either in a physical or moral point of view. To talk of the unalterable constitution of nature is assuming everything. If the constitution of nature be unalterable, it must be so, either because the Creator is unable, or because he is unwilling to change it. That he is unable to change it is not true; for, to suspend or to transgress the established laws of nature, cannot require a greater power than what was necessary for the establishment of those laws. We have already seen that an all-powerful Being constructed the fabric of the universe, and it is obvious that he is able, at pleasure, either to suspend or to transgress the laws which he has established. We are not to conceive of miracles as intended to remedy any physical imperfection, any original or accidental defect in the system of nature, but as designed to manifest to the world the interposition of the Almighty for purposes of a moral kind; to prove to men that He addresses them. The general laws by which the world is governed were established for wise and good purposes; and if, in any case, wise and good purposes can be served by a departure from them, what hinders the Creator from such a departure? The laws are subject to the will of the Creator, and he may discover wisdom and goodness in occasional departure from them, as much as in varying and accommodating means to the accomplishment of ends in the original constitution of the laws.

That miracles are contrary to all experience is not true. To affirm it is a gratuitous assumption of the whole matter in dispute. They are different from the experience of those only who have not seen them; and we are never to set up our negative experience as the standard and measure of truth; for experience is only one source of knowledge. The king of Siam refused to believe the Dutch ambassador, who told him that in his country water became so hard in cold weather that men walked upon it, and that it would bear even an elephant if he were there; but we know that water freezes. The South Sea Islanders, when first visited by our circumnavigators, had no way of subjecting water to the action of fire, and had therefore no conception that water could burn them; but they learned the fact by painful experience. In like manner, although we have not seen miracles, this is no evidence that others have not seen them.

From the very notion of a miracle, it must be something that seldom happens. What happens often, we have reason to think, happens according to a general law. A miracle, however, is a deviation from the general law; it seldom happens, and consequently few, comparatively speaking, can be witnesses of it. The evidence necessary to prove miracles is of the same kind with what is necessary to prove any other matter of fact; the testimony of our own senses or the testimony of other men; and the proof is equally valid to all succeeding generations. In order to determine the truth of an event, it has been required that it be such as men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may judge of; that it be done publicly in the face of the world; and that there be memorials of it commencing from the time when the event happened. Events may have happened where all these circumstances do not meet; but in cases where they all meet, no doubts can be entertained. All these marks apply to the miracles of Jesus. They were such as men's external senses could judge of. He instantaneously healed the sick and the lame, and opened the eyes of the blind; he calmed the raging of the sea, and even raised the dead. Those miracles Jesus performed, not in a few instances only, or before a few individuals; not in the presence of friends and admirers merely: and not before the ignorant and credulous only: but he performed them frequently and publicly, and in the presence of promiscuous multitudes, many of whom were his most determined enemies, watching him with a jealous and malignant eye, scrutinizing every circumstance, and ready to detect every fraud, if there had been any. Those hostile persons were the most enlightened men in the Jewish nation, in an enlightened age.

The account of miracles was published immediately, and in the places where they had been performed. Those miracles the most malignant enemies of Jesus, and they who had the best opportunities of examining the facts, never pretended to deny. They admitted them, because they were so decisively proved that there was no room left for the suspicion of deception. If they, then, who were present on the spot at the time, and had the best opportunities of investigating all the circumstances connected with those miracles, found themselves constrained to admit their truth; and if, in this admission, Celsus and Julian, and other early infidels agreed, it is with a bad grace that any in our days pretend to deny them. They must be admitted, unless we set aside entirely the evidence of historical testimony; and when admitted we must account for them in the best way we can. The enemies of Jesus, finding themselves unable to deny the reality of his miracles, were reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to account for them, in a way consistent with their opinion, that he was not a teacher sent from God. To their account of the matter let us shortly attend; and, consider, *first*, Whether any being but God has the power of working miracles; and, *secondly*, Whether the miracles of Jesus are such as wicked spirits would willingly concur in performing.

First, The power of working miracles, so far as we know or have any reason to believe, is inherent in God only. He established the laws of nature; he still superintends the workmanship of his hands; and we know of no power, but that to which the laws of nature owe their origin, which can either transgress or suspend those laws. If we, therefore, find any agent at pleasure transgressing or suspending them, we are led to conclude that he acts under the authority, and is supported by the power, of Him by whom the laws were established. Miracles are visible proofs of divine power, in approbation of him by whom they are performed. They are the seal of Heaven, and show the concurrence of the great Ruler of the universe. Accordingly, mankind have always acknowledged them as evidence of a divine mission. The Jew, who had received his sight, reasoned agreeably to the general sense of men of every age. "We know that God heareth not sinners: but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing."*

Secondly, What are we to think of the allegation of those Jews who ascribed the miracles of Jesus to the agency of wicked spirits. That such beings exist in the universe is no unreasonable supposition; and revelation informs us of the fact. Free agents of a much higher order than man may abuse their liberty, and may pervert and misapply their faculties to mischievous purposes. The devil and his angels do so. But we have no reason to believe that they are able to disturb the laws of nature in their operation, or to prevent their effects. We have no evidence whatever that any creature, either good or bad, has power to suspend the laws of nature, without the authority of Him by whom those laws were established. No good being would make the attempt for a bad purpose; no bad being would do so for a good purpose. Now, the doctrine of Jesus was so pure and heavenly, that no evil spirit would have attempted anything for its confirmation. Here the external and the internal evidences of the gospel mutually support each other. If depraved beings had exerted their power for the confirmation of the doctrine of Jesus, their empire would have been divided against itself, and must have fallen into ruin. The supposition that the miracles of Jesus were done by magic will obtain no credit in our day, and therefore need not detain us. The most zealous infidel will not venture to allege it; as even the gross credulity of his brethren would not receive it.

There are no phenomena, either in the natural or in the moral world, that countenance the supposition of any creature whatever being permitted to work miracles for the purpose of deceiving and misleading the children of men, without the evidence resulting from their operations being destroyed by superior evidence. The wise men of Egypt wrought miracles, or the semblance of miracles; but they were defeated by the superior power of Moses and Aaron, and obliged to confess that the finger of God was displayed in the works which the Hebrew sages performed. Considering all these things, it appears to us that the reasoning of Nicodemus, and the appeals of Jesus, are unanswerable. "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." "Though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him."[*]

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* John, ix. 31, 33.

2. Prophecy is the prediction of future and contingent events. It is a kind of miracle; and has a relation to the knowledge of God, as the miracles which we have been considering have to his power. The one is the work of Omniscience, the other of Omnipotence. Miracles of power convince at once, and, after being properly authenticated, their evidence always remains the same. Prophecy is no evidence of a divine mission at the time of its delivery, for we know not whether the prediction will be fulfilled. It becomes evidence only when it begins to receive its completion; and, when it relates to different events, the evidence resulting from it gradually becomes stronger till the whole be accomplished. The foresight of man is very limited. When a person of sagacity, who has had many opportunities of observation, and much experience of human affairs, sees matters in a certain train, he can, in many instances, with no inconsiderable degree of precision, foretell what the issue will be. But this foresight is circumscribed by narrow boundaries, and even within those boundaries it is liable to no small uncertainty. Some unforeseen accident may intervene, disturb the course of events, break the chain of connexion, and produce results different from those which were expected.

God, we may reasonably presume, is the only Being in the universe who perceives with certainty the future actions of free agents, and the remote consequences of all those laws of nature which he himself has established. Here we remark, that it is a gross abuse to argue from the divine prescience against the freedom of man. We may not be able clearly to reconcile them; and yet it may not follow that God is not omniscient, nor yet that man is not free. We have no good reason to believe that there is any incompatibility between the two. The whole difficulty of reconciling them lies in our incapacity. Of the divine omniscience we know but little, and in every case where any of the premises rest on our ignorance or incapacity, our conclusions may be very illogical. Prophecy, therefore, and the prescience of God, cannot logically be adduced as evidences against the freedom of man. Assuming it as a principle that God only foresees future, distant, and contingent events, it follows, that if we find any person predicting such events, and see those events happening agreeably to the prediction, we are authorized to conclude that the person was inspired by God, and employed in his service. In the sacred records, there are many predictions, on different subjects, which prove those who uttered them to have been under the influence of divine inspiration. But it is those which relate more immediately to Jesus, that at present engage our attention. They may be considered as of two kinds; *first*, those which foretold his advent; *secondly*, those which he himself delivered.

Of the first kind, we have not merely a few detached predictions of local, individual, and temporary interest, like the heathen oracles; but a great system of prophecy, delivered at distant periods through a long succession of ages, all pointing to the same person, and foretelling the same events. Those prophecies are not of a doubtful origin or ambiguous meaning. They are authentic and unmutilated records, which for many ages had been well known to the Jewish nation; and all the learned among that ancient people considered those predictions as foretelling the appearance of an illustrious personage, and a great revolution which he was to accomplish. Those predictions, like the morning light, gradually became clearer as the fulness of time approached; and they all terminate on Jesus, and receive their accomplishment in him. The family from which he was to spring, the place of his nativity, the time of his appearance, the works he was to perform, the sufferings he was to endure, and the nature and progress of his kingdom, were all the subjects of ancient prophecy. Those predictions had reached the ears, and attracted the notice of the Gentile world; and even heathen historians inform us that a general belief prevailed among oriental nations, that about that time a mighty prince was to appear in Judea. When we compare those predictions with the history of Jesus of Nazareth, we perceive such a correspondence between them, as constrains us to apply the predictions to him only, and to say, "This is he who was to come."

The predictions of Jesus himself bear a clear testimony to his divine character and mission. We have already seen that he foretold his own death and resurrection. The prediction was astonishing; its fulfilment is decisive evidence of his mission. We shall mention only one more of his predictions; that relating to the destruction of Jerusalem. It is recorded by the evangelist Matthew, in his twenty-fourth chapter. We have there an account of many minute circumstances that were to precede the siege, and that were to happen in its progress; and we have the dreadful catastrophe itself. The prediction was uttered at a time, and in circumstances, when no human sagacity could have foreseen the the calamitous event; and all, even the most minute circumstances of the prophecy, were exactly fulfilled. "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

3. The character of Him in whom so many prophecies unite, and who performed so many miracles, is entitled to our attentive contemplation. It does not belie his claims, as the Son of God and the Captain of Salvation. It is the noblest, the most amiable and consistent character that is any where exhibited to us, either in the page of history or in the fictions of imagination. It is strongly marked by soundness of judgment, excellency of temper, and purity of morals. He displayed too much wisdom for a fanatic; too much virtue for an impostor. A majestic simplicity, fervent piety, integrity, candour, benevolence, temperance, meekness, and patience, all unite their charms, and shine with harmonious lustre in the character of Jesus of Nazareth. A devout veneration of God, and a dutiful regard to every divine command, appear throughout the whole of his conduct. His heart was often poured out in prayer to his Father. He delighted in the Sabbath and in the Sanctuary. To do the will of HIM who sent him was his constant study and supreme ambition. With him there was no bustling parade, no vain ostentation; all was sincere piety, and unaffected benevolence.

While his piety was free from superstition, from local or temporary prejudices, and from illiberal sentiments, benignity reigned in his heart, beamed on his countenance, and regulated his conduct. He was the friend of the friendless; the shield of those who had none to help them. He did not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax. He cherished every sentiment of humanity, and every aspiration after virtue. He was indefatigable in doing good to the souls and to the bodies of men; and in his labour of love, he persevered in spite of difficulties, calumny, and persecution. Active benevolence, patient fortitude, meek forbearance, and a forgiving disposition, were prominent features in his character. He was temperate, humble, and holy. His life is a perfect model of the fervour of devotion, and the dignity of virtue. Can there exist, for a moment, a suspicion that a person of such a sound understanding was himself deceived, or that such exalted virtue was concerned in imposture? It is impossible. The character of Jesus vouches the divinity of his mission, and the truth of his doctrine. What he enjoins on others, he himself practised. If his followers be called upon to walk in an arduous path, they are cheered by the sight of their Master proceeding in it steadily before them. In striving to obey his precepts, they are guided and encouraged by his example.

4. The doctrine of Jesus bears testimony to his character as a teacher sent from God. We assume it as a principle, that a revelation from God cannot contain anything *contrary* to sound reason; for both reason and revelation are the gift of God, and they are both bestowed upon us for the regulation of our hearts and lives. It were absurd to imagine that God has subjected us to two different and contrary teachers. He may subject us to two teachers, the one of which may communicate more information than the other; but there must be a congruity between them, so that by the lessons of our first instructer we may be able to judge of the truth and importance of the communications made to us by the second. Reason, as Bishop Butler has observed, is the only faculty we have wherewith to judge of anything, even revelation itself.

Revelation may inform us of truths which reason could never have discovered, or enjoin precepts which the dictates of nature do not teach us to observe. For example, it may inform us how transgressors of the divine law may obtain pardon and favour, or it may enjoin a particular time or manner of offering up our homage to God; points on which reason could not have made any certain discovery. Revelation may contain truths which our limited capacity cannot fully comprehend; and in this it will only harmonize with creation. In both we may perceive the same grandeur, and meet with similar difficulties. But these difficulties, instead of forming any solid objection against either, seem only to intimate that nature and revelation have a common Author. Our partial ignorance is a spur to attentive observation, and diligent inquiry.

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[*] John, iii. 2.—x. 38.

While a revelation from God may contain truths which reason could never have discovered, or which our limited capacity cannot fully comprehend, it can contain nothing contrary to sound and unperverted reason: it must agree with the intellectual and moral perceptions of our nature. The doctrine of Jesus has this grand test of a divine revelation. It is consonant to the moral constitution of the human mind, and is in full accordance with the phenomena of the natural world. It decides what was doubtful, elucidates what was obscure, and imparts a new efficacy to what was formerly believed. It dispels the clouds which hung over the perfections and government of God, and gives a luminous view of the nature, state, duties, and prospects of man.

Mankind have always been conscious of the imperfection of their virtue, have been sensible of their guilt, and have had recourse to sacrificial expiations. The gospel teaches us that we have lost our native glory, labour under great moral disease, and are obnoxious to the penal visitations of the Almighty: it also teaches us that our heavenly Father, who with unwearied wisdom and goodness governs the universe, has mercifully devised a plan for our recovery; that he vouchsafes all needful aid to those who are earnestly desirous of treading in the paths of virtue; that he has provided a perfect propitiation for the sins of the world; and that they who make a wise and diligent improvement of the talents intrusted to their care shall be nobly rewarded, whereas they who neglect or abuse those talents shall be fearfully punished. It explicitly teaches the doctrine of immortality and future retribution, of which the human mind had always entertained some conception. In short, while it establishes a sublime faith, and a simple and spiritual worship, it inculcates an equitable and benevolent system of morals, which it enforces by the most exalted and awful sanctions. Some of these truths we shall afterwards more fully consider.

To be duly sensible of the excellency of the gospel, we must not forget the state of religion throughout the world when Jesus appeared. The nations professing themselves to be wise had become fools. They were wandering in darkness, and sitting in the shadow of death. With the exception of the Jews, polytheism universally prevailed. Among the multitude of deities which the heathen worshipped, there was not one irradiated with the attributes of purity, benevolence, and mercy: they were all capricious, selfish, revengeful. The faith of the nations was for the most part error; their practice for the most part vice. Even among the Hebrews, who enjoyed the lively oracles of God, religion was greatly corrupted. It was disfigured by vain traditions, and loaded with superstitious observances. But from the midst of this universal gloom the Sun of Righteousness burst forth with healing in his rays. By the breath of his mouth Jesus dissipated the clouds of error and delusion; he chased away the multitude of fictitious divinities that had usurped the empire of the moral world, and taught mankind to adore and obey one God, the Creator, Governor, and Judge of the universe. Instead of placing religion in rites and ceremonies, in gaudy pageants and costly sacrifices, he taught that we are to testify our reverence for God by living soberly, righteously, and piously, in the world. What a noble and rational view of religion does Jesus exhibit! How instructive, encouraging, and consolatory! His doctrine is adapted to the wants, the fears, and the hopes of man. And are we to suppose that a poor illiterate Jew, attended by a few ignorant and obscure fishermen from the Lake Tiberias, without supernatural aid, soared so far above the loftiest conceptions of the most illustrious sages of the heathen world, taught lessons of wisdom and virtue to which even Socrates would have listened with admiration and delight, and brought about a revolution in the opinions and practice of men, which the most enlightened philosophers could never accomplish, nor even conceive?

Considering these several arguments of which we have shortly taken notice, miracles, prophecy, the character of Jesus, and the excellence of the gospel, it must appear to every candid and serious mind, that the claims of Jesus as a teacher sent from God are well founded; that it is our duty to listen to him as the Ambassador of Heaven, and to follow him as the Captain of Salvation. If any complain that the evidence on this subject is not so decisive as it might have been, we reply that revelation is a moral plan for exercising our faculties and trying our dispositions. Its evidence is sufficiently clear, to give rational encouragement to hope, and excitement to duty. The design of the gospel is not to overpower our understanding by irresistible and compulsory evidence, but to afford such reasonable proof as is sufficient to satisfy moral inquirers, who are endued with faculties to perceive the truth, but who at the same time have power to resist it, and finally to forfeit all its blessings. Neither reason nor revelation force men to submit to their authority: both of them teach the lessons of truth, and point out the path of virtue, showing what we are to avoid and what to pursue, with the consequences of each. But they leave us to act as we please, after communicating this information and giving this warning.

If the evidence of the gospel had been irresistible and compulsory, it would not have harmonized with the other phenomena connected with our present state, and would have been unsuitable to a scheme of moral agency and final retribution. If we introduce irresistibility and compulsion; if we render it impossible to disbelieve and disobey, we destroy moral government, virtue and vice, reward and punishment. Bishop Butler has stated, that objections against Christianity, as distinguished from objections against its evidences, are in a great measure frivolous. And this is unquestionably true in considering the analogy between natural and revealed religion; for if the evidence of revelation be satisfactory, this places it on the same level with creation; and if the difficulties be similar, then revelation is not more liable to objection than nature. In the construction of the Universe, and in the scheme of Providence, as well as in our holy Christianity, the plan of the Almighty is extensive, and contains some things hard to be understood by us. Neither in nature nor in revelation can we minutely trace every step of the Divine procedure, and distinctly show how everything harmonizes in promoting the perfection of one great whole. But it is not rationally to be expected that such limited beings as we are should fully comprehend the works and ways of Him who is infinite.

CHAPTER II.

HARMONY OF NATURE AND REVELATION.

We have seen that Jesus Christ is the prophet of the church, commissioned by the Father to reveal his will to the children of men, consequently there can be no dispute about any doctrine in the Bible. It is the province of reason to weigh the evidences of revelation, and to ascertain the meaning of what it contains; but after this is accomplished there is no longer any room for doubt: it is our duty to believe and obey. Listening to Jesus as a teacher sent from God, let us attend to the account which he gives of the perfections and government of Him by whom he was sent.

Jesus Christ, like his servants the prophets and apostles, assumes the existence of the Almighty as a first principle; a truth too obvious to be denied, too interesting to be forgotten, and too important to be neglected. They address us with the solemnity and authority of the ambassadors of heaven, speaking in the name, and delivering the message of the Universal Sovereign. Occasionally, indeed, they glance at the proofs of his existence from creation and providence; but they do so rather incidentally than in a didactic manner: they state the argument, but do not dwell upon it. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handywork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard." "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." "He left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." In these passages our attention is turned to the argument from creation and providence in proof of the Being of God. On this argument, however, the inspired writers do not enlarge; for their object was not to prove his existence, but to give evidence that they were his servants, commissioned by him to instruct his children. The gospel, then, is called not as a witness to the Being of God, for that it assumes; but to bear testimony concerning his attributes and government, his will and our duty. The representation of his perfections given in the Scriptures agrees with the draught exhibited in creation, and fills up the picture of the Divine portrait consistently with the grand outline sketched by the pencil of Nature.

1. Nature proclaims the Deity to be powerful, wise, and good; and with this proclamation revelation agrees. The Scripture character of God is worthy of the Universal Parent, who there appears in an attitude that must at once excite veneration, and conciliate affection. He is "the King eternal,

mmortal, invisible, the only wise God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, who fainteth not, neither is weary." At his command the stupendous fabric of the universe rose into existence. He said, "Let there be light, and there was light:" he spread out the heavens as a curtain; and formed this lower world in the hollow of his hand, giving breath to them that are upon it, and spirit to them that dwell therein. He is the former of our bodies, and the father of our spirits; his inspiration gives us understanding. But he is not a being of mere power. He does not wield the thunderbolt in an arbitrary and capricious manner; nor with ruthless fury crush under his omnipotent arm those who have inadvertently transgressed his laws, or even justly incurred his high displeasure. He is an affectionate Parent; a wise, equitable, and gracious Sovereign. Benignity irradiates his countenance, impartial goodness pervades the whole of his administration, and consummate wisdom directs the operations of his mighty power. In him the rigour of justice is softened by the tender yearnings of mercy. He is holy and hates sin; but he pities the wanderings, and sympathizes with the afflictions of his rational and erring offspring. He is "in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them."

2. Nature shows us that the Creater upholds and rules the world. This doctrine is confirmed by the Holy Scriptures, which throw a clear light on the administration of the Almighty, and represent him as governing all his creatures, and all their actions. The Lord preserves man and beast: his kingdom rules over all: he reigns in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth. Nothing is so great as to resist his power; nothing so minute as to escape his notice. His vigilant eye is continually upon every province of his mighty empire: we can nowhere go from his presence, or flee from his spirit. All nature is under his direction and control: summer and winter, seed-time and harvest regularly return; day and night continually succeed each other, and the moon with unwearied constancy travels in her appointed course. The just and the unjust equally enjoy the advantages of this constitution.

The Lord employs the elements to accomplish the purposes of his will. He makes the winds his messengers, and causes the flaming fire to act in his service. He covers the heavens with clouds, prepares rain for the earth, makes grass to grow on the mountain, and clothes the plain with luxuriant crops: the eyes of all things wait upon him, and he gives them their food in due season. When he sees meet, he makes "the heavens brass, and the earth iron," and sends "cleanness of teeth" to a sinful people in all their borders. He poured the waters of the flood upon an impenitent world, and rained fire and brimstone on the guilty inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah; but it is comfortable to know that the righteous Noah was saved from the deluge, and that an angel led Lot beyond the limits of the devoted cities.

The elements, however, are not the only instruments of his providence. He can make the locust or the worm, as well as the winged seraph, execute judgment against a sinful nation. Without infringing free agency, he can influence his people; and permit, check, or defeat the counsels of men, making them subservient to the accomplishment of purposes which they never intended. He causes even the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of that wrath he restrains. War, and famine, and pestilence, are in his hand, and he can employ them to execute his will. He often bears long with a guilty people, warns and admonishes them; but if they disregard the alarms of judgment and turn a deaf ear to the invitations of mercy; if they still continue obstinate in sin, he gives them up to the perversity of their own hearts, and the vanity of their own imaginations, saying, Let them alone, let them fill up their cup, the hour of retribution will come. When the ways of a nation please the Lord, he makes even their enemies to be at peace with them, and joy and plenty are in their dwellings.

His providential care extends to individuals as well as nations. "The very hairs of our head are all numbered." If we acknowledge him in our ways, he will direct our steps. He may subject us to trials, but it is to improve our hearts; and we will not go unrewarded. Joseph long pined in obscurity and bondage; but he was afterwards exalted. Job was severely tried; but he bore all with patient fortitude and pious resignation, and his latter end was more prosperous than his beginning. On the other hand bad men are not unfrequently subjected to penal visitations, and their own minds execute a terrible judgment against them. Under the reproaches of a guilty conscience, Cain was a miserable fugitive and vagabond on the earth; and the condemnation of his own heart made the treacherous Judas precipitate himself to his place. Angels also are the instruments of Providence; they are the "ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation."

The righteous government of God discountenances all sin, and encourages rectitude of heart and life: it accomplishes wise ends by the best means, and neither wicked spirits nor wicked men can defeat the purposes of the Almighty. The workers of iniquity may tremble at the holy administration of the Most High, for a retributive Providence watches over human affairs; and although for awhile the wicked may flourish like the green bay tree, yet, sooner or later, judgment, like the whirlwind of the desert, will overtake them. The faithful, however, may rejoice that they are under an Omnipotent Protector, for the righteous Lord loveth righteousness; with a pleasant countenance he beholdeth the upright, and will make all things work together for the good of them that love him.

3. The Scriptures inform us that man, by the abuse of his freedom, has fallen into a state of moral disease, and is a transgressor of the divine law. This truth is taught by the voice of nature, and has been generally acknowledged by the human race. Hence, in almost every nation, the priest, the victim, and the altar present themselves to our view; but the unenlightened worshipper was utterly uncertain whether his services were accepted, and his sins forgiven. Accordingly we hear him in painful perplexity exclaiming, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Sacrificial expiations were admitted by divine authority into the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations. Under the law the priest officiated daily at the altar, offering sacrifices for his own sins, and for the sins of the people. These sacrifices expiated transgressions, of the peculiar laws of the theocracy, and entitled to a life in the land of Canaan; but their value extended no farther. "It is not possible that blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins:" they derived all their saving efficacy from the great atonement which they prefigured.

The fallen state of man, recognised by nature, and acknowledged in the Jewish Scriptures, is clearly taught in the gospel; sometimes in plain, but more frequently in figurative language. We are represented as wandering sheep which have strayed from the fold, and are in danger of perishing; as sleeping, and unconscious of the perils with which we are surrounded; as blind, and not seeing the path which we ought to pursue; as sick and diseased; yea, dead in trespasses and sins. The law, originally engraven on our hearts by the finger of God, is partially effaced, but not obliterated: our faculties are weakened and disordered, but not destroyed nor wholly perverted; "for when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another." Whatever be the nature of our malady, the gospel reveals a remedy of suitable extent and efficacy. Jesus appears in characters adapted to our necessities. If we be guilty, his blood cleanses from all sin: if we be weak, his grace is sufficient for us, his strength is perfected in our weakness. He is a shepherd to bring us back from our wanderings, and to recover us when lost: he stands knocking and calling to awaken us from our slumbers: he has eye-salve to anoint our eyes that we may see: he is a physician to heal our diseases: he has power to quicken us when dead, and restore us to life. In order, however, to reap these advantages we must be diligent in improving the talents intrusted to our care; for Jesus acts towards us as rational and accountable creatures. The wandering sheep must listen to the voice of the shepherd, and follow him; the sleeper, when he hears the alarm at the door, must not fold his arms in sluggish indolence, and cry, "yet a little sleep, a little slumber;" he must arise and be active: the sick must observe and obey the prescriptions of the physician.

The Scriptures exhibit God as a being of immaculate holiness, impartial justice, unsearchable wisdom, and boundless goodness. Of these attributes, the mission of Christ, the great fact revealed in the gospel, is a brilliant illustration. From sovereign grace the Father sent his only begotten Son, who is one with himself, "the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person;" he sent him to take part of flesh and blood, "that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage;" he sent him to bear our sins in his own body on the tree, to reconcile his offending children to himself, to demonstrate his detestation of sin, and, at the same time, encourage them to trust in his mercy, walk in his way, cherish those dispositions of mind, and pursue that course of action which he prescribes, in order that they may grow up in a meetness for a happy immortality.

The mission of Jesus is a dispensation which we cannot at present fully comprehend, and of which it becomes us to speak with reverence and awe. All the purposes which it serves in the moral government of God, who can explain? It may teach great lessons to different orders of beings, and affect the interests of others besides the human race. The vast range of its efficacy may extend far beyond our limited conceptions. It awakens the curiosity and increases the knowledge even of angels. It is the benevolent purpose of God, "in the dispensation of the fulness of times, to gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him:" "And to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ: To the intent that now, unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." "For it pleased the Father, that in him should all fulness dwell; and, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven." But although our knowledge of this dispensation is limited and partial, there are several great truths connected with it which we may in some measure understand. These truths ought to engage our attention, make a deep impression on our minds, and have a powerful influence on our lives.

First, The mission and death of Jesus are a striking illustration of the divine nature and government; they form a vast scheme for maintaining the honour of God's perfections in extending mercy to the guilty, and are designed to teach great lessons concerning his righteous administration. He set forth Christ, "to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past through the forbearance of God; that he might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." This dispensation is expressive of holiness, and wisdom, and goodness. These attributes are intimated by the voice of nature, and plainly taught in the law; for the constitution of the natural world and of the human mind supports a moral government, and the divine law bears strongly on the same point, forbidding sin, encouraging righteousness, and being wisely and graciously fitted for preparing us for a more exalted state of existence. The violation of the law is dishonouring and displeasing to God, as it expresses a disregard of his sovereign authority, and tends to defeat his gracious purposes towards us. Hence wisdom and goodness, as well as holiness, are concerned in maintaining its honour. A wise legislator supports the dignity of his enactments by suitable expressions of his displeasure on occasion of their violation; and the great interposition revealed in the gospel is a plan for maintaining the glory of the Divine administration in pardoning the guilty.

Whether God, considered as an absolute sovereign, could have forgiven sin without any satisfaction, it does not belong to us to inquire. It is enough to know, that he has declared he would not do so; for, if he had done so, men might have imagined that he was a being of mere mercy; that the benignity of his nature would always triumph over his justice and holiness; and that he would never inflict punishment on transgressors. Iniquity, like an overflowing torrent, would have deluged the world, and ruin must inevitably have overtaken our race. But the death of Christ, as an atonement for sin, corrects such false ideas, and has a strong tendency to prevent the fatal operation of such misconceptions. We see the only begotten Son of the Father, when the iniquities of us all were laid upon him, suffering deep humiliation and unspeakable agony; but he triumphantly accomplished the blessed work given him to do. His sacrifice is as excellent as our sins are heinous; his atonement is commensurate with our guilt; his blood taketh away sin, has put an end to vicarious expiations, and brought in an everlasting righteousness. His offering was of a sweet smelling savour to the Most High, who saw that by it his administration was vindicated in the sight of all his rational offspring. This dispensation clearly shows, that though God is merciful, yet that he is not merciful only, but that he is just and faithful, and holy also; and that all his attributes are harmoniously exercised in the administration of his government. A wonderful provision is made for the pardon of sin, for deterring from iniquity, and for encouraging rectitude of heart and life. By the gracious operation of his Spirit, Jesus renews his people, and works in them "both to will and to do of his good pleasure." As he was delivered for our offences, and raised for our justication, so he is exalted as a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance and remission of sins, and to carry on to a glorious consummation the blessed enterprise in which he is engaged.

Secondly, The death of Christ is a powerful means of reconciling us to God, of assuring us of his love, of winning our confidence, our affection, and our obedience. Man before his fall loved and trusted the Creator; but when he sinned, he became conscious of guilt and apprehensive of punishment; fear, suspicion, and distrust, took possession of his mind. Adam in innocence listened to his Maker with delight; but, on his disobedience, a melancholy change took place. He no longer heard the voice of God with joy, he no longer hastened to meet him, but anxiously sought concealment. This is a true picture of the state of fallen man, and its image is reflected from every breast. Now, the death of Christ is an amazing dispensation for banishing that fear, suspicion, and distrust of God, which consciousness of guilt inspires. Here we see the countenance of our heavenly Father beaming with benignity; we see him manifesting inexpressible love to his prodigal children, and we hear his voice, in accents of lively compassion, inviting them to return to the bosom of his family, and share the provision and protection of the dutiful members of his household. Such a representation of the divine character is well calculated to cast out our fear, win our love, and secure our confidence and obedience. In this point of view the death of Christ is held up by the Apostle: "All things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed to us the word of reconciliation. Now, then, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." Attend to the argument which the sacred writer employs to encourage the reconciliation, "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." God has thus given the clearest proof, the most affecting demonstration of his love; and shall not we, then, be constrained to love and to obey him? If his mercy fail to produce these effects, must not every other motive prove unavailing? On the divine benignity the faithful and pious worshipper may place the most steady reliance, for "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?"

4. All the precepts of Christianity are agreeable to the dictates of a sound mind; and its promises are happily fitted to calm the troubles of the human heart. The system of nature supports a moral government, and the doctrines and precepts of the gospel have a direct moral tendency. The Scriptures give clearer and fuller views of duty than what could be learned from the volume of creation, and enforce the discharge of what is incumbent upon us by the most powerful motives. From the perversity of their hearts, men are often inclined to lay the chief stress on external rites and ceremonial observances; but the gospel teaches us that no ritual worship can be pleasing to God, without holiness of heart and life; and that justice, mercy, and faithfulness, are indispensable matters of the law. Everything in the religion of Jesus, whether we consider the dispositions which it recommends, or the conduct which it enjoins, promotes the welfare of the individual and of society. In proportion to their obedience to his precepts will be the happiness of mankind; for in proportion to this obedience will they discharge with fidelity all the duties incumbent upon them in the several relations of life. If men generally cherished the same mind that was in Christ; if they were just and merciful, meek and holy, what a different picture would the world present from what it now exhibits! How incalculably would the sum of human happiness be increased! The beneficial influence of Christianity proves its suitableness to our nature, and strongly recommends it to our regard.

The rites of our holy religion are few and simple; Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It also sanctions the observance of one day in seven as sacred to the worship of God, Even the heathens were sensible that no man could steadily pursue a virtuous course without aid from on high; but if the Christian, on contemplating the extent of his duty, is ready in despondency to exclaim, "Who is sufficient for these things!" he is encouraged by a voice from heaven, saying, "Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God; I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness." "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened. If a son ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion? If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" The Holy Spirit enlightens, comforts, strengthens, and guides the people of God on their way to the better country.

5. The immortality of the soul, as we have already seen, has engaged the attention of men in every age, and been recognized by people of every kindred and tongue. Many clouds, however, seemed to hang over this great truth, and to damp the fond aspirations of nature. But if on this interesting subject the torch of reason shines with a dubious ray, the bright beam of revelation dispels the darkness. Jesus hath made light and immortality clear through the gospel; he confirms the consoling doctrine by new evidence, and sheds around it a glorious and animating splendour. Amid all the vicissitudes of life, the faithful are comforted with the prospect of joining an innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, when they have finished their pilgrimage in this world. The gospel not only teaches the immortality of the soul, but also the resurrection of the body; a point on which the voice of nature is silent.

Lastly, The gospel informs us of a judgment to come, and a state of final retribution; truths which the heathen recognized: but Jesus sets them clearly before us in majestic grandeur, and awful solemnity. The Lord shall come in his own glory, in the glory of the Father, and of the holy angels; the living shall be changed, and those who are in their graves shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and shall come forth. "God hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead." "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God: and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works." The wicked shall be for ever banished from the presence of the Lord, and consigned to the place of punishment; but the righteous, under the conquering banners of the Captain of Salvation, shall rise in triumph to the city of the living God, where through eternity they shall rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

Thus, the gospel greatly enlarges our knowledge of the character and government of the Almighty; and reveals an amazing scheme of grace, by which, in consistency with the glory of his perfections, and dignity of his administration, he can receive the returning penitent into favour. Benignity and mercy diffuse a lovely radiance over all his attributes; and while the Scriptures assure us that he is a gracious Being, yea, that he is love, the death of Jesus Christ proclaims the same truth, in a manner that may convince every understanding, and affect every heart. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!" His love towards us passeth understanding. May love to this great and gracious Being reign in our hearts, and regulate our lives! May we, in the spirit of cheerful obedience, wisely improve our faculties and our privileges, and act suitably to the prospects which the gospel sets before us, so that at last we may meet with the approbation of our Lord, and inherit the kingdom prepared for the righteous!

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIAN DUTY.

Belief in the being, perfections, and providence of God, and in the gospel, does not terminate in mere speculation; but is calculated to have a powerful and gracious influence on the heart and life. What, then, are the duties resulting from this belief? what are the dispositions which we ought to cultivate? what is the conduct which we ought to pursue? We may shortly answer, that it teaches us to live soberly, and righteously, and piously in the world; or, in other words, to perform our duty to God, our neighbour, and ourselves. All duty, indeed, may be considered as obedience to the will of God; for, if we obey the will of God, we will discharge our duty to our neighbour and to ourselves. Every devout affection, every social virtue, right temper, and right conduct, flow from a correct and steady belief in God, and in the gospel of his Son, as naturally as a stream from its fountain. But, in order that our conceptions on the subject may be more distinct, we shall consider our duty to God, to our neighbour, and to ourselves. While, however, we attend to these separately, we must not forget that in practice they go together, and operate on each other. They are harmonious parts of one whole. Even when performing our duty to our neighbour and to ourselves, we must be actuated by a devout regard to the will of our heavenly Father.

Frequent meditation on the moral attributes of God cannot fail to have a salutary effect on our temper and conduct, and to promote in us a continual approximation to his moral image. Some of the lustre of the divine attributes will adhere to our minds, like the glory which shone on the face of Moses when he came down from conversing with God on the mount. It is not enough to believe that God is, for it is essential to have correct apprehensions of his perfections and government. We must be acquainted with his attributes in order to know what affections to cherish, and what actions to perform; for the ideas which we entertain of the divine character have much influence on our hearts and lives. False notions of God lie at the foundation of all false religions. Hence flow idolatry, superstition, fanaticism, and every corrupt mode of worship. Whether we look to the high places of Moloch, or to the temples of Venus; to the human sacrifices bleeding at the altar of Odin, or to the self-devoted victim expiring under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut; to the Stylite on his pillar, or the Anchorite in his cave; we see the unhappy effects of false conceptions of God.

As misapprehensions of the character and government of the Almighty are the source of so much evil, it ought to be our steady aim to acquire just notions of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ his Son. For this purpose it behoves us to attend to the works of Creation, and to the Holy Scriptures. There is an admirable harmony in their combined testimony, and they mutually elucidate each other. We are particularly to study the Bible, which is a treasure of precious knowledge, and has a powerful tendency to make us both wise and good; to enlighten the understanding, and to purify and comfort the heart. Defect in duty arises from imperfection of knowledge, violence of appetite, or perversity of affection; all of which the Scriptures tend to remove or rectify. If we have right apprehensions of God, we will cherish reverential awe, grateful affection, dutiful obedience, filial trust, and cheerful resignation.

1. If we have right apprehensions of the perfections and government of God, we will cherish a holy fear and reverential awe of him. God is infinitely exalted above us. He is the Creator, we are the creatures of his hand: he is the Sovereign, we are his subjects: he is the Judge, we must stand at his tribunal, and hear our sentence of approval or condemnation from his lips. He is wise in heart and mighty in strength. Shall we not then, with holy reverence, lift our eye to him, who built and upholds the magnificent fabric of the universe, who leads the planets in their ceaseless revolutions, and who guides Orion and Arcturus in their courses? Shall we not revere him who sends forth the winds from their chambers, who presides over the tumults of the ocean, who commands the tempest and it is still, who shakes the earth, and the pillars thereof tremble? Shall we not revere him who is the author of our existence, and on whom we continually and entirely depend? We owe him incomparably more than the respectful affection due to a parent, and incomparably more than the reverence due to a king.

2. Right apprehensions of the perfections and government of God will produce in us grateful affection towards him.

God is amiable in himself, and he stands in the most endearing relations to us. He is the former of our bodies, the Father of our spirits, the preserver of both. On him we every moment depend; he is our benefactor, and from him all our enjoyments flow. Life, and all that renders life comfortable, are the gift of his munificence: his bountiful hand supplies our wants; his powerful arm shields us from danger. He bears long with our perversity, often preserves us from the consequences of our follies, extricates us from difficulties, delivers us from temptation, disappoints our fears, comforts us in grief, and puts songs of joy into our mouth. We are grateful to an earthly benefactor who has conferred on us some small and transient favour; and not to feel such gratitude argues a want of the best affections of our nature. Shall we not, then, love God for his excellencies and benefits? Shall not the whole current of our soul flow towards him from whom we have received all, and on whom all our hopes depend; yea, who has sent his Son into the world to enlighten our minds, to expiate our sins, to purify and save us? Bless the Lord, O our souls, and all that is within us bless his holy name; who healeth all our diseases, who forgiveth all our iniquities, who redeemeth us from going down to death, and who crowneth us with loving-kindness and tender mercies!

3. Grateful affection leads to dutiful obedience. We wish to please those whom we love and who are kind to us. But God is supremely amiable, and he is our great benefactor; therefore it is our duty, and ought to be our delight, to do what is well-pleasing to him. All his commandments are wise and good, worthy of him from whom they proceed, and divinely suited to make those happy who obey him. They are the dictates of unerring wisdom for regulating the conduct of creatures such as we are, and must tend to advance our welfare. At present, the commandments which relate to religious worship shall shortly engage our attention; and we must remember, that God does not require us to pay him homage because he derives any advantage from our adoration, but because it is beneficial to ourselves. It is the test of our allegiance, and the means of our improvement and happiness. The great design of religion is to promote in us a happy conformity to the moral image of God, and a consequent meetness for heaven. This is the chief aim of all our religious observances, of our prayers, of our praises, of the whole of our worship, both public and private. In proportion as this end is gained, our religion is profitable: without it, speculative dogmas and ritual observances are unavailing, and will produce to the individual no ultimate advantage. Outward worship alone is by no means decisive evidence that the heart is right with God; but the habitual neglect of this worship affords a strong presumption that the person who is guilty of it has no correct sense of his duty, honour, and interest.

Just apprehensions of the perfections and government of God lead to prayer, which is the aspiration of the soul towards the Almighty, and is the exercise of a weak, dependent, and guilty creature. It has been practised by men in every age of the world, in every condition of life, and in every stage of society. God invites us to pray: Jesus was often engaged in this pious duty, and he enjoins it on all his followers. It is the appointed means of obtaining blessings from heaven: we are to ask that we may receive. On this subject questions may be put, and difficulties started, which our limited capacity and knowledge do not enable us entirely to answer and obviate. This need neither surprise nor offend us, for in every department of nature we soon reach a barrier which no ingenuity or exertion of ours can pass. It ought to suffice us that a thing is reasonable in itself, though we are unable certainly to trace all the steps by which it is brought about, and we ought to be more intent on improving our privileges than in indulging a restless and unreasonable curiosity in things that are above our reach.

Prayer is a powerful preventive of temptation, and is well calculated to promote humility, gratitude, watchfulness, and a lively sense of our continual and entire dependence on God. Our prayers are to be offered up in faith, and in the name of Jesus, the One Mediator between God and man; while we are to be humble, fervent, and persevering, at a throne of grace, without any of that unceremonious familiarity which ignorant and vain persons have sometimes manifested in their addresses to their Maker. The instructions of Jesus and the example of his apostles are the best lessons for directing our prayers. With due attention to these, the pious mind, impressed with a lively sense of its mercies and its wants, will give way to the effusions of gratitude and the aspirations of prayer, in a manner that will not be disregarded by the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Besides joining in the public prayers of the church, and exercising ourselves in private devotion, we are to pray in the family also, as family mercies are to be socially acknowledged, and the supply of family wants implored by joint supplication.

Through impotency of mind, irregularity of affections and passions, and the avocations and cares of life, we are apt to forget the Author of our existence and enjoyments, as well as our own most important interests. In cases where we are not impelled by the instinctive propensities or physical necessities of our nature, any duty which is not performed at stated periods is in great danger of being much neglected. Besides, men united in society ought to engage in social worship, and for this purpose public places and solemn times must be set apart. Hence the Sabbath is a noble institution, periodically encouraging us to serious consideration, and to the elevating exercises of religion. It administers to our physical comfort, and is happily fitted to promote our moral improvement. To him who labours assiduously for six days, the rest of the seventh is a seasonable and grateful relaxation from bodily toil. It refreshes and prepares for the labours of the week, and on it the inferior animals, which aid us in our toils, share in our rest.

But it is as a moral institute chiefly that the Sabbath at present claims our attention. We are not to consider this holy day as relating to a future state of existence merely, but as closely connected with our interest and happiness in the present life; as a day for serious meditation on the temper we are to cherish and the social duties we are to perform, as well as a pious preparation for the life that is to come. The public services of the Sabbath carry on a system of moral education, instructing us how to act as good members of the civil community to which we belong; and every sober and serious mind must be sensible of the value of such exercises. Our social duties, and the great concerns of our probationary state, ought never to be forgotten, but should be the principal aim of our lives, the daily subject of our private and family devotions. On the Sabbath we are more particularly called to those important considerations, and are invited to bestow upon them the most earnest attention. One day in seven is no unreasonable portion of time allotted to this service. Six days are allowed chiefly for our secular avocations; the seventh is more particularly devoted to our moral education, to the serious consideration of our present duties and future prospects. The duties of the Sabbath, as a day of religious exercise and rest from the ordinary business of life, no person who has correct notions of the perfections and government of God, and of his own nature, state, and duty, will either undervalue or neglect. We are anxious to secure our physical comfort, and shall we be careless of moral improvement? None but the depraved beings who are lost both to a sense of duty and interest, will act this infatuated and guilty part.

The public worship of the Sabbath, conducted by pious and enlightened ministers, is a happy means of intellectual and moral improvement, informing and strengthening the understanding, and purifying and exalting the affections. A pious assembly united in prayer and praise, and in listening seriously to the solemn truths of religion, communicate to each other a sympathetic fervour, and their devout worship, like incense from the altar, ascends through the Mediator with acceptance to the throne of God. The repetition of this holy glow of piety after short intervals, makes the children of God grow up like trees planted by the rivers of water. A noble model for imitation, and a perfect standard for measuring their character are continually before their eyes; and drawing refreshing and invigorating draughts from the wells of salvation, they go on, like the ancient pilgrims, from strength to strength, towards the holy Zion.

4. Dutiful obedience inspires with filial trust. God invites us to trust in him, and we have every encouragement to comply with his gracious invitation. He is Almighty; his wisdom is unsearchable; his goodness inexhaustible. Of these attributes we have clear evidence in creation and providence. His wisdom and goodness shine with brilliant lustre in redemption; and his truth and faithfulness endure to all generations. He has given us life, which is more than meat; the body, which is more than raiment. Having bestowed the greater, will he withhold the less favour? He has given us many great and precious promises, and these promises he will fulfil, for in Christ they are all yea and amen. Nothing befalls us without his knowledge. Without him not even a sparrow falleth to the ground, and all the hairs of our head are numbered. His eye is ever upon us. He knows all our wants; sees all our dangers, and will watch over the interests of all his faithful subjects. He has been kind to us in

time past, and this may encourage us to trust in him for future blessings. A dutiful child never suspects the good-will of his affectionate parent. And shall we in any degree distrust the Father of lights from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift? We will trust in him, in the full assurance that he will make all things work together for our good. But while we place an unhesitating trust in his parental affection and care, we must be careful never to tempt him either by indolence or temerity. Prudent caution and active diligence must characterize our conduct; and, in the dutiful use of means, it behoves us, under the shadow of his omnipotent arm, to proceed with a steady intrepidity in the way of righteousness.

5. Filial trust leads to pious resignation. In the day of adversity the unenlightened see and hear only the gloom of the firmament, and the howling of the tempest; but the eye of God's dutiful children penetrates the darkness, and behind the clouds which overcast the sky sees the Almighty parent sitting on his heavenly throne watching over their interests, and overruling all events for their good. The government of God extends over all. Our afflictions are part of a great scheme formed by unerring wisdom. Each of them appears in the place which the Sovereign disposer of events has assigned. They are consequences of sin, and means of correcting our errors, and promoting our improvement. In the righteous administration of God, affliction is one of the great springs for moving the powers both of our intellectual and moral nature. It is the discipline which we undergo in the course of our education for a happy immortality, and never exceeds what is needful, or what may prove beneficial.

When the sun of prosperity beams upon us, and our cup of enjoyment is full, we are too much disposed to forget the fountain whence all our blessings flow. Hence God chastens us in mercy, to wean our affections from some idol, to awaken in us some neglected virtue, to make us look to himself, become partakers of his holiness, and meet for a happy immortality. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and if we endure chastening, God dealeth with us as with sons." Often have the subjects of God's moral government had cause to say, "it is good for us that we have been afflicted." We cannot always avoid trials; but we may always apply them to wise purposes, as instruments of spiritual education, and means of preparing us for future glory. Pride or insensibility may affect to disregard afflictions: it is the province of wisdom to improve them. They are inflicted by our Father for a gracious purpose, and that purpose it should be our constant aim to promote. The excellence of the end to be attained may reconcile us to the means employed to bring it about. The weary pilgrim travels cheerfully through a thorny path, when he knows it is short, and will soon conduct him to the object of all his desire, and all his hope. And shall not the Christian bear with steady fortitude and pious resignation the transitory ills of life, seeing that they are the steps by which he is ascending to the mansions in his Father's house? "Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

In the season of trouble the faithful draw strong consolation from the gospel. The world may frown, but they rejoice in the light of the Divine countenance. They may lose earthly substance, but they have an abiding inheritance in heaven. Friends may prove unkind, or die, but God's love is unchangeable: and if they on whom our affections rest close the journey of life before us, they rise to more exalted dwellings, and we shall soon overtake them in the peaceful habitations of the just, free from all the infirmities and imperfections which depressed their hearts, or clouded their excellence. Disease may come, and the hour of dissolution approach: but if this world fail them, better mansions are prepared for their reception. If they leave friends on earth, they are about to join a nobler society: and those friends whom they leave behind, they can, in full confidence, commit to the gracious providence of God. The body must slumber in the house of silence and forgetfulness, but the last trumpet shall sound, and then shall this corruptible put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality. "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

"What, O man, doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" The first commandment is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The gospel teaches us to "live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." Religion consists of two great parts; piety, or the duty which we owe immediately to God; and morality, or the duty which we owe to our neighbour, and to ourselves. In proportion as either of these is wanting, our religion is defective. Piety without morality is hollow and deceitful; morality without piety is like a house built on the sand. Although God has joined these two together, yet men often attempt to tear them asunder. Some value themselves highly on their piety, but pay little respect to morality; while others boast of their morality without any due regard to piety. Both are equally in error.

Nothing more clearly shows the darkness of the human understanding, and the depravity of the human heart, than the consideration, that though the character of the Pharisees is so plainly delineated, and so strongly condemned in the word of God, yet many who pride themselves highly on their religion are nothing more than mere Pharisees. If they give alms, a trumpet is blown on the occasion; if they pray, they take care that men shall know of their devotions, as well as if performed at the corners of streets. They compass sea and land to make a proselyte, and are ill qualified to improve him. They pay tithes of mint, anise, and cummin, but neglect the weightier matters of the law, justice, mercy, and faith. All they do is to be seen of men. How much soever such persons may esteem themselves on their religion, it is neither consistent with reason nor Christianity, for if we love God for his own sake, we love our neighbour for God's sake. We are not enjoined to love our neighbour in the same degree, but merely with the same kind of affection which we bear to ourselves; and to act towards him as we might fairly and reasonably expect that, in similar circumstances, he should act towards us.

All mankind are brethren. Every human being who comes in our way and stands in need of our aid is entitled to our sympathy. Human nature and distress form a legitimate claim to our friendly assistance. We are not to withhold our brotherly affection from any of our fellow men, because an imaginary line, a river, a ridge of mountains, or a channel of the ocean, may have separated their birth-place from ours; because their manners, customs, and political institutions are not the same with our own; because, by reason of difference of climate and manner of life their skin is tinged with a different colour; because they offer their tribute of homage to the Creator in a different manner; or because there is some difference or shade of difference between their religious rites and opinions and ours. The Jew is to love and do good to the Samaritan; the Samaritan to do the same to the Jew. We are to do good to all men as we have opportunity, but especially to them who belong to the household of faith. Miracles have passed away; but faith, hope, and charity, the permanent glories of Christianity, remain, and the greatest of these is charity. The sentiment of universal benevolence expands the heart, humanizes the mind, and fosters every generous affection; but jealousy, malice, hatred, and other malignant passions pervert the soul, and cramp and deteriorate the best feelings of our nature. They wage war with every manly and liberal principle. Instead of sweeping the globe with the guilty purpose of oppressing the weak, robbing the defenceless, exciting the sound of lamentation in the humble hut, and drawing forth the tears of the widow and the orphan, we will do what is in our power to promote the happiness of our fellow men. In the genuine spirit of brotherly affection, we will smoke the pipe of peace with the untutored wanderer of the American wilderness, and partake of bread and salt with the hardy native of the African desert.

In most instances it is to a very limited number of our fellow men than we can actually do good; but it becomes us to embrace them all in the arms of brotherly affection. Christianity, however, is a practical institute, and teaches us that our first exertions ought to be in behalf of those with whom we are most immediately connected. Relations and those who are nearest to us are first entitled to our attention, and others in proportion to the fair claims which the uncorrupted dictates of humanity give them upon us. Throw a stone into a calm transparent lake, and the circling undulations become feebler as they recede from the central point: so while our hearts vibrate with sincere good-will to all our fellow men, the vibrations are to be stronger towards those with whom we are more immediately connected. By acting as it becomes the affectionate children of God, by mutual love, and friendly co-operation we greatly lighten the burdens, soothe the cares, and heighten the joys of life; but by jealousy, malice, envy, and hatred, we incalculably aggravate the sum of affliction. Mankind often complain that they are unhappy;

that they tread in a thorny path, and drink of a bitter stream. But whence do their sufferings and their sorrows flow? In a great measure from their own malignant passions. Remove the cause, and the effect will disappear. Banish malice, envy, hatred; let genuine good-will towards each other prevail, and a great portion of human misery will fade away, like darkness before the rising sun. It will dissipate the gloom which often clouds the countenance, and remove the grief which often preys upon the heart.

We love God from a sense of his perfections and his benefits. Love to God produces good-will to men; and all the social virtues are emanations of benevolence. They are the operations of this divine principle according to the different relations in which we stand to our fellow men. If genuine benevolence reign in our heart, it will lead, under the direction of a sound judgment, to the proper discharge of the duties we owe to others, which are so many streams flowing from this sacred fountain.

1. True benevolence inspires with the love of justice, and prompts him in whose bosom it glows, neither to oppress the weak, to impose on the ignorant, nor to overreach the unwary; but to give every man his due, and with steady and undeviating steps to walk in the hallowed path of equity. Deceit and dissimulation, fraud, and falsehood, are far from the humble worshipper of God: integrity is enthroned in his heart, truth dwells on his lips, and an enlightened sense of duty regulates the whole of his conduct. He faithfully performs every promise, and fulfils every engagement. Others respect and trust his word, because he respects and holds it sacred himself. His life is characterized by the simplicity of truth, and the dignity of virtue; and, in dealing with him, they who have an opportunity of knowing his character place unbounded confidence in his justice and faithfulness.

2. Benevolence and integrity are accompanied by candour in our judgments of our fellow men, and lead us to be moderate in our expressions of disapprobation, even when their conduct is justly liable to blame. Jesus has said "judge not, that ye be not judged;" and, therefore, his faithful follower does not indulge in unnecessary, severe, and harsh censures of others. He does not triumph over their errors, nor needlessly publish their failings. What is merely faulty he does not condemn as criminal; where a worthy motive can be assigned, he does not harber suspicions of a bad design, nor does he impute to malignant principles what may have proceeded from rash and unguarded impetuosity. In most instances, the circumstances of our neighbour are but partially known to us: there may be many palliations of his actions of which we are not apprized, and, therefore, the judgment of the candid person is as favourable as the case will admit. He who is duly sensible of his own frailty makes every reasonable allowance for the infirmities, weaknesses, and errors of his neighbour. Unless it be in his power to commend, he bridles his tongue: detraction and slander do not pollute his lips.

3. The disciple of Jesus Christ tenderly sympathizes with his brethren in the different circumstances in which they are placed; rejoices with them who rejoice, and weeps with them who weep. A humane and sympathetic disposition is the proper soil for the growth of every virtue: the absence of it is favourable to the growth of every vice. He whose heart is duly regulated, entertains a kindred feeling for all his fellow pilgrims in the journey of life. Under a proper sense of the value of an immortal being, he is deeply affected when he sees a brother treading in the paths wherein destroyers go. He uses all the prudent means in his power to reclaim him: the offender may perhaps be obstinate and audacious in wickedness, and discretion may advise to let him alone, and leave him to reap the fruit of his own doings. But if at times the good man turns away in hopeless melancholy from the obstinate transgressor, he never shuts his ear against the cry of the afflicted. The voice of a brother in distress always awakens the tender sympathies of his nature, and finds ready access to his heart. He yields to the impulse of his best feelings; hastens to the house of mourning to mingle his tears with those of the children of affliction, and administers that strong consolation which the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ affords under the trials of frail humanity.

While he comforts the mourner, he also, according to his ability, supplies the wants of the needy. With respect to them, simple condolence, fair words, and good wishes merely will not do. "If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit?" Fair words and good wishes, how proper soever they may be in their own place, will neither feed the hungry nor clothe the naked. Our sympathy must be active. We must stretch out our hand to assist and to relieve. Our means may be limited; but if we make a wise use of those limited means, our exertions will not be disregarded before the throne of God. "Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all." "If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not."

Compassionate sympathy and beneficence towards the afflicted are advantageous to ourselves. They exercise, strengthen, and exalt our best affections, and promote in us a happy conformity to the moral image of the Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift. If we visit the house of mourning, by the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better. We learn impressive lessons of our frailty and dependence, and are taught to lift our eye to the God of salvation. A deed of mercy to a distressed brother fills the heart with a sublime complacency, and is a kind of foretaste of the joys of a more exalted state. In deeds of beneficence Jesus was much employed: he enjoins them on his disciples, and he will gloriously reward them. "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And he shall set his sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

4. The spirit of benevolence will lead us to do what in us lies to live peaceably with all men. We will be careful not to offend either by injurious conduct, unreasonable pretensions, or provoking language. While we cautiously avoid every just cause of displeasure, we will employ all fair and honest means to conciliate the respect and good-will of our neighbour. In our intercourse with others, we will be mild and affectionate in our language, respectful and kind in our behaviour. In cases where we are exposed to provocation, we will be on our guard against irritable warmth and fierce impetuosity of temper; and will study on every occasion to act with the dignity of rational beings, and to practise the virtue of moral agents. We will never wantonly wound the feelings of a brother. Nay, even if he be fretful and irritable we will bear with him. Perhaps his mind bleeds under some secret wound which if known would entitle him to our sympathy and commiseration, and a remark which in other circumstances would produce little effect may pierce his soul like an arrow. While we are peaceable ourselves, we will, to the utmost of our power, promote peace among others. Some take pleasure in throwing a firebrand into the midst of friends, and rejoice in the flame which they have kindled. But such persons are actuated by the demon of unrighteousness, and must at last share the condemnation of the wicked. Jesus not only enjoins us to follow peace with all men, but also pronounces the peace-maker blessed.

5. While we are humane to the afflicted, and endeavour to live peaceably with all, we will exercise forgiveness towards the injurious. The disciple of Jesus, acting in the spirit of his Master, imitating his example, and obeying his precepts, is careful to give no provocation, to offer no affront, to do no injury to any man. He is not forward in taking offence, nor vindictive in the prosecution of quarrels that may be forced upon him. He overlooks affronts and injuries, so far as he can do so consistently with his own security and that of the public. Even when obliged to take measures to repel aggression, or to obtain redress of injuries sustained, he harbours no rancorous malignity in his breast, but bears about with him the spirit of conciliation. He remembers the precept of his Master, "bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you."

The exercise of forgiveness may at times be considered a hard duty, but many motives combine to encourage and to enforce a forgiving disposition. It is the means of securing the approbation, respect, and good-will of our fellow men. It also contributes greatly to our own happiness; for all the malignant passions are as two-edged swords, and are generally as hurtful to ourselves as to our enemy. This is particularly the case with a vindictive disposition. In the mind that harbours revenge, the source of enjoyment is poisoned, and happiness withers like a blighted plant. Forgiveness conciliates the good-will even of an enemy, and the Christian must exercise a forgiving disposition in imitation of the example, and in obedience to the precepts of Jesus. He taught his disciples to exercise forgiveness, and he nobly exemplified his own lesson in the most irritating circumstances, and under the most grievous injuries. A prayer for his enemies quivered on his lips, even when expiring on the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." "Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye."

The great duty which we owe to ourselves is to promote our real interests, not for any detached period, but throughout the whole of our existence. This cannot be done without performing our duty to God and to our neighbour. God has established a close connection betwixt our duty and our interest; by performing the one we will assuredly promote the other. Duty is the grand means of happiness. But although our duty is one great whole, yet we may consider some things more particularly in reference to ourselves. And among these none is of more importance than due care in self-government, and in the formation of temper. This object, if wisely and steadily pursued, will greatly contribute to our present comfort, and must have a salutary influence on our future welfare.

1. It is not uncommon to imagine, that temper is as little dependent on the will as the length of the arm or the colour of the skin. But this imagination is an unfounded prejudice, and produces the most unhappy effects. Persons first permit themselves to think that they can do nothing in the formation of temper, and then they attempt nothing, but allow it to grow up in wild and unpruned luxuriance. Notwithstanding all that may be said about natural constitution, and the influence of organic tendencies, I am fully satisfied that we can subject temper to the discipline of reason, and form it in any mould according to our pleasure. The irascible passions appear as early, and are as difficult to subjugate as any others; but we see that the most fretful and impatient persons, who are perpetually harassing their dependents with their peevishness and intemperate sallies, are able to restrain their ebullitions when in the presence of a superior, or in the company of an equal who would chastise them for outrageous conduct. Some persons, indeed, seem to think that temper, in many respects, has but little connexion with religion, and that care in the formation of it is of no great moment. If religion, however, consist in a happy conformity to the moral image of God, then the formation of temper is of essential importance, and is entitled to the most earnest attention of all who aspire to the Christian character. There is nothing in which our temporal happiness is so much in our power as in the formation of temper, and nothing will more conduce to our future welfare than wise exertions on this point.

A proud, irritable, discontented, and quarrelsome person can never be happy. He has thrown a tempestuous atmosphere around himself, and must for ever move in the region of storms. He has employed sure means to embitter life, whatever may be his external circumstances. He has been the architect of his temper, and misery must be the result of his labour. But a person who has formed his temper and dispositions of mind after a right model; who is humble, meek, cheerful, and contented, can commonly find a convenient shelter when overtaken by the storms of life. It should, therefore, be our early lesson to subject the passions, appetites, and desires, to the control and guidance of reason. The first are the gales to impel us in the voyage of life, but the last ought still to sit at the helm and direct our course. The stream, when it slowly descends with a hoarse murmur from the mountain and ripples through the plain, adorns and enriches the scene; but when it rushes down in a roaring and impetuous torrent, overflowing its banks, it carries devastation and ruin along with it: so when the passions, appetites, and desires, are kept under due restraint, they are a useful and felicitating part of our nature; but when they are allowed to rage with unbridled fury, they commit fearful ravages on the character which they were fitted to adorn and exalt. We must watch over the first movements of the heart, and not indulge with secret complacency in imaginations which we would be ashamed to avow. If we wish the stream of life to be pure, it ought to be our aim to preserve the fountain whence it flows unpolluted. "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life."

2. An humble, sober, and reasonable mind is of incalculable value in performing the journey of life. Humility is no way allied either to that pusillanimity which shrinks from every danger, or to that meanness of spirit which pursues its own petty interests and selfish ends by low and unworthy means. It admits of the noblest ambition, the ambition of virtue, of intellectual and moral excellence, and of an emulous progress towards the perfection of our nature. Jesus has set us a noble example of humility, and he enjoins us to imitate him. "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly." Humility is well pleasing in the sight of God, for it is founded on the manner of thinking concerning ourselves, which becomes creatures such as we are. The proud in heart are an abomination to the Lord, but he has respect to the lowly. "Humble yourselves, therefore, under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time."

3. Along with humility we should cultivate cheerfulness. Humility has no connexion with pensive melancholy or timorous dejection. While the truly humble guard against the distraction of all violent passions and inordinate cares, they cherish a cheerful disposition of mind. There cannot, indeed, be genuine cheerfulness without the approbation of our own heart. While, however, we pay a sacred regard to conscience, it must be enlightened and directed by reason and revelation. And happy are the individuals who can say, "our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that, in simplicity and godly sincerity, we have had our conversation in the world." An approving mind will contribute greatly to cheerfulness, and that equanimity which results from it, from trust in God, and from the hope of a blessed immortality, is equally remote from sour dissatisfaction, desponding melancholy, and frivolous hilarity. It smooths our path and sweetens our cup, rendering duty easy and affliction light.

4. Cheerfulness and contentment are close companions. They mutually encourage and strengthen each other, and are seldom found in a state of utter separation. Patience is exercised in bearing well those evils which naturally and immediately give us uneasiness. Contentment relates to those things which disturb us by reflection and comparison only, and has a great influence on the happiness of our lives, and the respectability of our characters. Many of the mortifications and disgusts which embitter life proceed not from any positive evils, hunger or cold, pain or disease, but from false estimates, fictitious wants, and imaginary grievances. Numbers, instead of being grateful for the advantages which they enjoy, keep themselves in a state of perpetual irritation and infelicity, by cherishing lofty pretensions, making invidious comparisons, entertaining false notions, foolish pride, and vain ambition. But instead of imitating these trifling self-tormentors, we should remember that intellectual and moral attainments, knowledge and virtue, are the only legitimate grounds of personal respectability among moral agents. We are under the wise and gracious providence of God, who watches over our welfare with parental affection, and, therefore, while we are diligent in the use of means, we will cheerfully submit both to do and to suffer what our Father sees meet. Contentment is the great secret of happiness. Without it neither the gold of Ophir nor the dominion of Ahasuerus can impart felicity. It is the richest mine and the best empire. Contentment, however, has no connexion with indolence or indifference about our temporal concerns. The human mind is endued with an unwearied activity; and this principle, which is the source of our happiness and means of our improvement, should be rightly directed in the diligent prosecution of some honest employment.

Lastly, While we are diligently pursuing our ordinary avocations, we ought ever to attend to the melioration of our moral nature, and to the improvement of our intellectual powers. Knowledge is honourable to a rational being. We have dominion over the inferior animals, not by our physical strength, but by our intellectual endowments; and the extension of our knowledge may be considered as an enlargement of our power. It is also instrumental in cultivating our moral nature; for unless our understanding be improved, our moral faculties will not be very exalted. In proportion as we are ambitious of moral excellence, we will, according to our opportunities, be active in the pursuit of intellectual attainments. Ignorance resulting from carelessness or sloth indicates no small degree of degradation, and will be visited with due retribution.

While we study to be growing in wisdom and in virtue, it becomes us frequently and carefully to examine the state of our mind. They who pay a prudent attention to their temporal concerns often look into the state of their affairs, that they may know whether they be in a thriving condition. This is as needful in our spiritual pursuits. It behoves us often to review the actions of our lives, and the affections of our hearts, and to inquire, as under the eye of God, and with a view to a state of future account, whether we be cherishing those dispositions and acquiring those habits which duty and interest demand. If this examination be conducted with due care, and in the light of revelation, it will be the means of discovering errors which otherwise might have passed unnoticed, and motives to diligence which may have been formerly unperceived.

We have commenced the career of existence which shall never end. Every step we take in life is to have an influence on those that follow. We should therefore be careful never by our present conduct to injure our future interests. As we are daily advancing on our way to eternity, we will daily be growing in likeness to God and meetness for heaven. In youth we labour to acquire that knowledge, and those habits which are requisite for discharging the duties of maturer years; in like manner, during the whole of life we should be employed in the diligent prosecution of that system of education which is requisite to qualify us for the duties and enjoyments of a higher stage of existence. We must never sit down contented with any attainments we may have already made either in knowledge or virtue. The wisest and the best have cause for persevering exertion, and room for growing improvement. Progress in excellence imparts present pleasure, and fits for future glory. We see what exertions the children of this world make to gain the objects of their ambition, honour, wealth, and power. For these they rise early and toil late. They traverse every climate, submit to every privation, encounter every danger. And shall the candidate for high intellectual and moral excellence, and for a blessed immortality, be more timid in encountering difficulties and dangers, or less strenuous and persevering in his exertions, in order to gain the objects of his lofty ambition? The path of happiness and glory lies before us. Let us steadily pursue it. As we approach the close of life, we will draw near the gate of our Father's house, so that when this world fails us, we may find ourselves on the threshold of heaven; and, when the voice of friends on earth dies upon our ear, we may hear the acclamations of the chosen spirits of the universe welcoming us to their dwellings in the paradise of God.

AN

ESSAY

ON

THE SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION,

A

WORK WHICH OBTAINED THE PRIZE ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTION PROPOSED BY THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE:

"WHAT HAS BEEN THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE DIFFERENT STATES OF EUROPE, AND ON THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE?"

BY C. VILLERS,

SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY,

BY

SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY,

BY SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY.

THE Reformation from Popery is a theme which can never grow old. To the scholar, the statesman, and the moralist, as well as to the Christian, it presents an aspect of the most intense interest. The situation in which that great event found Christendom, it is impossible, even at this distance of time, to contemplate without astonishment and horror. Literature was discouraged, as hostile to religion. Free inquiry was utterly interdicted, as dangerous to the plans and interests of a tyrannical priesthood. The rights of private judgment were not only denied, but the exercise of them prohibited. The Holy Scriptures were locked up from the common people. All the avenues to liberal knowledge were, as far as possible, closed. Claims of authority over all rulers and subjects were advanced, which made the haughtiest kings and emperors to tremble. A large part of the wealth of Europe was in the hands of profligate ecclesiastics;—yet such was the blind devotion of the people, and also of the princes and nobles, that, although they saw the gross abuse of this wealth, they were ready to furnish increasing means of splendour and sensual gratification. Indulgences to commit every kind of iniquity were as publicly sold for money as any other species of merchandise. The lives of the clergy, as well as the body of the people, were not only dissolute, but abominable; a scandal to religion and an outrage on common decency. The clergy professed celibacy, but generally indulged in the grossest and most unbridled lewdness;—a lewdness which did not even attempt to save appearances. Of this the evidences were as loathsome as they were enormous. One example will serve at once to illustrate and confirm the meaning here intended. It is stated by grave historians that, at the celebrated Council of Constance, there came to that city to attend its sessions, besides many hundreds of *cooks*, *musicians*, *barbers*, and other ministers to appetite and luxury, at least *fifteen hundred common prostitutes*, for the open accommodation of the members of the Council! Nor was this the only sin for which they were distinguished. Their gluttony; their drunkenness; their avarice, rapacity and ambition; their incessant struggles for power; and their system of wicked extortion, and imposition on the easy credulity of the people —altogether presented a scene which beggars description!

Against this monstrous system of corruption and oppression no one was allowed to whisper a syllable. Every avenue by which truth might enter was closed and carefully guarded. If any one began to hint the least dissatisfaction with any doctrine or practice of the Church, and to propose reformation, in any form, he was immediately stigmatized as a "heretic;" and, if he did not consult his safety by flight, was immured in prison, or committed to the flames, and his property transferred to the coffers of his persecutors.

In this deplorable state of things, Christian doctrine, in anything like its simple and Scriptural character, was nearly banished from the Church. Christianity, instead of being found as its Master left it, a pure, vital, holy, and sanctifying system, was perverted into a disgusting round of outward observances, superstitions, and idolatry. Instead of the only living and true God, the great body of those who called themselves Christians, worshipped images, the workmanship of men's hands. Instead of a divine enthroned Saviour, they adored the bread and wine in the eucharist. Instead of the Sacred Oracles as a rule of faith and practice, the commandments of men were set up. Instead of the Bible, the bulls of Popes, and the collections of Canon Law were substituted. Instead of the authority of Christ, and his inspired apostles, the miserable legends, the vain traditions, and the despotic will of wretched pontiffs, who are represented, by the gravest historians, as monsters, or rather "devils" than men, decided everything. The sacred volume was little read, and less understood. The character of Christ was much talked of, but totally misrepresented. The "blood of Christ," and the "merits of Christ," were phrases in every one's mouth; but nothing more than solemn mockery was made of either. While the terms "mercy" and "grace" were loudly chanted, the most unblushing system of self-righteousness was everywhere not only held, but avowed and gloried in; and the blessed Saviour, though holy, harmless, and undefiled, openly made "the minister of sin." In short, the most gloomy superstition, the most unrelenting spiritual tyranny, and the most revolting moral profligacy formed the essential character of that system which the Reformers were happily made instrumental in removing from a large portion of Christendom.

The editors of the "Christian Observer," well known as members and warm friends of the established Church of England, when speaking on this subject, make the following just and weighty remarks:

"Another principle, strong enough to be called a passion in the whole band of Reformers, was that of proclaiming to mankind the doctrine of *justification by faith in the merits of Jesus Christ.*

"Some modern writers are fond of representing the Reformation as a mere effort on the part of the Reformers to shake off the burden of papal ceremonies. But it ought rather to be contemplated as the *re-assertion of this grand principle,* the establishment of which was sure to level to the ground all the gingerbread fabric of ceremonies which the Church of Rome had substituted in its place. The image of Dagon must fall when the Ark of God is introduced. It was not the mere desire to abolish ceremonies that influenced the Reformers; for a ceremonial religion is better than none. But it was to substitute the Saviour for real or fancied saints; it was to elevate *Him* to the throne which they had so long usurped. It was to teach men to "glory," not in themselves, or in canonized men or bones, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they lived and died. The Reformation is ever to be considered as the triumph of principle over force; and of the particular principle of justification by grace, through faith in a crucified Redeemer, over every device which priestcraft, or pride, or superstition, had conceived for propitiating an offended God. We are convinced that a vast majority of the errors in religion may be traced to that unremitting and indefatigable desire of the natural mind *to do without Christ.* In this respect, Popery is to be considered, not as the mere chance-religion of a country or an age;—as a church accidentally founded and cemented by the labours or arts of a few cardinals and pontiffs. It is to be considered as the real antichrist, the religion of human nature; as the great confederation of mankind to get rid of Christ: as an organized effort to substitute a sort of gilded machinery for that grand pillar of salvation, pardon by the free grace of God, and through the atoning blood of his Son. It was to such a confederation, then, deeply intrenched and guarded by its rich temporalities, and invested by its mere age with a factitious sanctity, that Zuingle and his brethren opposed themselves. Carried by the grace of God, and the force of this their master-principle, through every obstacle, they triumphed, in defiance of the strength of their enemies, and even of their own deficiencies, and built up that Church which is the mother of us all."*

In another volume of the same valuable work, the following just and strong views are exhibited.

"Popery may be termed, in few words, *a system of paganized Christianity.* Every religious institution of paganism had a tendency to chain down the understandings of its votaries to visible and corporeal objects; to distract their attention between a vast variety of such objects; and thus to keep their minds from aspiring to just conceptions of the Creator, and their hearts from rendering to him the fear, love, and homage which are his due. This was the general effect produced upon mankind by all the *lying vanities* of the gentile world—their demi-gods, their deified heroes, their local and household divinities, their temples, auguries, and oracles. After the establishment of Christianity throughout the Roman empire, much of the leaven of heathenism still prevailed. Its spirit was gradually transfused into all the doctrines, institutions, and ceremonies of our holy religion; and being powerfully aided by the general corruption of human nature, and by the ignorance and barbarism of those dark ages which followed the irruption of the Northern conquerors, it succeeded eventually in building up that fabric of superstition and unscriptural theology which was, at length, formally consecrated by the Council of Trent."†

It was against this enormous system of antichristian darkness, profligacy, and tyranny that the Reformers felt themselves called upon to wage war. And, accordingly, the benefit which they were enabled, by the grace of God, to confer upon their generation, and, indeed, on the Church and the world in all succeeding ages, was by no means of a confined or narrow character. Literature, science, civil liberty, and good morals were all essentially promoted by that great moral miracle which we denominate the Reformation, no less than the disenthralment and the reign of the gospel. While it electrified and convulsed, it, at the same time, enlightened and purified a large portion of Europe.

I have called this event a moral miracle. And, truly, when we consider, on the one hand, the strong and deep-rooted prejudices which were almost universally prevalent, when the Reformers went forth to their work; the wealth, power, and interest which were leagued against them; the deep and almost invincible authority which the force of habit, and of inveterate usurpation had imparted to the corrupt opinions and practices of the times; and the consequent formidable danger attending any attempt to shake that authority, and to demolish the unhallowed fabric which it had built up; and when we reflect, on the other hand, upon the seemingly accidental causes from which the Reformation originated; and the apparently inconsiderable means by which it was carried on, contrasted with its irresistible progress, and its mighty results,—results in which the Church and the world yet rejoice,—we cannot but see abundant reason for wonder, gratitude and praise. That thick darkness which had been so long brooding over the nations was in a great degree dissipated. The human mind, which had been for ages, as tame and passive as if it had been formed to believe whatever it was ordered to believe, and to bear whatever an unprincipled and tyrannical priesthood thought proper to lay upon it; was unexpectedly roused, became conscious of its dignity and rights, and disdainful of the yoke of mere authority. The fetters with which men had been bound for ages were, extensively, broken. The rights of private judgment began to be understood and asserted. The religious freedom which now began to dawn upon the nations gave a new impulse to literature and science; and, on the other hand, the lights and the emancipation of literature imparted a favourable influence to the study and the reign of a sound theology. In short, we may say, that human society, in all its relations and interests, was benefited by the event of which we speak to an extent which it is not easy to estimate, and which is daily unfolding itself more and more.

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* Vol. XI. p. 169.

† Vol. XXIII. p. 135.

The attentive observer of human affairs, however, will perceive, that rich as were the services of the Reformers, and great as are, undoubtedly, the obligations we owe them—the all-wise and almighty King of Zion had been preparing the way for their ministry, and its results, for a considerable time before they appeared. A variety of circumstances contributed to this happy effect. The impolitic and ferocious violence of some of the Popes in the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth centuries; the openly profligate lives of some others of these high functionaries, the abominable licentiousness which generally characterized their court and capital;—the shockingly corrupt manners of the clergy everywhere; the gross ignorance, and shameless effrontery of the several orders of Mendicants; the seventy years "Babylonish captivity," as it was called, at Avignon;—the grand Western Schism, of forty years continuance, which followed it, in which two and sometimes three Popes appeared, abusing and excommunicating each other,—loading each other with the most revolting insults, and reproaching each other, and not unjustly, with the most degrading vices—the grievous papal exactions of every kind, and especially the profligate system of INDULGENCES, that monstrous abuse of the most monstrous of all usurped powers; the intolerance and cruelty of the Inquisition; and the grievous wounds inflicted on the cause of truth and decorum by the ferocious wars carried on by some of the monastic orders, more especially by the Dominicans and Franciscans, among themselves. Surely, all these, which the writer of the important work before us strongly depicts, are quite sufficient to account for the hatred and contempt which appeared to be lurking in the breasts of so many at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The friends of the papacy, at the opening of the century, thought that all was not only *tranquil*, but *safe*. But it was only the portentous calm which precedes the heaving earthquake. The only wonder is that the explosion had not occurred years before; that the superstitious reverence of the people had not much sooner given place to a settled abhorrence and indignation, prompting them to rise as one man and throw off their chains.

At length, however, the time, even the "set time to favour Zion" had come. The Papal fabric, built up and cemented by the superstitions and the prejudices of ages, was destined, with respect to a large portion of Europe, to be prostrated in the dust. Instruments were raised up for the accomplishment of the work; and means apparently insufficient were made to prevail, with a power, and to an extent, which those whose instrumentality was employed, were by no means prepared to anticipate.

Every Christian owes it to himself, to his Master, and to the Church of God to study this great Revolution, in its rise, progress, instruments, establishment, and immeasurable effects. We are too apt to forget the toil, the dangers, and the privations which our fathers of the Reformation underwent, in securing those privileges in which we still rejoice. Few portions of history can be better adapted to instruct in truth, to animate in duty, and to excite Christians to be "followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises."

I do not forget that many who glory in the name of "Protestant," appear to have but little sympathy with those noble-minded Christian heroes who braved all the terrors of martyrdom for the sake of delivering the Church from the thraldom of error and superstition under which she had so long groaned. Some of these appear to imagine that, although the corruptions of the Papacy, as they were *then* exhibited, were such as fully to justify the Reformers in all that they said and did for their removal, yet that the character of the Romish Church has *essentially altered* since that time, and is now a system, if not *entirely harmless*, at least little adapted to inspire apprehension in the mind of an enlightened and liberal Christian.

This view of the subject I believe to be entirely erroneous. The system of Romanism is, in its nature, spirit, and purposes, precisely what it was when Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Cranmer, went forth in the name of the Lord, and lifted up their banner against her. She has not abated "one jot or tittle" of either her tyrannical claims, or her pestiferous corruptions. Indeed, considering the essential *nature of her claims*, they cannot be either mitigated or altered without being totally abandoned. That this has never been done, we have evidence of the most conclusive kind on every side.

The following remarks on this subject, in a work lately published, by the REV. JOHN SCOTT, a pious divine of the Church of England, and a son of the venerable DR. THOMAS SCOTT, author of a well known Commentary on the Bible, are worthy of the attention of those Protestants who imagine that all desire to examine and refute the claims of Romanists at the present day, are unnecessary if not improper.

"Does either piety or charity require us to keep any measures with that system, which, laying hold of God's best gift to the human race, the religion of Jesus Christ, converted it through successive centuries, into the very reverse of all for which it was designed; making it the instrument of darkness instead of light; of impurity instead of holiness; of tyranny, both spiritual and civil, instead of freedom; and even of renewed idolatry, instead of the pure and spiritual worship, which was to have subverted superstition, and banished all false religion from among men. Surely, in consistence with the most perfect good-will even to its votaries, we may desire to see such a system consumed by the spirit of the Lord's mouth, and destroyed by the brightness of his coming." Yes, whatever indulgence we may be desirous of extending to the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, (and let them have every indulgence, every privilege that they can enjoy consistently with the common safety,) yet let us never forget what popery *was*, and *is* essentially in itself, and what it will ever show itself to be in proportion as it is enabled to act freely, and to display its true character. It is one of the fashionable and threatening errors of the present day, that, in their zeal to show themselves liberal, and candid, and indulgent toward Roman Catholics, men are apt to soften down, and lose sight of the enormities, doctrinal and practical, of the papal system. Persecution, it is true, is a crime to which our fallen nature is prone, and into which all parties have, in different degrees, fallen; but let us not on that ground, with affected philosophy, but with real indolence and indiscrimination, and in defiance of all historic verity, pretend that popery stands, in this respect, on the same footing with other religious systems. No: PERSECUTION IS INHERENT IN THE VERY PRINCIPLES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMISH CHURCH:—She has been in this, as in so many other respects, "the mother of abominations to the earth." If other professedly Christian bodies long retained the persecuting spirit, it was mainly because they found it so difficult wholly to eradicate the seeds of instruction which they had received from her hand; and while they have undoubtedly been occasionally stained with the blood of those who dissented from them, SHE HAS BEEN EVEN STEEPED IN IT—in the strong language of Scripture prophecy, DRUNK WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS AND THE MARTYRS OF JESUS. And the testimony which has fallen in my way, from the pen of her sanctioned and remunerated advocate, *Pallavicini*, to her unaltered and unalterable principles, however she may, from policy, suffer her unaccredited members for a time to deviate from them, or even to deny them—is so striking, that I cannot but here transcribe it. "The whole of our faith," he says, "rests upon one indivisible article, viz: THE INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH. *The moment, therefore, we give up any part whatever, the whole falls; for what admits not of being divided, must evidently stand entire, or fall entire.*"*

The truth is, as long as the Romish Church continues to maintain the universal supremacy and infallibility of the Pope; as long as she openly teaches the antichristian doctrine of merits, and sanctions the unhallowed traffic in indulgences; as long as she represents heaven as a part of the domain, so to speak, of St. Peter, to be parcelled out, and made over to men for money, just as the avarice or the caprice of the Pope and his emissaries may dictate; as long as she maintains transubstantiation, auricular confession, penance, the celibacy of the clergy, the worship of images, prayers to the saints, and for the dead; especially as long as she locks up the Scriptures from the common people, and obliges them to take both the contents and the meaning of the word of God, as she herself chooses to deal it out to them; as long as she "binds heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lays them on men's shoulders, while she herself refuses to touch them with one of her fingers"—she cannot cease to be ANTICHRIST—BABYLON THE GREAT—THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."

If we wish to know what the papacy really is, let us contemplate the system in those countries where it is armed with power, and where its spirit is acted out. Let us go to *Spain*, to *Portugal*, and to a few other portions of Europe, where the reins are, without restraint, entirely in popish hands. *There* we shall find the reign of *superstition* wonderful, nay incredible, to those who have not seen it; the *moral profligacy* not only of the people, but of the clergy also, perfectly scandalous; and the *spiritual tyranny* over the consciences, and indeed over all the rights and privileges of men clothed with a gloom and a terror of which we, in this land of liberty, cannot even conceive. Such, however, difficult as many Protestants find to believe it, is the native spirit of Romanism; and such, undoubtedly, would be the spirit acted out in our own country, if the character of our government, and the state of society admitted of such enormous abuse. Those who, for a moment, doubt this, must be as blind to the facts daily attested by the voice of travellers, as they are to all the instructions of authentic, unquestionable history.

Yet there are those serious Protestants who cannot be persuaded that there is anything dangerous in the character of Romanism! That it is an erroneous system, they acknowledge; but imagine that its errors are of a very harmless nature! And hence they disapprove of all preaching and writing against that system. They can hear Romish priests preach in favour of their highest and most offensive claims, without one feeling of revolt. But if a Protestant divine undertake to defend his religion against the denunciations of the Romanists, and to expose the antichristian and profligate errors of "the man of sin," he must expect to be censured by many as a "persecutor!" Let such read with seriousness and care the following work; and if they are not convinced of their mistake, we may consider their case as hopeless!

It will be perceived that this work was a *Prize Essay*, to which this award was adjudged by the National Institute of France. The author was CHARLES FRANCIS DOMINIC DE VILLERS, a native of France. He was born at Belchen, in Lorraine, in the year 1761. He became a lieutenant of artillery at the age of eighteen; but in the revolution he joined the prince of Condé at Triers, in consequence of which, on the failure of the royal cause, he was obliged to seek an asylum in Germany. After repeated removals, he settled at Lubec, where he wrote several valuable and popular works, particularly this "Essay on the Influence of the Reformation by Luther." He was afterwards professor of philosophy in the University of Gottingen; but was deprived of the office on the restoration of peace. He obtained, however, a pension from the Hanoverian government, and was made a knight of the polar star by the king of Sweden. He died in 1815.

As Mons. Villers was not an ecclesiastic; as the National Institute, when the prize was adjudged to his Essay, was very far from being under any ecclesiastical thraldom; and as the award was made in the midst of a predominant Roman Catholic population, we cannot imagine that there was any temptation to indulge in gratuitous bitterness respecting the subject of it, or to venture on any misstatement of facts. It has generally received, from competent judges, high commendation, and will well reward an attentive perusal. In regard to the opinions expressed by the writer in the various parts of his work, I cannot be supposed to vouch for them all. But it strikes me as an important work, ably executed, the general tendency of which is highly salutary.

Princeton, June 24th, 1833.

VILLER'S ESSAY.

PART I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

SECT. I.

On the State of the Question.

IF, during any of the centuries which preceded the sixteenth, and while no opposition had been raised against the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs, a learned assembly had been desirous of calculating the results of a schism, of a contrary opinion to that of Rome, the question would doubtless have been framed thus: "What are the evils and the scandal with which the church has been afflicted, on account of such an impious and pernicious doctrine?" At this time, when several respectable nations have separated from the Romish church; when the intimate connection by which all Europe is united has convinced Christians of that persuasion, that others are as virtuous, as well regulated, as enlightened as themselves, the question must necessarily assume another form. An assembly of philosophers, in the bosom of France, restored to the Catholic worship, proposes to ascertain the influence of Luther's reformation on the state of European society, on the progress of knowledge. This change in language implies a great one in opinion; and, in this point of view, the question may be said to answer itself.

As the institute have not added any explanatory outline to the question, the following considerations, the intention of which is to determine the object and the latitute of the answer, will not appear misplaced.

By a superficial observer, it may be thought that a religious revolution should only exercise its influence on matters connected with religion; on the worship and the discipline of the church: but long before Luther's reformation, the church and the state were so assimilated in every political body in Europe; their rights and their constitutions were so blended, that one of them could not be convulsed without the other experiencing the shock. The church, which had universally formed a state within a state, had carried its usurpations over the latter so far, that it threatened to swallow it up. All Europe was for a length of time in danger of yielding to the dominion of an absolute theocracy. The emperors of the new empire of the west, who saved it from that destiny, afterwards menaced it with the project of an universal monarchy. The kings of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, the princes and free cities of Germany and Italy offered only a partial and alternate opposition to the pretensions of either of the competitors. A new impulse; a new and powerful tie, which united the oppressed against both the oppressors at the same time; an event which awakened every passion; the love of liberty; a religious and political fanaticism, which augmented the power of princes in a tenfold degree, by exalting the people, which, in short, offered to the leaders both independence and the rich prey of the spoils of the clergy; such an event, I say, must, in such a period, have produced an universal agitation in Europe. The systems of the modern states were shook by it to their foundations. During the long and grievous struggle which followed, everything acquired a different form, and a different establishment. A new political order arose from the ferment and general confusion: the different elements of which it was composed, long agitated by contending forces, yielding, at length, to the laws of gravitation of the moral world, took the places in it assigned to them by their respective weights, but which, in most instances, were not those they had formerly occupied. A new series of ideas also arose from this conflict of opinions; men dared to think, to reason, to examine those things which, before, required only a blind submission. Thus a simple attack on ecclesiastical discipline produced a considerable change in the political situation of the states of Europe, and in the morals of its inhabitants. The institute was therefore inspired with the true spirit of history in encouraging the solution of the problem which it has so ably proposed. It is honourable to a writer to be called upon to treat of religion and politics, the two cardinal points of human life, before such an assembly. One of the first fruits of true liberty is the power of discussing these important objects without restraint, and the country where this privilege is exercised must incontrovertibly be free.

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* Scott's History of the Church of Christ, I. 228, 229.

In inquiring what *has been* the influence of the reformation of Luther, the institute shows clearly that it does not consider this influence as existing, at this time, in an active manner. In fact, near three centuries have elapsed since the first explosion. The agitation occasioned by it became gradually calmed; the power which originally gave the impulse, and which produced so many new events, has ceased to act as a moving force, as a productive principle. The greater part of the institutions which it created, and of those which it modified, have been preserved; some are extinct; but those which remain are now guided by the universal course of events, and the reformation is no longer the immediate cause which directs their progress. It has nearly accomplished everything of which it is capable; its influence is now perceived only mediately, without convulsions, and by the course of the institutions originating from it. The time is therefore arrived when the advantages or disadvantages which have resulted to the human race from it, may be inquired into, enumerated, and discussed. It will doubtless be conformable to the views of the institute to confine myself to an exact specification of all the proximate consequences of the reformation, and to be satisfied with a slight notice of the remote ones. To engage in the details of these last, it would be necessary to draw the immense picture of the history of Europe subsequent to that period, since there is scarcely any great event, in which some result of the reformation, such as the present constitution of the Germanic body, for example, or the republic of the United Provinces, has not, in its turn, exercised a greater or less degree of influence. We should never get freed from this labyrinth of *mediate* consequences; for, in this point of view, the influence of every political or religious commotion extends to infinity. To this day, we are more or less affected by what passed in India, Arabia, Greece, and Italy, in very remote times: we still live very perceptibly under the influence of the irruption of the northern tribes, of the crusades, and of other political movements which have become the principles of action to the people. The line of deviation, often crooked, sometimes retrograde, in the improvement of nations, is produced by the complicated action of many different forces: to mark its escapes, its aberrations, by putting a just value on the powers which have contributed to it, is the province of the philosophy of history. The author of the present essay will esteem himself fortunate, if his judges are of opinion that he has performed this task, with respect to that period of modern history in which the reformation was the predominant power.

Nevertheless, it is not possible to engage in an inquiry into the effects of the reformation, without being, in some degree, obliged to give way to this reflection; "Is not the great event which I consider as a cause, in itself so much a simple result of other causes, which have preceded it, that the true origin of all that has followed it must be referred to them, and not to it, which has only been an intermedium?" Without doubt such is the situation of the mind in these researches. While it looks forward, its point of departure seems to be the fixed base from whence all the successive steps proceed. If its looks are turned back, the first point appears to it only the necessary consequence of those which have preceded it, and as a passage to arrive at those which follow. To the mental eye, every cause, in ascending, becomes a simple effect; each effect becomes, in its turn, a cause, in descending. The inclination which we feel to attribute everything which follows an event to the event itself, as though it was the cause of it, is the clew which guides us in the arrangement of historical facts; it is the law of cohesion by which the present is united to the past. To proceed in this manner from the effect to the cause, until we reach a first cause, subsisting by itself, and which cannot be the effect of any other cause, is a necessary consequence of our knowledge, which seeks an absolute principle to build its speculations on. It is on this slippery path that metaphysics is lost. A man who, without knowing the nature of the course of a river, should arrive on its banks, seeing it here gliding through an extensive plain, there confined within narrow valleys, in another place foaming beneath the precipice of a cataract; this man would take the first turning where it might be concealed by a projection, for the origin of the river; ascending higher, a new turn, the cataract, will occasion the same illusion; at length, he reaches its source, he takes the mountain from which it issues for the first cause of the river; but he will soon think that the sides of the mountain would be exhausted by so continual a torrent; he will see clouds collected, the rains, without which the dried mountain could not supply a spring. Then the clouds become the first cause; but it was the winds which brought these here, by passing over vast seas; but it was the sun who attracted the clouds from the sea; but whence arises this power of the sun? Behold him then soon entangled in the researches of speculative physics, by seeking a cause, an absolute foundation, from which he may, finally deduce the explanation of so many phenomena.

Thus, the historian who inquires what was the cause which led to the reduction of the authority of the popes, to the terrible thirty years' war, to the humiliation of the house of Austria, the establishment of a powerful opposition in the heart of the empire, the foundation of Holland as a free state, and so of other occurrences, will, at first, see the origin of all these events in the reformation, and will attribute them absolutely to its influence. But urging his inquiries farther, he discovers that this reformation itself is evidently only a necessary result of other circumstances, which precede it, an event of the sixteenth century, with which the fifteenth, to use the expression of *Leibnitz*, was pregnant; at most, the cataract of the river. How many are there who are still of opinion they have found the first cause of the French revolution in the *deficit*, in the convocation of the states-general, in the *tiers-etat*, in the curates! Others, who carry their views a little farther, attribute it to the parliament *Maupeou*, the extinction of the Jesuits, &c. They are all right in that limited point of view which they have taken. Those, however, who contemplate the progress of human nature during a succession of ages, see this enormous mass of individual cases roll on, each of which, animated by its interest, its passions, and its peculiar spirit, seems desirous to counteract the progress of all the others; but notwithstanding their infinite diversity, all these motives have common features tending towards certain ends, which, finally, are the same; these features, these tendencies common to all, form a collection of powers, or rather a single power, which is that of the human race, that of a universal spirit, which, concealed through ages, guides and governs them. Under the dominion of providence, (that sun of the moral world, to use again the expression of a philosopher,) this spirit of humanity, by its continual action, prepares and disposes events. This great revolution which surprises us, is only a product, a result, a striking manifestation. Is it therefore to it, is it not rather to the influence of the causes, which have themselves preceded and led to it, that the events which have followed it should be attributed?

In the case in question, therefore, it is requisite for the historian to attend to what had passed before the great event which he examines; to ascertain the influence of the causes, by which the event itself was brought about, and in what degree these same causes have influenced the series of subsequent events. It is also requisite for him to consider what would have happened through the slow and progressive course of humanity, which is sometimes called the natural course of things, if the great event, if the convulsion in question, had not supervened. Finally, he must determine what particular modifications in its results have been occasioned by the proper and individual character of this event; the character of the age and of the nation in which it occurred, and that of the men who had the principal share in it.

SECT. II.

On the Essence of Reformations in General.

As the mind rises through the series of events, and passes from each effect to its cause, to attain, at length, to a first cause, which serves it as a principle, and where it forms the first link of its chain; in the same manner it descends from causes to effects, eager to arrive at a last result, an absolute effect, which is satisfactory of itself, and is not required to become a cause or to act the part of a simple medium leading still further. This effect which must terminate everything, the last link of the chain, and final result of all which has preceded it, is the object sought by the mind, the place of repose at which it finally consents to stop. All its speculations on human events are divided into this double inquiry of *principle* and *object:* from what do they arise, and to what do they tend? It is within these two points that the action of the mind is restrained, and it chooses them more or less proximate, or more or less remote, according to its capacity, or to its existing wishes. But when it has not attained, on the one hand, to a cause which it feels warranted in taking for a primitive one, and, on the other, to an object which it considers as final, the mind of man remains in suspense, it vacillates within a compulsory equilibrium, and experiences the inquietude of an unaccomplished purpose. It is true, it may be possible for it to give up that space which it has determined not to investigate, and to assign a boundary within which the entire exercise of its power shall be restrained; but even this resignation is not in the power of every mind, nor is it, perhaps, in the primitive nature of any.

Let us therefore allow him who reflects on the history of the human race to ask, to what tends this succession of tumultuous events, of commotions, of transmutations in things and in opinions? Let him dare to give free vent to his thoughts in the investigation of the final end of so many progressive revolutions. He can only find it in that sublime idea of a state of things, in which the destination of humanity, in the aggregate, being perfectly accomplished, all its physical and moral powers having attained the highest degree of developement, men would be as good, as enlightened, as happy as the original dispositions of their nature would admit of. Not that he will be able to show that this golden age of morality, this *chiliasm* of philosophy, can ever be realized, such as a beneficent dream represents it to us. But in the efforts of men, in those of nations, we cannot misconceive that tendency to improvement, to an order of things more just, more humane, in which the rights of all shall be better secured, and these rights be more equally distributed. Let us acknowledge that absolute perfection will never be the lot of mortals; but let us, at the same time, avow that this perfection forms the ideal object of their wishes, that it is the desire of their reason. It is not asserted that they will reach it, but it is unquestionable that they aspire to it. Perhaps the geometrical phenomenon of the assymptote is repeated in the moral world, and that, continually approaching to a point of meeting on the curve, we shall never touch it. Nevertheless the hope of the approximation alone is sufficient to inflame exalted minds, and is an object worthy of them. Alas! what would be the fate of the generations which succeed each other, what the despair of him who meditates upon them, if the laws of a creation, incessantly active, were not discoverable through the chaos of human affairs; if, in the darkest commotions which threaten to engulf all things, the light of providence did not permit the distant view of a happier futurity? It is certainly true that in the unbridled tempests, the whirlwinds raised by the passions on the ocean of time, the direct road to this object cannot always be strictly followed; and to deviate, to pause, become too frequently necessary. The observer, sometimes deceived, may suppose the progress retrograde, while, at the same time, it is not so; for all are not provided with a compass sufficiently correct to point out the path it ought to follow. But he who asserts that it is retrograde, by so doing admits the existence of the object; for to retrograde is only to remove farther from it. And admitting that this backsliding takes place for a time, can it, from thence, result that afterwards the approximation shall not be made with greater celerity? Is not that a contracted sight which cannot penetrate beyond the point at which it is checked? To judge of all the road, it must be contemplated entire. That part of it which humanity must pass through after us, is unknown to us; but we may form an opinion of it by what has been already done. Until our time mankind have advanced on it, and it is to be expected that our successors will also advance; Greece and Italy, savage at the first, were far behind Greece and Italy in the refined period of their improvement. But however eminent this amelioration may, in many respects, have been, it was individual to each of these nations, exclusive to all others; it belonged to the citizen of Rome, to the citizen of Athens, but it did not belong to man. All the rest of the globe was barbarous and enslaved, slaves in fact to a few thousand individuals. Could the developement of civilization be always restrained to a few cities, to so contracted a corner of the earth? Could the millions of human beings, who vegetated in the nations from the Oby to the Elbe remain eternally strangers to it, and serve only as a supply to the armies and the galley-slaves of the privileged people? Doubtless no. There must be a dispersion of knowledge among them; there must be a mixture, which would convey the spirit of Latium and Achaia into Cimbria. The means of accomplishing this was, either that the small body, in possession of knowledge, must overcome these innumerable tribes, and penetrate to the extremity of continents almost inaccessible; or, otherwise, that the multitude of these rude nations should conquer the small people and become blended with them in the very focus of knowledge. After the employment of the first alternative, the Romans having penetrated as far as their strength, and a bravery worthy of eternal admiration, permitted them, the second, and more natural method, was brought into action by the mysterious arbiter of human destiny. The people of the north overran the south of Europe, and brought their ignorance into it. Chaos seemed restored; knowledge twinkled faintly and with difficulty here and there in the midst of profound night, which lasted for a time proportionate to the foreign mass which had newly appeared: it required ten centuries of fermentation to assimilate such a quantity of heterogeneous elements with the superior ones which had been blended among them. At length knowledge burst forth again on all sides. During three centuries since its re-appearance, it has spread and made an unheard of progress. The civilization of Athens and of Rome have been rediscovered, not only through all Europe, but at Philadelphia and Calcutta. Rome and Athens which our arts and our knowledge would astonish, would also admire the humanity of the European, whose boast is that he is a man, and who no longer suffers slavery to taint his soil. This then has resulted from the horrible irruption of the barbarians in the fourth century, and thus at length time has justified Providence, the power of which, for one, or even for several generations, appears sometimes to have wholly ceased to act. I have selected this example because the apparent degradation of humanity, during the long interval of the barbarism of the middle ages, is, generally the favourite theme brought forward by the opponents of perfectability in support of their opinion.

And if we enter into the detail of the gradual civilization of these barbarians, who are the progenitors of the most polished nations of the present day, what will first engage the attention? Power, the only right: each individual; each master of a castle, at war with all his neighbourhood; and these wars, which may be said to have been fought man to man, deluging the land with blood, carrying desolation into every corner of it, taking place without any law but the ferocity of the conqueror. What a dismal picture is that of the Gauls, for example, in this anarchial state! By degrees, the valour, or the fortune of some of the chiefs brought extensive provinces under their dominion, in which they introduced order and discipline, and the inhabitants were relieved from the horrors of a universal and unceasing warfare: finally, these provinces themselves became united under a single government; millions of men, formerly separated into a multiplicity of hordes, which massacred each other indiscriminately, were from thenceforward compatriots, brothers, subject to the same laws, restrained by the same discipline. Where murder and unchecked pillage held their sway, safety, harmony, and order are now seen; Gaul has become one homogeneous whole, over all the extent of which reigns that perpetual peace which is felt, but not acknowledged. Will our civil wars be brought forward? These, at least, have been the effect of accidents, of crisis against nature; they can no longer be said to be the permanent and constitutional state of the whole of a country. The curative power of the entire body speedily brings a remedy, and experience has proved that they become more and more easy to extinguish. We may therefore conclude, in despite of that gloomy disposition which occasions so many to be ardent admirers of the past, merely that they may more freely depreciate the present, that our time is far superior to that of the Goths and Vandals; and although humanity has risen through all the distance which separates them, the consoling prospective, that our posterity will reach a better and happier state, is not denied to us.

I solicit the indulgence of my judges for this, almost involuntary, effusion of my soul. I know the language of speculation may be hazarded before sages, whose intention is to add the consolatory views of philosophy to the study of history. But is it possible to avoid directing the attention towards an amelioration of human affairs, while meditating on the consequences of those sanguinary revolutions, of which the reformation effected by Luther, offers so memorable an example? At each of these great convulsions of nations, should we not accuse the divine providence of tyrannical absurdity, if the result of so many evils was only to precipitate mankind into a worse state than that from which they had been freed? But no; after these deplorable crises, in which so many individuals have been sacrificed, it is not uncommon to see a better order of things arise, to see the whole species advance, with more freedom, towards the great object pointed out by reason, and attain to a new developement of its improvement, at each new explosion of its powers.

From these premises we may consider the gradual improvement of the human race as consisting in an uninterrupted succession of reformations; some of them silent and slow, the lingering results of ages, of the individual persuasion of powers, and of opinion, which, in the end, supersedes errors; others, striking and powerful, the sudden results of a burst of light which strikes all eyes, of the lassitude of long oppression of an excessive necessity of restoring an equilibrium in some part of the political or religious system. The latter are the periods, the military stones to the human race in their progress through time. History numbers them with care, investigates their results, and determines by them the divisions of her work.

Men of meek minds, warmed by a mild philanthropy without enthusiasm, who are more affected by a horror of present evils than they are flattered with a hope of future good; those moderate minds which are terrified at a violent procedure and the fury of revolts; these, I say, adhering to the ameliorations, the reforms which time brings round without agitation, desire, and with justice, that good should never be manifested but under a beneficent form. Wherever they perceive the burst of passions, arms provoked by arms, thunder answering thunder, they sigh, they are grieved, they protest equally against both parties. Frequently they declare against that which has first broken the repose so dear to them; although, very often, this is in reality innocent, in reality driven to extremity by oppression. May we not rank in this class a great number of the adversaries of our last revolution, so many worthy and upright men who have been crushed in the shock of parties? In this manner, the aversion of some distinguished men of the sixteenth century, not to the doctrine, but to the events of the reformation, may be explained. *Erasmus* called it the *Lutheran tragedy;* and it was, in fact, because the drama marked its issue as tragic, that this wise and circumspect man, whose favourite motto was *otium cum dignitate*, refused to act a part in it.* But to desire that good should only be effected by good, is to make humanity a romance; it is to convert history into an idyl, and the universe into an Arcadia. Unfortunately it does not happen thus. Nature, among the multiplicity of benefits which it bestows on the earth, afflicts it with hurricanes, inundations, subterraneous fires, the types of the dreadful scourges which are sometimes found in society, and which are often occasioned by the faults of our predecessors, sometimes by our own. It is necessary, therefore, for the man who would enjoy his own period to submit to them, and to consider them as the accomplishment of the profound laws which guide the great whole; laws which we can never misinterpret, except when we presume to judge of their operation too partially, and in too contracted a point of view.

The amelioration of his institutions, whether political or religious, which man unceasingly aspires to, consists in bringing and keeping them as near as he possibly can to the peculiar spirit which constitutes their essence. The exterior forms with which they are clothed are seldom so agreeable to the spirit as to admit of its entire action and accomplishment. It too frequently happens that the clogged wheels of the machine suspend and render the impulse of the mainspring irregular. It is the nature of man himself, who is a compound of soul and body closely united, which subjects all human institutions to this discordant duplicity. Contained in, and, as it were, shackled by the corporeal organs given to him for its manifestation, his understanding cannot give freedom to the exercise of its ideas, nor produce them as ethereal as it conceived them. To act and be perceptible, externally, thought must be allied with a body, to which it gives its form, and which is communicated in its stead. Hence, for example, arise the extreme importance of language, the faculty of thinking and the truth of this position, that without language we should be unable to combine our ideas. Thus, for the use of man, every institution requires to be provided with a body, a physical and sensible form. The spirit of all religions is, without doubt, originally the same, as well as that of all governments. The one consists in acknowledging, as laws imposed by God himself, the moral laws and rules of duty engraved on the hearts of all men; the other, in securing his natural rights to every member of society. But what would that religion be, what that government, which depended only on this simple idea, which should only be a pure spirit? It would not be an organized machine, capable of acting in the human world; it would not be a human institution. To become so, it must have an external form, organs, a visible and material consistence.

Nevertheless, the unalterable eternal spirit, which forms the soul of these institutions, remains always what it was, always similar to itself. But this is not the case with the body, the external form. This, subject to the influence of the physical world, of human passions, variable, perishable, is modified by accident and by events. In proportion as its configuration becomes changed, as its organs become cramped, thickened, overcharged, the oppressed and shackled spirit loses its primitive action and direction; sometimes stifled under a monstrous aggregate, it entirely ceases to manifest itself; the phantom no longer has life or pliancy; it possesses only the rigidity and heaviness of death. Thus the pure and sublime spirit of Christianity, to which no form less pure and less simple than itself is fitting,* was successively smothered, during a long series of ages, until the sixteenth century, by a continual load of foreign elements, which had vitiated its action, and, gradually, produced a misshapen body, from whence issued all the ills which the errors and the passions were capable of generating. Thus history, the depository of woful experience, shows us almost always, that the political constitutions, established to maintain natural justice among the people, degenerate in the end, and finish by being clogged with a mass, inimical to liberty and to the public welfare. This opinion, almost always confirmed by the event, is therefore very generally received by those who reflect on the fate of nations, "that a government, democratic in its principle, is successively, and in a shorter or longer period, converted into an oligarchy, or monarchy, and finishes by degenerating into despotism."

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* It is known besides that Erasmus was not of a disposition to sacrifice his interest to his opinions. He aspired to a cardinal's hat, and although he might not succeed, his anxiety for it gives a clew to his conduct towards the reformers. The Catholic clergy still retained more dignities and more riches than the protestant clergy; with the people of the stamp of Erasmus, this reason was sufficient to induce them to declare in favour of the first.

* Fenelon, in his Lettre sur l'existence de Dieu et sur le culte digne de lui (in the second volume of Œuvres Philosophiques) repeats several times, that the Christian religion is only the love of God. At page 16, he quotes Tertulian, who, with the same idea says, that the soul is naturally Christian; and at page 28, St. Augustine, according to whom, there can be no other worship but love, nec colitur ille nisi amando. "This," according to Fenelon, "is the reign of God within us; it is the worship in spirit and in truth; it is the sole end for which God has made us." It is obvious that the Holy See would find this mode of being a Christian not very agreeable.

Hence, at certain epochas, springs the desire generally felt by all upright and disinterested minds, of a reform in the great human establishments. The external form is in general too revolting to the spirit. What must be the issue when, no longer harmonizing with it, it constrains, oppresses, paralyzes it! It must, in the end, burst forth, it must free itself from a body which no longer supplies it with organs calculated to second its developement. Mankind, who all, in a greater or less degree, possess a correct idea, a type of this spirit, are enraged against the haughty and pernicious colossus; they crush it in their indignation, and compel it to give back the holy flame which it concealed; light and vacillating, they are unable to seize it; they must enclose it in a vessel formed by their hands, they must unite it to a new sensible form. Thus after having destroyed the old edifice of the Roman communion, the confession of Augsburg, and other similar codes were requisite for the Christians separated from it; after the destruction of the French monarchy, it was necessary to fix the spirit of government, and that of the natural rights of man, in the positive forms of a new constitution.

But in forming a judgment of these reformations, how necessary is it to attend to the general spirit of the time and of the country in which they have been effected? From this double circumstance, as well as from the individual character of their author, and of his principal co-operators, from the design and the local object of these persons, &c. they receive their modifications, their peculiar colouring. *Moses*, leaving Egypt at the head of a troop of mutinous, superstitious, sensual slaves, whom he had to reduce to submission, to make soldiers capable of every enterprise, and animated against every nation which might occupy the territory on which he purposed to establish them; in such circumstances, *Moses* directed the reform of his people so as to conduce to the accomplishment of his designs. *Mahomet*, reforming a free and proud nation, sensual to excess, but capable of exaltation, and of virtue, succeeded in investing himself with a great character, and reduced the exterior form of the pure deism he preached to very simple terms. Both of them blended the religious constitution, which should be suitable to all men, with the political constitution, which can only be calculated for one nation; they confounded the church and the state, and, by that, rendered their religion purely local. With respect to *Jesus*, in conformity to his celestial origin, he separated the cares of the state from those of the church, whose empire he proclaimed was not of this world. In the midst of the Jewish nation, which had received from *Moses*, during their forty years' residence in the desert, a legislation suitable to the wants of their first establishment, in Palestine, but which had reached the highest pitch of the necessity for reform, *Jesus* undertook that of all mankind, inasmuch as he rejected the forms which were only calculated for a local spirit, and called them to the universal spirit of religion, which is the same to all men. Thus the work of his reformation, from the truly divine spirit which is the soul of it, and the simplicity of the forms in which it is clothed, would be adopted by every upright man, whose single heart was unsophisticated by the restraint of local forms. The divine reform effected by *Jesus* is therefore essentially, and in opposition to the other two, cosmopolite, or *catholic*, according to the true etymology of that term. Perhaps the form given to it by him was too simple, and when the religious society founded in his name spread over the whole earth, it might be necessary to add to this form. Hence also the power which the legislator might on this point, have transmitted to the future church. But the right of applying a suitable form was not that of vitiating it, of overloading it, of rendering it opposite to the spirit itself, of which it should have only been the organ. The spirit of *Christ* was no longer perceptible in the constitution of the western Christian church, in the fifteenth century. The subordination of the church to the state, in human and terrestrial matters; the difference of the two, in that relating to the earth and in that relating to heaven, that primitive distinction, had been violently effaced; the extraneous spirit of some fanciful institutions had crept into the incoherent phantom of modern Christianity; all was blended and falsified; a reformation was required, a restoration of the primitive spirit, a simplification of the external form. This reformation was effected in the sixteenth century, in a part of the west; and it was called by the name of *Luther*, who was the courageous and principal promoter of it.

It may also be observed that the exterior form of religious institutions, being the part which more immediately affects the senses of man, and, consequently, engages his passions, and, on the contrary, that the spirit which animates these institutions, corresponding strictly with his understanding, it results, first, that the more a society is composed of ignorant, sensual men devoted to matter, the more does it require of external practices, of precepts purely ceremonial, in its worship; and the passionate attachment for such a worship, arising from the senses, may be carried to an excess, at which it sets all attempts, even of the most convincing nature, at nought; and, secondly, that the more a society of men is enlightened, the more the intellectual faculties are cultivated in it, preferably to the sensual ones, the more the spirit of its other institutions has remained pure, the less superfluity will it admit in the constitution of its worship, and the more will it be disposed to a reformation in this respect.

The passionate attachment for what is simply the body and form of religion, the attachment which produces a misapprehension of the spirit, and transfers to the accessories, the dogmas, the exterior of a worship, that veneration which belongs only to the divinity, this deviation, so common among ignorant and sensual men, is the origin of *superstition*. Pernicious, fatal disposition, which, fixing the focus of enthusiasm in the centre of the senses, and the passions, leads to the greatest excesses, and the most horrible cruelties.

The contrary inclination, that by which man, following the impulse of his spiritual nature, is disposed to reject all form and body in religion, to be devoted only to its spirit; this exclusion of an outward and visible worship, is the road which leads to *mysticism*. It is frequently the portion of thoughtful and solitary men, who, not feeling a necessity to influence other men, think they can dispense with the senses, and keep to the pure spirit of religion. This attachment to the spirit, divested of everything local and accidental, must produce sentiments nearly similar, in all who indulge in it. Hence the singular conformity observed between the opinions of our mystical Christians, *Quesnel* and *Fenelon*, and of some Spaniards and Germans, with those of the Bramins of India. Mysticism, the common lot of mild and contemplative minds, may very readily produce an intellectual fanaticism, but it is attended with no danger to society, provided the mysticism is sincere, and not brought into action by hypocrites. Our revolution, during its short existence, had its superstitions, its mystics, and its hypocrites. The dryness of this digression, which must now be brought to a conclusion, can only be excused by the necessity which the author felt to throw every light on the point of view, in which, as it appeared to him, it was requisite to consider the influence of a revolution which began with the domains of religion, and to bring it thus forward as the first lineaments of his work.

SECT. III.

On that of Luther in particular.

Two objects are principally dear to the heart of man, and it is not uncommon to see him sacrifice all his other interests, even life itself, to them. The one is the preservation of his social rights, the other, the independence of his religious opinions; liberty in his civil actions, and liberty in the operations of his conscience. To both of them he affixes a value equal to that of his existence. The idea of recovering them, when lost, carries him to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; that of losing them, throws him, while he possesses them, into a despair, which fits him for any undertaking. Both these dispositions lurked silently in almost every part of Europe, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. One nation, which had lost its civil and religious liberty, began to feel the weight and indignity of its chains; another which still enjoyed a portion of independence, shuddered at seeing it on the point of being taken away. Every state in this part of the world, and more particularly the confederation of states which formed the empire of Germany, had long been tormented with the opposite opinions arising from the obstinate contest between the emperors, successors to the *Cæsars*, and the Popes, successors to *St. Peter*, a contest, of which the prize would have been an unlimited monarchy over all the ancient territory of the Roman empire. Both competitors asserted, or claimed equal rights to Rome, and it was clear in their eyes, as well as in those of all Europe, that the master of Rome, would be equally so of the empire, so difficult is it to eradicate vulgar prejudices! This magical name of Rome still charmed for ages after its real glory had vanished, and its power is not wholly extinct even in our days. One of the most unfortunate habits among men is, that of being mechanically persuaded, that what has endured for a long time must endure for ever; that an existence of one day establishes a right for that which follows; that history can only be a periodical repetition of the same events, and that every age must resemble other ages.[*] Rome had long been the capital of the world, and therefore it followed, that it must always remain so. At first no one thought of denying this consequence, or of leaving the mastery of Rome to itself. They fought for a long time to know who should keep possession of the sovereign city, and to which of the two rivals they should submit; they disputed with vehemence for a choice of tyrants.

The pretended right of filiation, which the princes who had succeeded *Charlemagne* thought they had over Rome and over the empire, is well known. They called themselves *Cæsars*, because the ancient *Cæsars* had been emperors in Rome, and Rome was mistress of the better part of Europe; the prince, therefore, who was called *Cæsar*, ought incontestably to reign over Rome and over Europe, in his quality of emperor. This was long thought an undeniable argument.

The right of the Popes was not quite so clear, but it was not the less revered. Since Rome was the natural mistress of all the universe, and the prince who had resided so long at Rome was the head of the empire, it was evident that the Bishop of Rome must also be the head of the church. By degrees, through the medium of machinations, of measures skilfully commenced and obstinately followed, this primacy of the Roman pontiff was established, though not without difficulties and troubles. When Rome was afterwards without an emperor, the dignity of the pontiff naturally increased; from the second rank which he had till then held, he found himself in the first. And when the Frank and Roman princes adopted the singular ambition of being crowned emperors in the city of the *Cæsars*, the Popes did the honours of the empire, and, in crowning its new heads, appeared to bestow them. From the time the Pope acquired the privilege of crowning the emperor, infatuated Europe would acknowledge no other but him who had received the crown from the hands of the Pope. Hence the flatteries, the submissions, the concessions of the princes claiming the empire, to obtain the good will of the pontiff. Disposing of the principal crown, he concluded that the others were also in his gift. Sovereign of an innumerable clergy, rich, active, and dispersed through every nation; reigning by this means over all consciences, it was easy for him to establish the opinion that he was charged with the power of God on earth, the vicar of Jesus Christ, the ruler of kings.[†] If a prince attempted to withdraw from this authority, received from heaven, the pontiff anathematized him, expelled him out of the communion of the faithful, and his deluded subjects avoided him like a pestilence. In general he went and solicited the pardon of the irritated vice-god, appeased him by the most abject submissions, and by the acknowledgment of all the rights which the arrogant pontiff demanded: after which, the repentant sovereign was re-established in his charges and his honours; and at each similar attempt, the power of the Popes, sanctioned and increased, became still more strengthened.

God forbid that I should be suspected of the vile design of insulting the clergy, and the head of the Roman church in this work. Now, when ages of humiliation, of despoliation, of persecution itself, have expiated ages of pride, covetousness, and intolerance, it would be barbarous to charge the successors with the crimes of their predecessors. The present members of the priesthood are not those of former days. How grateful would it also be, to be able to believe that the ancient spirits, which, after a period of vain-glory, brought so many days of disgrace on the church, was wholly extinguished in its ministers! Let us, however, hope that the greater number of them participate in the knowledge of their cotemporaries, that the harshness of modern orthodoxy has given place to a spirit, milder and more conformable to the ancient spirit of the gospel. Neither the latter pontiffs, who have manifested virtues truly apostolical in the Holy See, nor a multiplicity of modest and learned priests, are involved in the severe judgments which the vices and misconduct of the pontiffs and priests of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries merit. Who will impute the crimes of *Nero* to *Marcus Aurelius*, the enormities of *Alexander VI.* to *Pius VII.?* But this observation made, the historian, whose task is to paint events as they happened, must be allowed to explain the causes of the indignation and revolt of nations in a period already far from ours; he must be allowed, I say, to cast off dissimulation, and to think and speak with the cotemporaries of the facts which he details, to expose the disgrace, of those who have merited disgrace, and to justify the fury of the oppressed, by an undisguised recital of the oppression.

The consideration of the essence of the revolution effected by Luther, in Europe, involves three principal points, which satisfactorily determine its nature and subsequent influence. By not attending to all the three, we should probably misconceive the real essence of this great event, and should not discover, in its aggregate, the general action and spirit of mankind in the sixteenth century, a spirit, every power of which was developed on this occasion.

The *first* of these three points is the political state of the European nations, their internal position, their situation with respect to each other, and with respect to the head of the empire and the head of the church.

The *second* is the religious state of these nations, their greater or less obedience to the decrees of the pontifical throne, and the disposition of princes in this respect.

The *third*, which is intimately connected with the two first, and more immediately with the second, is the state of the sciences and of letters in Europe, which, having become barbarous in the fifth century, had been plunged in darkness and chaos during the succeeding period, but which, for about three centuries, had been progressively, though slowly, improving in knowledge.

It is only by a thorough investigation of these three points of view that we can arrive at a satisfactory knowledge of the general spirit and position of the European states in the sixteenth century, and, by it, to an exact acquaintance with all the consequences of the reformation. But how will it be possible, here, to enter into the immense detail, the researches, and the developements which this triple picture would require? The author must confine himself to a slight indication of the principal objects, and to showing what an historian might do.

Sketch of the Political, Religious, and Literary State of Europe at the commencement of the Sixteenth Century.

I. POLITICS.

A MULTITUDE of governments had been formed in Europe, out of the wreck of the Roman western empire, at the head of which were, for the most part, the leaders of the northern tribes which had overturned the empire. Alternately weak and powerful, these states, which were long without consistence, changed their masters and their form, according to the chance of events; they were raised, aggrandized, fell and were extinguished; and through all these vicissitudes, few ideas of a union, or an agreement among the weak to oppose the more powerful, could be perceived; there was not as yet any trace of that grand and fruitful thought of a balance of power. Nevertheless the feudal aristocrasy had gradually lost its strength; the crusades and the other wars which had impoverished the nobility; commerce and industry, which had enriched the trading class; the knowledge which had been disseminated in it, and which had awakened it to a sentiment of the prerogatives of man, and of his natural rights, at length, led to the establishment of a civil existence for the third state, and to its influence on governments. The inhabitants of some of the cities, which were constituted free, even dared to assume the sovereignty in them, which would not fail to produce some effect on opinion, at that time so much enveloped in darkness, and so much the offspring of prejudice.

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[*] Past examples, were they even true, prove nothing for futurity. This assertion is more certain, "whatever is possible may happen." FREDERICK II, Histoire de mon tems, Œuvr. posth. Tom ii. p. 70.

[†] This is not only the language of the bulls issued from Rome at this and subsequent periods, but is also that of the most popular and most disseminated writings of that time, which proves that the prejudice was pretty generally established. In the preface to the Miroir de Souabe, a work of the latter part of the thirteenth century, we read, "Since the time that God took upon himself to be Prince of Peace, he sent the two swords which he had in heaven for the protection of Christianity, to the earth, and gave them both to St. Peter, the one for temporal, the other for spiritual justice; that of temporal justice, the Pope entrusts to the Emperor, for the service of the church, and according to the will of the Pope, &c." The remainder is the exact words of Boniface VIII. in his famous bull Unam Sanctam, issued in 1302, and which finishes thus; Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturœ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronounciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Such a declaration may be allowed to pass without a commentary.

Italy, divided into a great number of feeble states, some monarchical, others republican, distracted internally by the jealousy and hatred of these petty states to each other, and by the insubordination of the individual barons and lords who aspired to independence, was still the unhappy theatre of the invasions of its powerful neighbours, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards, who all aimed at obtaining a firm footing in it, some at Naples, others at Milan, Mantua, &c. This beautiful country was a prey to desolations, which succeeded each other without intermission. Its weak sovereigns, now taking part with a powerful conqueror, now jealous of his progress, and conspiring to expel him from their country, in general, only saved themselves by perfidy, fraud, and a crafty policy, which has ever since been one of the most prominent traits in the Italian character. This country, long the richest in Europe. and the centre of all its commerce, was on the point of seeing the source of its opulence dry up, on account of the new outlets which had been opened to commerce on the ocean, by the Spanish and Portuguese vessels.

The *Turks* had just possessed themselves of the seat of the eastern empire, and carried their victorious arms westward, into Calabria, Hungary, and to the very gates of Vienna.

Poland, freed during the course of the fifteenth century from the convulsions of an anarchial aristocrasy, exhausting all its strength within itself, was almost nothing without. In the northern part of it, the Knights of the Teutonic Order, under pretence of converting the infidels, had formed themselves into a government, which was the first origin of the kingdom of Prussia.

Russia can scarcely be said to have had an existence, to the west of Europe, where it has since acquired so much ascendency.

Sweden and *Denmark* were also nearly nullities to the states situated to the south of them. The kings of Denmark, after many wars and vicissitudes of fortune, had subjected to their dominion, Sweden, impatient, and constantly disposed to throw off this foreign yoke. A hero, sprung from its bosom, accomplished this undertaking. *Gustavus Vasa* became the legitimate sovereign of the country he had delivered.

The *North of Germany*, which might have been called Saxon Germany, since the ancient Saxon race were its governors, was divided into states, most of which were of small extent and not rich. They were united to the south of the empire only by the bond, at that time so loose and so ill-defined, of the Germanic confederation. However, the emperor being incessantly harassed by the Ottomans, had the most powerful motives for keeping on friendly terms with these Saxon princes, who were able to afford him some assistance. This part of the empire had seen a formidable league of commercial cities, united by a common interest, formed in its bosom. The Teutonic Hanse was raised to oppose the pillaging of the feudal plunderers, who, from their castles, or rather from their retreats, infested the roads in their neighbourhood, and despoiled the merchants travelling from fair to fair. The cities of Lombardy, and those on the Rhine, had formed similar confederations, and these associations of free men, whose activity was so beneficial, were of the small number of establishments, really humane, in these early days, which modern nations may be proud of.

Bohemia had more particularly shown the example of a republican spirit to Europe, though it was only applicable to the liberty of conscience. The partisans of the Bohemian martyr, *John Huss*, had maintained their religious creed by prodigies of valour and perseverance. The Austrian princes had not been able to make them renounce it. An agreement had been entered into between the prince and his subjects, on the article of worship. This example seemed to invite the remainder of the Christian world to free itself in the same manner. It was not because the brave Bohemians made use of the chalice in their communion service that they were commendable and worthy of imitation, but rather because, in this respect, they did that which their consciences directed them, and had by their courage obtained it as a right.

The *south of Germany* was nearly subjected to the same partition as the north; but the strongest half of this country made part of the states of the colossal house of Austria, which, invested with an almost hereditary claim to the imperial dignity, enriched with all the states of Burgundy under *Maximilian*, with the crowns of Spain under his successor *Charles the Fifth*, and with a portion of Italy, no longer disguised its plan of universal monarchy. This power was predominant at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and threatened to swallow up all the others.

Nevertheless, its noble rival, *France*, which contributed so powerfully to save Europe from this disgrace, France had at length repulsed from her territories the English, who had so long contended for a part of it. The permanent and hired army, which the kings were obliged on this occasion to keep on foot, was of singular utility to them in uniting to the crown the provinces which had their peculiar lords, in despoiling these great and small vassals, and enriching the state at their expense. *Louis XI.* had nearly completed this increase of the royal power. *Charles VIII.* and *Louis XII.* had tried their arms in Italy against the imperialists. Notwithstanding their reverses, they had at least shown them that they might become formidable. After them, *Francis I.* found himself at the head of a powerful force, without doubt the first in Europe after that of Austria.

Between these two powers, and at the expense of the first, a republic of simple energetic mountaineers were formed, who were the first to teach modern Europe to believe what is related of the courage of the Spartans at Thermopyla, and of their virtues in Laconia. The *Swiss* had resumed the right, which every man will seize whenever he is able, that of living independent and being masters of themselves. They supported themselves against the jealousy of Austria, by relying on the protection of the Kings of France.

England, which had so long neglected the station to which nature had called it, that of a maritime power; which had so long wasted its most valuable means on the conquest and defence of a few provinces in the west of France, had, at length, had the good fortune, as it may be called, to see its armies driven from the continent, and forced to return to their island. This apparent loss became a real advantage to the nation, which, in the end, directed its activity to the establishment of its liberty and of its fleets. England was not, in the sixteenth century, what it has become since; but it was, at that time, in the rank of the chief powers of Europe, and *Henry VIII.* a violent and unsteady prince, who commenced by writing against *Luther* like an angry theologian, and finished by copying him, would have played a much more important part in Europe than he did, if, less occupied with his passions, his amours, and his cruelties, he had made a wise use of his power in foreign countries.

Spain had long consumed its strength, on its own soil, in contending with the Moors, who, for ages, had occupied the best and finest parts of it. At length these conquerors were expelled. Ferdinand of Arragon, who had acquired the glory of accomplishing this deliverance of Spain, married Isabella, and, thus, joined Castile and Arragon. These united states fell to Charles the Fifth, and, under him, Spain was only a province of the vast Austrian monarchy.

At the same time, the political system, and the new species of warfare which was now introduced, became more and more favourable to the great powers. The invention of artillery rendered castles and simple walls useless, and required the erection of fortresses which were too costly for the small princes and states. Their standing armies also gave the great sovereigns a decided advantage over those who were unable to support the expense of them. The princes of the empire had more reason than ever to dread that Charles V. would serve them as Louis XI. had treated the lords of France. But notwithstanding this danger, they weakened themselves still more by dividing their states among their heirs, and by assigning portions of them to all their sons, as though the people and the provinces were their property; this right had not then been called in question.

The Europeans, who, till this time, had been confined within the limits of the old world, had just launched beyond it; the road to India and to America had been discovered. While enterprising navigators were, in this manner, subduing an ocean which had been thought unconquerable, every mind seemed also desirous of being liberated from the narrow circle of ideas within which they had been confined for ages. The human race advanced perceptibly towards the point of maturity of a new epoch. A change in the order of things, an approaching commotion seemed at hand; a rumbling was heard in the bowels of the volcano; ardent vapours burst forth, and streamed through the obscurity. Such was the menacing fermentation which appeared in the political state of nations from the commencement of the sixteenth century,

II. RELIGION.

Religious superstition, which had tormented all these nations in a greater or less degree, began to moderate in some of them; and enlightened men were met with in every country who opposed it with effect. The doctrine of the Vadois and that of the Albigenses, in France, were not forgotten. Wickliffe had raised his voice in England, and had been heard. The Hussites, and their success in Bohemia, have been mentioned above.

Every prince bore the insolence and ambition of the Roman Pontiff with a greater or less degree of impatience. Some of them dared to oppose it openly, and the university of Paris had, more than once, been made the organ of sovereign power to answer the menaces of Rome. They had the courage to appeal to a future council, which they, without ambiguity, deemed superior to the Pope. Other princes, whether from conviction or policy, still bent the knee to Rome, and appeared to make a common cause with the head of the church. Charles V. for example, could not avoid remaining attached to the holy see, whose support in Italy, a country over which he wished to reign, it was his interest to procure. His subjects in Spain, where the Inquisition had been lately introduced, and where the long terror inspired by the Moors had kept the people in the most superstitious catholicism, would instantly have revolted against him had he appeared a less zealous Catholic than themselves.

The countries which possessed a republican constitution, and which maintained in themselves a greater inclination for liberty, were also those least timid towards Rome. It is known with what noble firmness the senate of Venice constantly opposed a bulwark to its usurpations. There are some cantons, essentially republican, of Holland, Holstein, and of all Lower Germany, which have never been really papists, and which the reformation found ready reformed.

Besides, the eyes of men began to open. The impolitic violence of some Popes; the scandalous life of others; the shameless licentiousness of their court, and their capital; the corrupt manners of the clergy; the ignorance and effrontery of several orders of mendicants, the faithful satellites of the holy see; the seventy years captivity at Avignon; the schism of forty other years which followed it, in which two and sometimes three Popes appeared, each having a party, abusing and excommunicating each other, loading each other with the most revolting insults, and reproaching each other with the lowest vices; unexpected disclosures which covered both rivals with ignominy at the same time; the exactions of every description, but particularly the indulgences, a monstrous abuse of the most monstrous of powers; the intolerance and cruelties of the Inquisition; all these will surely account for the hatred and contempt which everywhere lurked secretly against the Romish hierarchy. What then must be the fate of a power built solely on opinion, the moment that opinion is withdrawn from it? To doubt its rights, was to take them away; to probe its foundations, was to sap them; to examine, was to destroy.

The Popes, however, who were perhaps most sensible of the deep wounds inflicted on their kingdom, suffered no outward signs of it to appear, but affected that security which imposes on the mind. They yielded sometimes, and gave way when necessity compelled them; but they changed their tone as little as possible, always hoping that a better time would come, a time of bigotry and obscurity, in which they could display, in all its magnificence, their obstinate system of Lamaism. The irritable Paul III. as daring as Hildebrand, cited the king of England to appear before him, and, on the refusal of the no less irritable Henry VIII. he declared him deposed from his crown,* him and his descendants to perpetuity. Pius IV. treated the Queen of Naples in the same manner; Pius V. pronounced the same sentence on the proud Elizabeth, of England; and on each of these occasions, the vicar of J. C. displayed, with assurance, his incontestible rights over all crowns and over the whole globe. He disposed of America as it was discovered, and even before it was discovered;* and he had his legion of writers, of theologians and civilians who demonstrated with intrepidity, all the sanctity and the proofs of these rights. The grateful church has placed the names of several of them in the calendar.†

This gloomy system, which brought civil society under the iron dominion of an exclusive church, without the pale of which there was no salvation,‡ must have gradually alienated the most sensible men from it. Complaints and murmurs arose on every hand; thousands of voices united in demanding a reformation of the church, *in its head and its members, its faith and its manners;* these were the consecrated terms. Three councils in succession, at Pisa, Constance, and Basle, had unveiled the wounds of this decayed body, and had probed their depth. The falling off and discontent had become more than ever perceptible at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it was in this state of things that the young and voluptuous *Medicis* ascended the pontifical throne. An admirer of the fine arts, from which he sought only fame and gratification, a crafty but presuming politician, prepossessed with contempt for the German rudeness of manners, under which he was unable to discover that strength and manliness of character, all the energy of which he had to encounter, *Leo X.* was not qualified to enter the lists with *Luther;* and the arrogant weakness of the one, opened numberless advantages to the intrepid firmness of the other.

III. KNOWLEDGE.

THE ignorance which the barbarians of the north had brought with them, seconded by the wars and continual devastations, which, subsequent to their appearance desolated Europe, had nearly effaced every trace of improvement. The small portion of instruction which was languidly propagated during several centuries of the middle age, was only found among the ecclesiastics, and principally in cloisters. It was in these sanctuaries, which were frequently respected by the ferocious combatants, who respected nothing else, that a few manuscript books were copied and preserved, the annals at

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[*] "Nos...Henricum privationis regni incurrisse pænam declaramus...Ejus et complicum, etc. Filii pœnarum participes sint. Omnes et singulos Henrici regis, et aliorum prædictorum filios natos et nascituros, aliosque descendentes ..(nemine excepto, nullaque minoris ætatis, aut sexus vel ignorantiœ, vel alterius cuiusvis causæ habita ratione) dignitatibus, dominiis, civitatibus, castris, privatos, et ad illa ac alia in posterum obtinenda inhabiles esse decernimus et inhabilitamus, Decernimus quod Henricus rex et complices et sequaces, nec non præsati descendentes, ex tunc infames existant, ad testimonium non admittantur, testamenta facere non possint, etc." (Bullar. Magn.) This may truly be called pontifical rage! He is not contented with pursuing and declaring them infamous to the fourth generation, he stretches to eternity, and strikes the last descendants of the great grandchildren.

[*] Nos motu proprio...de nostra liberalitate...omnes insulas et terras firmas inventus et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et construendo unam lineam a polo arctico, scilicet septentrione, ad polum antarcticum, scilicet meridiem, sive sint verses Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea distet a qualibet insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur De los Azores y cabo vierde, centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem; ita quod omnes insulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ et reperiendœ a prefata linea versus occidentem et meridiem, quæ per alium regem aut principem christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, et vicariatus J. C. qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis, civitatibus, castris, locis, et villis, jurisque et jurisdictionibus, ac pertinentiis universis, vobis, hæredibusque vestris, in perpetuum, tenore præsentium donamus, vosque et hæredes illarum dominus facimus et deputamus." (Bullar. Magn. T. I. p. 454.) Singular public right of Europe at that time, which was founded on such instruments! It may be observed that the apostolic chancery, which in other respects does not plume itself on its great accuracy in geography, does not acknowledge any legitimate sovereigns on the earth but Christian princes. All the others may be dispossessed, without even the necessity of giving them notice of it.

[†] St. Thomas, St. Anthony, St. Bonaventure, St. Ramond, &c. For the same reason, others were invested with the purple of the cardinals; Turrecremata, Reginald Pole, Albert Pighius, Sylvestre Priciras, Navarrus; Bellarmin, &c.

[‡] The quality of Roman Catholic had wholly superseded that of man, and even of Christian. He who was not a Roman Catholic, was not a man, he was less than a man; and, were he a sovereign, it was a good action to deprive him of life. This was the ordinary language of the casuists of Rome, on this subject: I quote, at random, the words of one of them; "Ostendimus jam satis aperte justum esse, ut hœreticus occidatur; quo autem genere mortis sit occidendus, parem ad rem facit. Nam quocunque modo occidatur, semper consulitur ecclesiœ." Alphonsus a Castro. (De justa Hæreticorum Pœna, Lib. II. cap. 12.) This Castro wrote at a time when the commencement of the reformation might have taught gentlemen of his profession to have been a little more circumspect. Volumes might be filled with similar passages, and the perusal of them brings to mind the horrible joy expressed by Gregory XIII. at the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

the time were written, a mixture of theology, most frequently extravagant, but sometimes astonishing by its subtlety and its happy elucidations, of logic, and of metaphysics, almost wholly disfigured and misunderstood, was taught. It will be obvious that scholastic divinity, which has had so many periods and such various fates, is alluded to; a desert uninhabitable by common sense, but here and there presenting fertile spots, on which the hand of beneficent nature may be recognized, and the mind dwells with enchantment.

If churchmen preserved the slight tradition of knowledge in this manner, it must also be confessed that, in their hands, it sometimes became dangerous, and was converted to pernicious uses by its depositaries. The domination of Rome, erected upon a scaffolding of false historical proofs, required the aid of these faithful auxiliaries, who, on the one side, were to employ their half-knowledge in fascinating every eye, and, on the other, to prevent these eyes from discovering the true light, or being illuminated by the torch of criticism. The local usurpations of the clergy, being, in many places, founded on similar titles, stood in need of similar means of support. It therefore followed, that the small portion of knowledge which was permitted, must have been mingled with errors, and that nations must have been kept in profound ignorance, the foster-parent of superstition. Study was rendered as inaccessible as possible to the laity: that of the ancient languages was treated as a monstrosity and an idolatry. The reading of the holy writings, that sacred patrimony of all Christians, was particularly and severely interdicted: to read the Bible, without permission of the superiors, was a crime; to translate it into the vulgar tongue was a temerity deserving of extreme punishment. The popes had very good reasons for preventing the words of Jesus Christ from reaching the people, and for interrupting the direct communication between the gospel and the Christian. When objects of such importance as public belief and public worship are kept in mystery by compulsion, the darkness must be universal and impenetrable. The numerous legions of mendicant monks not being sufficient for this purpose, the horrible inquisition was devised, to extinguish every spark of knowledge which might appear through the gloom of night, in blood and in tears.

But the efforts of man cannot prevail eternally against the course of nature. The dawn must infallibly appear; the day must follow, and, with its rays, illuminate the phantom of darkness, which had become, at once, the ridicule and the admiration of mankind. The university of Paris already had offsets and rivals worthy of it, in Germany and in England. That of Wirtemberg where Luther and Melancthon first came into notice as professors, had been lately founded. Princes, carried away by the general spirit, by an emulation of glory, by the ravishing splendour of so many new lights, promoted this regeneration by such establishments. It became impossible to impose silence on so many schools, which sought celebrity by striving to excel each other. The ancient languages, history, criticism, were publicly taught in them, notwithstanding the clamours of the partizans of ignorance. In them science was liberated from its leading-strings, and broke, by degrees, its antiquated paction with error. A commerce with distant countries, the knowledge of a new world, had disposed men to receive new ideas. The art of printing, an incalculable advantage to the human race, and the highest which the mind ever received from industry, lately invented in Germany, on the banks of the Rhine, multiplied knowledge to infinity, and took away all means of hiding it, from thenceforward, under a bushel. At the other extremity of Germany, on the banks of the Vistula, *Copernicus* had been examining the heavenly bodies, and unveiling their true courses, which the pontifical bulls have not been since capable of altering. On investigating the history of the early years of the sixteenth century, it is impossible to avoid considering this period as one of the most decisive for the improvement and amelioration of our species.

During this first conflict between light and darkness, both parties became more inflexible, more fixed in their opinions, and prepared for the encounter. At the head of the party friendly to knowledge, the public opinion had placed the spirited *Erasmus* of Rotterdam. His keen satires against the dissoluteness of the clergy, and against monastic stupidity, had produced a lively sensation. He contributed powerfully to the birth of a taste for erudition and criticism. *Reuchlin*, a philologist and very learned writer, who had taught in almost every part of Europe, was, at that period, settled in his native country, Germany, and excited an enthusiastic eagerness for the study of languages, particularly Greek and Hebrew, for reading the sacred works in the original, and for the illustration of the Bible. The theologian-inquisitors of Cologne, and among others the fiery *Dominican, Hochstraten*, who had solicited and obtained an imperial edict, commanding the burning and exterminating of every Hebrew book, entered into a dispute with *Reuchlin*, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the study of Greek, as well as of Hebrew, was pernicious to the faith.* Perhaps, according to their mode of judging, they were right, and every species of study was dangerous to the inquisition, and to the power which employed such auxiliaries. However that may be, this dispute made a prodigious noise, and terminated by covering the abettors of ignorance with shame. The Hebraists triumphed. *Ulrich de Hutten*, a young gentleman of Franconia, warm and of great talents, a warrior, poet, scholar, and also theologian, on this occasion wrote the celebrated Letters from obscure Men (*Epistolæ virorum obscurorum*), a satire replete with spirit and point, which brought indelible disgrace on the opposite party. *Reuchlin*, and some others, were suspected of having contributed to them.

Such were nearly the principal features in the picture of Europe, in respect of politics, religion, and intellectual improvement, at the time of the reformation.

The Reformation.

CATHOLICISM was not a religion which had been given, completely formed, and at once, to a new people, where it might have acquired a uniform aspect. Christianity introduced at different times, into nations which differed greatly, had received a local modification from each, arising from the peculiar disposition of the nation. Thus the Roman language, introduced into the several countries of the empire, here met with the language of the Goths and Lombards; there, with that of the Celtæ and Teutonic: in other places, with the Gallic, Saxon, or Cantabrian; and thus gradually became Italian, French, English, or Spanish. Christianity itself, during its successive transmutation into Roman catholicism, changed in its essence by the innovations of the court of Rome, and of the monks and theologians, did not everywhere undergo uniform variations. With a fundamental similitude in the principal dogmas, it acquired a different physiognomy in different places. Thus, even in our own times, the catholicism of Madrid does not entirely agree with that of Paris; nor is that of Rome similar to that of Vienna. In some places it had acquired a greater tendency to superstition, a form more overloaded, more material, more calculated to stifle the spirit; in others, on the contrary, it was less clogged with material bonds, and had preserved more of a disposition to mysticism; the spirit had remained more free, and more perceptible. These varieties on the character of the religion proceeded from those in the characters of the nations; some were more sensual, more dissipated, more exterior, if the term may be admitted; others, on the contrary, more reflecting, more serious, more retired. *Italy* on the one hand, and *Saxony*, on the other, will furnish us with an instance of this diversity; and it is natural to select these two countries, since one was the seat of Catholicism, and the other became that of the reformation.

Italy had long been the residence of the chiefs of the Roman empire. The luxury and the corruption of the Asiatics had penetrated into the city of the Cæsars, and into the rest of the country. The riches of the whole world abounded and circulated there. The effeminacy of the latter time of the empire fixed the Italian character. Subdued afterwards by a number of conquerors, who succeeded each other without intermission, this fine country was, for ten centuries, the theatre of continual wars between foreigners, who came there to contend for it. The Italian, never master of his own territory, always oppressed and subjugated, naturally became deceitful, cunning, dissimulating, selfish. Commerce constantly enriched him; but he hastened to consume, in enjoyment, the wealth which he foresaw might soon be snatched from him by violence. A taste for luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness, with that of the fine arts, became his consolation. The magnificence of the ancient ruins which surrounded him, influenced that which he gave to all his works, to all his religious edifices. Worship became the business of the senses, and religion a mythology; splendid ceremonies superseded simple prayers; saints and images became the intercessors with an almost forgotten God, and the immediate objects of devotion. No doubt the populace, and uninformed men, would adhere very strongly to this system of superstition, which captivated their senses, and lulled all their vices; but what wonder if he, who began to think and examine, should at once and entirely reject this system, where he could discover only the work of man, and that he should remain without a spark of religion? It was a necessary consequence that the Italian must be a papist or an atheist; he must either adore our Lady of Loretto, or not adore at all; hence there never was so many atheists as in the country and neighbourhood of the sovereign pontiffs.[*] The most violent bigotry, or the incredulous libertinism of *Aretin*, is the inevitable lot of those who no longer give credit to all their religion, or no longer discern its spirit. An old proverb says: "When the water of the bath is thrown out of the window, the child is thrown with it." A religious reformation was impossible in this country. Those who were good Catholics would not have permitted the removal of a single relic; those who were not, were nothing; they acquiesced in the external forms, but had neither moral nor religious interest in them, nor had they any desire for an amelioration, which they neither thought of or believed in.[†]

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* Even the faculty of theology of Paris, about this time maintained before the Parliament, "that religion was undone, if the study of Greek and Hebrew was permitted." The mendicant monks held a very different language; on this subject one of the private soldiers of the army of Hochstraten gives the following explanation. It is Conrad de Heresbach, a very serious and very respectable writer of this period, who employs the true terms of a monk; "a new language has been invented, which is called Greek; guard carefully against it, it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people, a book written in this language, which they call the New Testament; it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are instantly converted to Judaism." Here is a specimen of the spirit of papacy during this century. Would it have been right or proper to have suffered it to proceed thus unobstructed?

What a different appearance was offered by Saxony! Its people had never been softened either by luxury and opulence, or by too mild a climate. There resided an indigenous nation, energetic, open, who, from the ninth century to our era, had never been subjugated. On the banks of the Elbe they stopped the flight of the Roman eagle, which was unable to penetrate into their provinces. In later times this nation had given conquerors to Europe; the Angles, the Normans, the Burgundians, the Franks, swarms broke off from Saxony, had subdued Great Britain, Gaul, and other provinces of the west. Those who continued on their own territory, attached to their ancient and simple national worship, had allowed the remainder of Europe to embrace Christianity, without being tempted to imitate it, and to quit a creed, with which was interwoven the memory of the illustrious actions of their forefathers. When, after a desperate resistance of three and thirty years, Charlemagne succeeded in compelling them to receive Christianity, they adopted it with sincerity and simplicity; but it may be supposed that it never would become to them what it had become to the Italians. Here it attracted the eye less, and affected the heart more; there it was more of *worship*; here it was more of *religion*. Serious men, of manners generally pure, naturally practised a purer and more spiritual Christianity. They always bore the yoke with which the court of Rome had burthened them with secret impatience, and they threw it off on the first opportunity which offered; but, in rejecting this parasitical covering, which was grafted on the gospel, the gospel itself remained to them; they had not stifled its spirit; papism was not the total of religion to them; it was still of importance to them to have a religion; an interest in religious concern was alive and active in them; they were capable of a reformation.

The intellectual improvements of the two people differed in the same proportion. The fine arts, everything conducive to the enjoyments of taste, everything flattering to the sensibility, physical or moral, had become the objects of Italian activity. The calm, equal, persevering activity of the Saxons, was directed to the abstract sciences, to philosophy, to historical researches. When the reformation burst forth, there was not a single theologian of Italy capable of encountering those of Saxony; some of them had the presumption to attempt it, a presumption always the associate of ignorance; they were defeated, and covered with confusion. In revenge, Italy boasted loudly of her poets and her painters; she had not produced a *Luther*, but Saxony had not produced an *Ariosto*.

To the peculiar dispositions which have been indicated, Saxony also joined the indignation and discontent, which was common to it with the rest of Europe. To support the expenses of a luxurious court, *Leo X.* had lately imposed upon *Christianity* the heavy burthen of a new indulgence. The pretext was the edification of the superb basilick of St. Peter; but a proof that this motive was not, at least, the only one is, that *Leo* had lately made a present to a greatly beloved sister of the sums which were to arise from the levy on Lower Saxony, as far as the Baltic Sea. This circumstance was known to every body; and the Dominican *Tetzel* had the audacity to come into the neighbourhood of Wittemberg to open his traffic in indulgences, to advertise his venal mission, and to trust to sermons, so extravagant and so gross, as scarcely to be credited at the present day.

Martin Luther, a doctor, priest, and Augustine monk, was, at that time, professor of philosophy and theology in the new university of Wittemberg, where an excellent and rigid spirit of assiduity, of love of the sciences, of true religion, and of liberty of thought prevailed. *Luther's* parents were poor; his talents alone had raised him to the situation he filled. He was among the first who applied with ardour to the study of the new knowledge, which was cultivated by the most eminent geniuses of this century. The first rays of the rising sun had no sooner struck the high places, and most elevated summits, than Luther discovered, before the multitude, the new day which began to break. He devoted all his intellectual powers to the success of reviving letters, watched their progress, and rejoiced at the victory obtained by the partisans of the ancient languages over the inquisitors of Cologne; he had also acquired celebrity by some good productions of this description. Supported by an indefatigable zeal, by a wonderful memory, he had acquired the most perfect acquaintance with the holy writings, the fathers, and other ecclesiastical antiquities. One of his principal objects was to overturn the scholastic divinity, by banishing Aristotle from the domains of theology, and by demonstrating from this singular compound of the logic of pagan philosophy with the doctrine of Christianity, how much the first had been misunderstood and both had been corrupted. In every encounter he overwhelmed the scholastics with his arguments and his wit, and covered their science with confusion and ridicule. His individual character, which has had such influence on that of the reformation, was energy and uprightness. Ardent and calm, high spirited and humble at the same time; irritable and warm in his language, when provoked by injurious treatment; mild, and inimical to every species of violence in action; jovial, open, of ready wit, and even a pleasant companion at the table of the great; studious, sober, and a stoic in himself; courageous and disinterested, he exposed himself with tranquillity to every risk, in support of what he believed to be the truth. Commanded to appear before the diet of Worms, he presented himself there, notwithstanding the terrible and very recent example of *John Huss*, with dignity, simplicity, and firmness. Far from setting Rome at defiance in the outset, he wrote submissively to the Pope, and exhibited no other appearance of superiority but that of his immense knowledge over *Cajetan* and the other theologians, deputed by Rome to convert him. Harassed afterwards with insults and outrages, he replied to them with animation; excommunicated by the Pope, he publicly threw the bull of anathema into the fire. *Luther* knew all the intrinsic weakness and abuses of the pontifical court. He had been sent to Rome on the business of his order, some years before, and there everything which struck his eye filled his heart with indignation. It is very probable that from that time, he secretly conceived, if not the design, at least the wish, for the deliverance of his country; and, like his ancient countryman *Arminius*, who had served in the Roman legions in Italy, before he repelled the same legions from Germany, it was in Rome that he learned to despise that Rome, which, at a distance, appeared so formidable. From such characteristics we cannot misconstrue one of those superior beings, who, though participating in some of the defects of their age, are made to govern it, and carry it with them on the road to perfection. I may also add that, after having refused the offers of the court of Rome; after having been so many years the founder and almost patriarch of a new church; after having been the friend, the adviser, the spiritual father of so many princes, who, through the reformation, had been enriched with all the possessions of the clergy, of which he might have obtained a rich share, *Luther* lived and died in a state bordering on poverty, and left to his wife and children only the esteem due to his name.

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[*] We may add to these the reasons given by Machiavel, an eye-witness, for the Italian impiety and corruption; and it will not be denied that he had sufficient penetration to see very clearly from what the evil arose. He expresses himself thus: "The greatest prognostic of the approaching ruin of Christianity is, to see that the nearer people are to Rome, which is the capital of Christianity, the less devotion they have. The scandalous examples, and the crimes of the court of Rome, have occasioned Italy to lose entirely every principle of piety, and every sentiment of religion. The rest of us Italians have therefore this first obligation to the church and the priests, for having become impious and profligate." Disc. sur la prem. Decade de Tite-Live, lib. i. chap. 12.

[†] The Italians proved clearly by the event, that they were wholly incapacitated for a reformation. Some years before Luther, the ardent Savonarole preached nearly in the same manner at Florence, as the Saxon reformer preached afterwards, against the indulgences, the misconduct of the papal court, &c. The infamous Alexander VI. reigned at that period: far from declaring for Savonarole, as the people of Wittemberg declared for Luther, those of Florence fell upon the unfortunate, but too honest man for his time and his country, dragged him to the pile which was kindled by the executioners of the inquisition, and saw him burnt, uttering exclamations of joy, and crying, Long live Pope Borgia!

Such a man must have been filled with indignation at the approach of the shameless *Tetzel*. In the sermons, which he usually preached, *Luther* exposed the abuse of a traffic in indulgences, and the danger of believing that heaven, and the remission of all crimes, could be bought with money, while a sincere repentance, and an amended life were the only means of appeasing the Divine Justice. The Dominican answered these sermons with fury; *Luther* replied; advanced another step; called in question the authority of the Pope, and gave the signal of revolt. Thus began the reformation.* It found a multitude of minds prepared to receive it, and also some enlightened and eloquent men disposed to become its apostles. The learned and moderate Melancthon, and the hasty Carlstadt, both at Wittemberg; in Switzerland, Zwingle; in France, Calvin soon appeared, and communicated their particular opinions to the work of reform. The great majority of the German nation, (which must not be confounded with the preponderance of certain governments, such as Austria, &c.;) that of the Swiss nation; a very great number of individuals in France, Poland, and Hungary; Denmark, Sweden and England separated in a few years from the Roman church, and refused all obedience as well as tribute to its head.

However, notwithstanding the general dispositions already mentioned; notwithstanding the universally acknowledged want of a reform in the church; notwithstanding the eloquence and the strength of *Luther*, this memorable revolution would, doubtless, never have been consolidated, it never would have acquired a political consistence, if another interest besides that of religion and truth had not lent it support, and made it an interest of state. The princes of the north of the empire, to whom resistance to ambitious Austria was next to impossible with their ordinary means, saw, in the new enthusiasm of their people, an unhoped-for opportunity of obtaining extraordinary succours, and of opposing the whole mass to the imperial arms. An intimate union between each prince and his people, as well as an alliance between the whole of these provinces, and these people, which before would have been a chimerical enterprise, became a necessary consequence of the common interest which spoke to all hearts. Besides the temptation of the treasures of the clergy, which each prince added to his own revenue, the allurement of independence, the gratification of an inveterate hatred against the court of Rome, all contributed to force the acquiescence of the chiefs, and to hurry them down the same torrent with their people. Whatever might have been their motives, it cannot be denied that the league of *Smalcald* was the first effective union of free princes and states against their oppressors, in modern Europe; that it laid the foundation of a better conduct, and of liberty of conscience. Some of the reasons which were capable of diverting *Charles V.* from embracing the reformation have been already mentioned. It was enough for him to see it adopted by those princes of whom he was the natural adversary. *Francis I.* might have declared for it and introduced it into France. His conduct was guided, partly by his own religious opinions, partly by his politics and his projects on Italy. But finding a formidable party arising in the empire against his Austrian rival, he seconded it efficaciously, and with all his power.

This is not the place to enter into the detail of the events which have accompanied, followed, and consolidated this memorable revolution. Besides, the Institute has demanded its results and not its progress. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that this important affair almost wholly occupied all the powers of Europe, from the year 1520 to the middle of the following century. Amidst various successes, triumphs, and defeats, alliances and desertions, the Protestant states succeeded in giving a constitutional existence to their confession, and in dividing the empire with Catholicism. While *Luther* lived, he supported the character of a minister of peace, and employed all his influence to maintain it. The civil war of the peasants of Suabia and Franconia troubled the early days of the reformation. Sects of fanatics were formed in different places, but principally in the circle of Burgundy, and in Westphalia. The short reign of the Anabaptists of Munster, and of their king, *John of Leyden*, offered a spectacle of horrid disorders. The Protestants witnessed the excesses of these false brethren with sorrow. *Luther* and *Malancthon* wrote against them, and demonstrated that these enormities were, at the same time, contrary to Christianity and to the true spirit of the reformation. After an almost uninterrupted peace under the four emperors who succeeded *Charles V.* during all the remainder of the sixteenth, aad first years of the seventeenth century, the war which kindled fiercely under *Ferdinand II.* on the subject of the religious capitulations of Bohemia, was soon converted into a furious struggle between the two parties. The object was no less than the utter extirpation of Protestantism, the annihilation of the Germanic constitution and liberty, and the absolute dominion of Austria over the empire, which would have given the means of extending it still further. This horrible conflagration, which for thirty successive years, ravaged Europe, from the confines of Poland, to the mouth of the Scheldt, and from the banks of the Po to the Baltic, depopulated whole provinces, annihilated agriculture, commerce, and industry in them, cost the lives of many millions of men, and retarded the study of the sciences in Germany, which, at first had made such rapid progress, for nearly a century. This fatal war had lasted twelve years, and notwithstanding the prodigies of constancy and valour of the confederate princes, they were on the point of sinking before their powerful adversaries, when a hero, the successor of Vasa, the immortal *Gustavus Adolphus*, left his kingdom, at the head of an invincible army, and, at the expense of his own life, which he lost victorious at Lutzen, saved the liberty of Germany, perhaps of all Europe, and the creed which he possessed in common with the princes of the *Evangelical body*, which was the name given to those who had separated from Rome. Denmark, which had previously been willing to engage in this quarrel, was soon constrained to abandon it. The assistance of Sweden was more effectual. It is doubtful whether the military annals of any nation offer a period more worthy of admiration than the eighteen campaigns of the Swedish army in Germany. France also joined her victorious arms to those of Sweden, in support of the Protestant party; it was in the course of this war that the names of *Guèbriant*, of *Puysègur*, of *Turenne*, and *Condè*, were rendered illustrious, and it was through it that the monarchs of France began to acquire a marked preponderance in the affairs of the empire.

France itself, however, had not been wholly free from the internal troubles and commotions which revolutions of such magnitude bring with them. After an obstinate civil war between the reformed party and the Catholic party, the reigning dynasty was renewed in the person of a reformed prince, who became, however, a Catholic on ascending the throne.

Spain, after the abdication of *Charles V.* had its own kings, to whom the Low Countries were obedient. But the spirit of the reformation had introduced its ally, the spirit of liberty, among them. The United Provinces threw off the yoke of *Philip II.* with courage; and founded in their morasses, a confederation, very nearly resembling that which had been formed on the mountains of Helvetia. The Hollanders became what a free people near the sea will become, what nature had interdicted to the Swiss; they became rich and powerful, and took rank among the principal states of Europe.

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* The acrimony with which the fury of parties throws calumny upon men of eminence is well known. Luther experienced this more than any other. For example, it was attempted to attribute the cause of his zeal to the discontent of the Augustins, who, as it was said, were envious, because the Dominicans were entrusted by the Pope with the preaching of indulgences. There is nothing surprising in this fable, the invention of Cochlæus, being given by Maimbourg; but it is inconceivable how Voltaire and Hume should have repeated it as a certain fact. This commission had long become so odious, and so disreputable, that no man, and Luther least of all, could have envied the Dominicans, who, besides, were almost exclusively in possession of these indulgences, as well as of the inquisition. Doctor Maclaine has added a note to his English translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. chap. 2, in which be shows beyond dispute, the folly of this imputation. It may not be useless to insert it here, where it has been thought necessary to open the true sources of the reformation, that a more correct judgment may be formed of its nature and its influence. To remove every doubt on Maclaine's authority, as well as on the falsity of the allegation, and to give an example of a good historical criticism, this note shall be inserted at length at the end of this volume.

England, amidst troubles, also occasioned by religious innovations, resumed its true destination, that of maritime power.

At length the reformation produced the two most celebrated assemblies which the history of modern times affords. The one on the affairs of religion, the *Council of Trent*, in which so much intrigue, eloquence and knowledge were displayed, and of which, the decrees, more or less modified, have become the principal basis of the canon law to the states of the Roman communion. The other, political, the *Congress of Munster* and *Osnaburgh*, which put an end to the dreadful thirty years war by the treaty of Westphalia, the master-piece of human prudence and sagacity, which, for the first time, brought the European nations into a connected system of political bodies. It was during the continuance of this long congress that the art of negotiation was brought to perfection, that the necessity for a balance of powers, of a weight and a counterpoise, by which the strong might be restrained, and the weak protected and upheld, was recognized.

After this too rapid view of the principal events which immediately followed the reformation, we may hazard a few conjectures on what, most probably, would have happened in Europe, if this had not supervened. In fact a little more prudence and reserve on the part of the court of Rome, or a little less inflexibility in our reformer, or more indifference on the part of the princes, and, perhaps, this great explosion might have been strangled in its birth. It required a *Luther* to effect it, but a multitude of favourable circumstances were also required, that his efforts might not be vain. How many voices had been raised before, without being heard, without reaching the ears of those they were intended to move!

SECT. IV.

Conjectures on what might have happened in Europe, if the Reformation had not taken place. Would the Spirit of the Hierarchy have changed?

If, in the sixteenth century, and during those which followed it, the torrent of events had pursued the same course as it had previously taken, nothing could have saved Europe from an approaching subjugation, from the yoke of an universal monarchy. This danger, although imminent, was not, however, very perceptible to the multitude. The people had not made common cause with the princes, against it; the princes had not made common cause with each other: intrigue and interest had too easily divided them. But by what means could the men, who in those days had almost forgotten they were men, be moved and directed to one common object? the clergy possessed riches which they sought to retain; the third estate, still little better than bondmen, had their traders and merchants, who sought to enrich themselves. Between these two classes there was another, jealous of both, robbing them sword in hand, whenever it had the power, and against which, these two were obliged to be guarded. Besides, the gentleman was proud of being unable to read, and the clerk was but little better instructed. How distant were they from any notion of a police, or a regular society, from the rights common to all men, and from equality with each other! How much more distant were these ideas from the minds of the peasantry! These were so ignorant and so occupied with popes and clergy, with emperors and nobility, with saints, miracles, and feudal duties, that sound reason, or a consideration of their rights, could find no access to them. Excessive oppression produced, here and there, and at different times, occasional revolts, which, for want of concert, were of no advantage. Each time some thousands were massacred, and the chains of those who escaped the butchery were riveted faster. In general, they were ignorant that it was possible to exist in any other way than in performing the corvee[*] for their lords, and being plundered by the soldiery. Nothing but religion remained, in which there was a common and an active interest of all the classes.

The popes and the emperors, in the long and obstinate struggle for their claims, had, happily, counterbalanced each other during the first centuries, and the efforts of one party had frequently neutralized those of the contrary party. If the Pope was not as powerful, the House of Austria met with more obstacles to the subjugation of Europe; while at the same time, but for the resistance of the Emperor, the Pope would have succeeded, with great facility, in constituting himself, without a power of altering it, the great Lama of the West. Thus one evil was long a remedy for the other; but this struggle could not continue for ever, and one of the two must, in the end, prevail. One Pope had already conceived the idea of placing the imperial crown on his own head, and an Emperor that of placing the tiara on his. At the accession of *Charles V.*, the power lodged in his hands was so preponderant, that he might easily have triumphed over all his adversaries, and carried the favourite project of his predecessors, of bringing the whole western Roman empire under his dominion, into execution. If, by their unity, and by that alone, weak states have been seen resisting powerful coalitions, what might not have been achieved by so formidable a force, vested in one hand, and with such a leader as *Charles V.* against Europe divided, and without concert. The policy of this Emperor is so well known that there can be no doubt but he would, in furtherance of this great design, have compromised with the head of the church, and, the more effectually to subdue the other nations, by his means, would have allowed him the second place in the empire, with an unlimited power over consciences. The holy inquisition was become the tool of both despots, and had, for some centuries, maintained superstition, political slavery, and slavery of thought, over the whole of Europe. The reformation alone would check this torrent; it, at once, extinguished the ambition of the two projectors, who had aimed at giving chains to Europe. Arrogant Austria is for ever sunk and repressed. The Roman pontiff has lost a part of his dominion, and has retained only a precarious power in what is left. Finally, powerful governments have arisen; rivals in everything which can contribute to the glory or welfare of nations, they, for the most part, second the action of the new spirit which animates the people, and strive to efface, by degrees, all traces of the barbarism of the middle age.

It is said by some that "the successive progress of knowledge would insensibly have led to the same results, and have avoided all the evils which arose from so terrible a commotion, and such long wars." But they must not have considered that in the system of an infallible church, all the decisions of which are dictated by the Holy Spirit, a reformation, such as was necessary, becomes impossible, and that it is even contradictory to the spirit of Roman Catholicism. It is also doubtful whether the wished-for change would have happened so soon, or have been so complete. It is certain that, at the time of the reformation, the heads of the Catholic religion, who, at first, saw only fame and gratification, or a disposition to elegance of manners, in the renovation of letters, and, with these views, had encouraged them, began to perceive their danger, from too great a portion of knowledge being infused into men's minds; and, that a very striking reaction was manifested on their part. This reaction was not soon checked in the states belonging to the house of Austria in Germany, in Spain, in Italy, and in Belgium, where all the means of the inquisition, and of censure, were put in action to shackle the flight of thought, and to repel the progress of knowledge. Let the political, religious, and literary state of the greater part of these countries, during the following centuries, be compared with the state of Protestant Germany, Holland, and England, in the same points of view, and let a judgment be formed, free from prejudice, of what would have been the consequence, if the same conduct had become universal and despotic in Europe.[*]

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[*] A day's work due from the vassal to his lord, to be done in person, or by his team or plough. T.

[*] Let the same comparison be made at the present time; in all those countries which were long under the Austrian lash, we shall find bigotry and superstition, instead of religion and morality; ignorance and prejudice, instead of sound and solid instruction; gross sensuality, instead of all the noble qualities which distinguish a man, when he has received a more elevated and more liberal education. Whoever has observed Austria, Spain, and Belgium narrowly, will feel the truth of this remark. There is no doubt but the universal spirit of our time has penetrated here and there, and given rise to some exceptions. Lombardy in particular, situated between France, Germany,

As to what might have been expected, in the end, from the popes and the clergy, if they had been allowed to act spontaneously, in all their power and credit, a judgment may be formed from the moral and physical state of most of the domains, subject, immediately, to ecclesiastial princes.[*] It must be acknowledged that the spirit of papism is exclusive and intolerant; now the spirit of an institution cannot cease to act, unless the institution cease also. A very decisive observation is that the virtuous and humane *Innocent XI.* during a pontificate of twelve years, was scarcely able to execute any of his meritorious designs. The popes, more prudent since the reformation, weakened, almost nonentities, have yielded, unwillingly, in different contests; but it was the power, not the will that was wanting. Many attempts have been made to unite the reformed church with that of Rome; the latter has rendered all these endeavours abortive by refusing to relax in any of her claims. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Emperor *Leopold I.* took much pains on this subject, and plenipotentiaries were named on both sides. The negotiations also extended into France, between *Leibnitz* on the part of the Protestants, and *Pelisson* and *Bossuet* for the Catholics. The latter displayed all his eloquence. but, at the same time, all the inflexibility of his own mind, and that of his church: according to him, there could not be any question of accommodation, but only of submission. When we reflect on the haughty and violent language then held by so enlightened a man as Bossuet was, it is not possible to prevent a belief, that if, perchance the Romish clergy should regain their power and wealth, they would become as fanatic and persecuting as heretofore.[†] The intrigues of the Catholic party to bring back the princes of the reformed party to the Roman communion, would be deserving of being known; such, for example, as those they put in practice with the Elector of Saxony, and with Queen *Christiana*, of Sweden. The evil disposition towards those sovereigns who remain separated from Rome is very visible; and, to this day,[‡] the Holy See has not formally acknowledged the King of Prussia. Long after the reformation, *Clement VIII.* prepared the form of an oath to be taken by the bishops and archbishops, in which are laid down all the principles of despotism and intolerance of Rome.[*] Without pre-

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Venice and Genoa, and which submitted with reluctance to the Austrian yoke, could not be entirely brutalized. A remarkable testimony, which exposes the barbarism still existing at the close of the eighteenth century, in Catholic Germany, is the narrative of his adventures, lately published by M. Schad, Professor of Philosophy, of the university, of Jena, who was formerly a Benedictine in the convent of Banz, from whence, happily for himself, and for that philosophy which he cultivates with success, he escaped. Nevertheless, these monks of Bantz passed for the luminaries of Catholic Germany. The excess of their superstition would scarcely obtain credit, were it not related by an eye-witness, who was long the victim of it.

[*] It is grateful to me to be able to instance a striking exception. All Europe will join me in naming the illustrious Elector Archchancellor of Dalberg, whom history will record among the best of princes; who is proudly claimed by the sciences; and who fills a station in the literary world, analogous to that which his high dignity secures him in the political.

[†] Every year in the service of Holy Thursday, the Pope still excommunicates and curses all the heretics, and particularly the Lutherans, in these terms: "Nosigitur, vetustum et solemnem hunc morem sequentes, excommunicamus et anathematisamus ex parte Dei omnipotentis, Patres et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ac nostrâ, omnes hereticos, nec non damnatum, impiam et abominabilem Martini Lutheri hærasin sequentes, ac omnes fautores et receptatores, librosque ipsius Martini aut quorumvis aliorum legentes, et generaliter quoslibet defensores." (Buller Magn. Luxemb. 1741, T. I. p. 718.) Who would have thought, after even the most zealous Catholics had blamed the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. that a prince should still be found in Europe capable of resolving on a proceeding so inhuman and so fatal to his states. The Archbishop of Salzbourg, Baron of Firmain, in the year 1732, afflicted his country with a similar desolation. After unheard-of persecutions exercised on those who were not Catholics, he at length ordered them to quit their country, to the number of 30,000, without daring to carry anything away, or to take their families with them. Such an emigration exhausted this small territory. The unhappy fugitives were received by the Protestant states of Europe, who provided for their subsistence: a great part of them went to people and clear districts in North America, where the descendents of these Salzbourgian emigrants are still to be met with.

[‡] The reigning Pope has just declared, in a brief addressed to Prince Ruspoli, that he ought to be considered as the supreme head of all the orders of knighthood: in this he has been guided by the example of his predecessors. In the thirteenth century, when the Teutonic Knights had conquered Ducal Prussia, and established themselves in it as sovereigns, Innocent IV. declared by a bull, dated 1243, that this conquest belonged, of right to his see. His word are as follows; "Terram Prussiœ .... in jus et proprietatem B. Petre suscipimus, et eam sub speciali apostolicæ sedis protectione ac defensione perpetuis temporibus permanere sancimus ...." (Acta Borussica. T. I. p. 423). A sovereignty so well acquired, will not be willingly abandoned. When the Electors of Brandenburg took the title of Kings of Prussia, and all the powers of Europe, with the exception of Spain, acknowledged them in that quality, Pope Clement XI. exclaimed loudly, and wrote to every prince to rouse him against the unheard-of temerity of the Marquis of Brandenburg. In the brief of the 16th April, 1701, addressed to the King of France, are the following passages. "Etsi nobis persuasum sit, majest. tuam nullo modo probare consilium, deterimo in christianâ republicâ exemplo, a Friderico marchoine Brandeburgensi susceptum, dum regium nomen publice usurpare præsumpsit .... factum hujus modi apostolicarum sanctionum dispositioni contrarium, et hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritati injuriosum, ... ex quo scilicet sacra regalis dignitas ab homine acatholico non sine ecclesia contemptu assumitur, et quidem marchio se regem dicere non dubitat ejus partis Prussiæ, quœ ad militarem teutonicorum ordinem antiquo jure pertinet; nos rem silentio præterrire non possumus, ne muneri nostro deesse videamur .... expetimus, ne videlicet regios honores illi tribuos, qui illorum numero nimis incaute se junxit, quos increpat simul et reprobat sermo ille divinus: ipsi regnaverunt et non ex me, principes existerunt et non cognovi ...." And in the Orationes consistor. Clementis XI. it is seen that this Pope, giving an account of this event, and of his bull to the college of cardinals, relates, "that the Margrave Frederick has arrogated to himself the title of king in a manner at once impious and unheard-of among Christians; it being well known that, according to the pontifical laws, an heretic prince should rather lose his ancient dignities, than acquire a new one." Is not this the languarge and the principles of Hildebrand, the same pretensions, the same abuse of passages of the Bible, singularly applied to modern times? It might, perhaps, be supposed that the Holy See had afterwards retracted this protestation, and acknowledged a monarch who treats his Catholic subjects with an exemplary equality of rights. Nothing less. When, in 1782, Pius VI. took a journey to Germany, a Prussian minister used some endeavours with him to obtain a formal recognition of the crown of Prussia, Pius, who, at that time, did not wish to embroil himself with a German prince, answered politely, and promised that, on his return to Rome, he would assemble a congregation of cardinals, without whom he could not come to any determination, to deliberate on the subject. This congregation has never been called, and the Pope has forgotten his promise. The pontifical calendar, printed at Rome, with the approbation and privilege of the Holy Father, has continued, as before, to make no mention either of the kingdom or the duchy of Prussia, nor even of the electorate of Brandenburg. In the genealogical table of this house, (1783) the great Frederick is thus described: Charles Frederick, (Marchese,) Marquis; a title so trifling at Rome as to be ridiculous. Prince Henry of Prussia is described as brother to the Marquis. Neither is there any mention of an electorate of Hanover in this calendar. In general, everything determined on by the odious treaty of Westphalia, is of no value at Rome. The thundering bull of Innocent X. against this instrument of peace to the Christian people is well known; and his successors have, from time to time, renewed these anathemas. In this respect, the pontifical court lives outlawed in the midst of Europe, and is separated from the political communion. In 1782, on occasion of some differences relating to the Prussian part of the diocese of Cologne, the King of Prussia relied on an article of this celebrated treaty; the Pope replied, in unqualified terms, that the treaty of Westphalia was of no value to him, and could not bind him in any manner, not having been acknowledged by his see; "Non può valutarsi a quest' oggetto la separazione che si suppone satta in virtù dell' art. V. della Pace Westphalica; giacche é noto, che la S. Sede non ha mai riconosciuta questa Pace contro di cui Innocenzo X. si protestò, non solo in voce . . ma anche con due sue constituzioni . . . . . cosi permetera che il S. Padre non convenga in une ragione la quale s'opporebbe a tutto cio." This letter is well known in Berlin. The same calendar of state, quoted above, under the head of the population of Rome, enumerates also the foreigners, and amongst the rest, states "Heretics, Turks, and other Infidels about 100!"—These are recent facts; and a thousand others might be brought forward. I ask every impartial judge if they are of a nature to inspire a very great confidence in the voluntary amendment of the system of the pontifical court and of the spirit of papism?

[*] "Fidelis et obediens ero domino nostro papœ, ejusque successoribus. Consilium quod mihi traditari sunt nemini pandam, Pa-

judice, what could be expected from such regulations? What would absolute popes have done, when supported by bigoted and jealous emperors, who would have been united in spirit and interest with Rome.

There is not anything, therefore more vague, more uncertain, more destitute of real foundation, than the assurance, gratuitously given by the antagonists of the reformation, that the renovation of knowledge would, insensibly, have corrected all the abuses in the church and in policy. We most assuredly see few traces of this pretended amelioration in the government of the ultramontane states, or of those who have remained most immediately subjected to the yoke of papism. What has, for several centuries, kept our neighbours, the Ottomans, with whom also we have so much commercial intercourse, in a barbarism similar to that of the Christian nations during the middle age? It is religious superstition; it is their muftis, their faquirs, their dervises, who have kept among them a dislike to true knowledge, and to philosophy. We occidentals had plenty of such opponents, and even worse than the orientals; we had an inquisition, which they have not, the terrible reign of which we should, perhaps have seen perpetuated to our days, but for the reformation. Charming road to a better state of things! In the sixteenth century, some of the European states, and a great number of individuals, thought it right to take another. The Catholic princes, agents of Rome, endeavoured to deprive them of that liberty. They waged a war of extermination against the Protestants who could take up arms: they burnt and massacred, with incredible fury, those who could not. They then exclaimed: "See, of how many evils are these refractory wretches the cause! What a flame have they kindled in Europe! They are guilty of all their blood which we have shed, of all the scaffolds which we have prepared for them!" Strange recriminations, which many people have given, and still do give credit to; so easy is it to dose in the career of an established order of things which has endured for centuries! And since the order established in the sixteenth century was supported by a double power, by the secular arm, and by religious fanaticism, which would neglect nothing to maintain it, it is very evident that time would not have produced a salutary change, without a commotion, at least equal to that which took place.

Is not this mode of considering what might have happened and what has not happened, in some respects a description of the influence which the reformation has had on the state of things in Europe? But let us examine more in detail, what its positive results have been.

PART II.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION.

FIRST HEAD.

On the Political Situation of the States of Europe.

Mens Agitat Molem.
The active power of thought is superior to the inert power of a mass.

Before the reformation, Europe was, in general, subject to two powers, the spiritual and the temporal. On the one hand, the head of the church extended his authority and his pretensions over every state indiscriminately; on the other, a great number of bishops and prelates had become temporal sovereigns of the flocks, which, at first, were entrusted to their spiritual guidance, and there was not any country in which the clergy, high and low, secular and regular, did not possess considerable wealth and privileges, and enjoy great authority. The church constituted a powerful body which pressed hard upon the political bodies, and, in a greater or less degree, influenced their existence. Hence every remarkable alteration in the church occasioned a change in the political order; now a revolution which had commenced in the domain of religion, must have exerted its first influence on the church. It is therefore natural to treat first of this, as well with regard to itself and its head, as to its relations, and those of its members, with the different governments; next we shall examine what influence the reformation, considered in a political point of view, has exercised on the states of Europe, both Protestant and Catholic; finally, we shall take an historical view of the system of equilibrium introduced into Europe since that epocha, of its variations, and of the powers which have alternately acted the principal parts in it, until the period at which the influence of the reformation on it ceased.

SECT. I.

Of the Church in itself, and in its Political Relations.

The popes lose half the empire, more than half Switzerland, all Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England, the rich tributes which flowed from these countries to Rome cease entirely. The credit of the sovereign pontiff with all these Christian powers is annihilated. Still if it had only been a new irruption of barbarians, an earthquake, an inundation, or, in short, any physical cause which had ravished these delightful possessions from the Holy See! But it was an active force, a dangerous epidemy, which produced such evils to it. It was nations and princes, who of their own free will, through conviction, had dared, to withdraw themselves in this manner from the pontifical authority. The example was to be dreaded, both at the time present, and for the time to come. It was easy to foresee that sooner or later this example would be universally followed. The church which had seceded from Rome, subsisted with decency and honour; religion, the gospel, morals were respected in it; the rights which had been arrogated by Rome were allowed their just value in it; good writings on this subject were everywhere disseminated; they were even read in the Catholic countries, and produced an effect on them; and even on the steps of the pontifical throne, more than one ironical sneer contemned the Tiara. It was this which rendered the wound deep and incurable, and which the popes would not suffer themselves, at first, to believe, in all its extent. Even after this terrible blow, the pride of *Hildebrand* and the vices of *Borgia* were seen for an instant, in the Christian world. But at length, time and hard experience have convinced them of their real situation; they are resigned, at least in appearance, to the station of humility and of submission which has ever since been their lot among the powers of the earth. The Catholic sovereigns, on their part, have from that time considered the pope as a political spring, to bring into action for the accomplishment of their designs, and as a means for converting the credulity of their subjects to their own benefit: hence the conduct held to him; but the apparent respect has since then

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patum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Jura, honores, privilegia et auctoritatem S. Rom. ecclesiæ, domini nostri papæ et successorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Quæ si talia a quibuscumque tractari vel procurari novero, quantò citiùs potero, significabo. Hœreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro, pro posse persequar." (Pontificale Romanum, Clem. VIII. Pontif max. Jussu editum. Antwerp, 1627, p. 59.) A word more on the famous bull, In Cæna Domini, which contains the whole elixir of ultramontane orthodoxy, and in which are deposited the principles which make, and always will make, the secret basis of the conduct of the Holy See. This bull, written in 1610 by Paul V. and promulgated in 1627, by Urban VIII. is a complete collection of the anathemas issued centuries ago against those who are refractory to the orders of the vicar of J. C. It excommunicates heretics, schismatics, pirates, and corsairs; all who dare to appeal to a future council against the bulls and briefs of the Pope, princes who establish new taxes without the permission of the Pope; those who make treaties of alliance with Turks or Heretics; those who complain to the secular judges against the wrongs and injuries received from the court of Rome, etc. etc. These revolting terms were long the law in the Roman dominion, and even in some provinces of France, such as Roussilon and Cerdagne, until, at length, the courageous M. de Cappot, advocate-general to the superior council of Roussilon, in the month of March, 1763, took measures against this abuse of the ecclesiastical power, and put a stop to the annual publication of the bull. See the work entitled Jurisprudence du grand-conseil examinae dans les maximes du royaume, Avignon, 1775.

been only idle etiquette. It is too well known that the Vatican is but an extinguished volcano. The spontaneous acts of Rome have had no effect, while a simple courier, secretly expedited from Paris, Vienna, or Lisbon, to this ancient capital of the world, procured, sometimes a bull for the extinction of a religious order, sometimes a reform, sometimes a regulation, so many proofs of submission given by the weak successor of so many arrogant pontiffs, who only purchases his precarious existence at the price of every complaisance which is required of him.

So considerable a portion of the riches and credit of Rome having disappeared, the excessive luxury, the flatterers, the parasites also disappeared by degrees. This gave birth to a reform of manners, to a change of life, which was become quite indispensable to the Roman clergy. Those of the Protestant Church were, in general, poor, learned, and exemplary. So many eyes opened upon the contrast of the two bodies, created an imperious necessity for lessening it, and even for removing it wholly. Besides the Popes and all the members of the Roman clergy, living in their time, and participating in their lights, would, themselves, have blushed at a conduct similar to that of many of their predecessors. Those particularly who have filled the functions of pastors in times nearer to our own, have generally lived in the exercise of the most eminent virtues. The head and the clergy of the Romish church have, in a great measure, become what they always ought to have been. It is very true that this church has commenced a reform; but it is also true that this reform is only an immediate consequence, and perhaps, a compulsory one, of that effected by *Luther*, who, in this view of it, must also be considered as the reformer of the Catholic clergy.

What has been just said of the weakness and humiliation of the Roman clergy, must not, as has been already observed, be understood of the time immediately subsequent to the reformation. Since the political troubles which arose in Europe, in consequence of it, had all a religious character, and originated in religious disputes, it is natural that the ecclesiastics should act an important part in them, and that princes should consider them as necessary agents in these affairs, and employ their counsels and their ministry.

In fact, during this period, we find a number of churchmen holding the principal situations, and becoming of weight in the state. The famous Council of Trent, which occupied and agitated every court, from 1545 to 1563, also rendered ecclesiastics indispensable in the cabinets of their sovereigns. On the other hand, the high opinion at that time entertained of the refined politics of the Roman court, was a prejudice very favourable to priests of every description. The political importance which was acquired by some members of the clergy, could not but affect the whole body in a degree, and doubtless the church is indebted to it for the consolidation and maintenance of many of the rights which it would have lost from that time. Many of the violent measures entered into by sovereigns, and of which the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offers numerous examples, also arose, without doubt, from the inquisitorial zeal of such counsellors. Nevertheless some of these priest-ministers conducted themselves more as servants of the state, than as servants of the altar, and the minister sometimes got the better of the priest. At length, this last period of sacerdotal importance vanished. It was annihilated in an instant, after the treaty of Westphalia, where religion ceased to be the main-spring of politics, and the action of governments was directed by other principles; such, for example, as a financial and commercial spirit, the influence of which still continues, and may continue for a length of time.

To the same motives may be attributed the rapid elevation and immense credit of the new order of Jesuits, who, born by the side of Protestantism, and, at the same time, were destined from their birth to combat and counterbalance it. These new soldiers of the church, constituted in a much more formidable manner than the army of mendicants, raised in the barbarous ages, and inventors of a system of tactics much more suitable to the spirit of the new one, did everything for the enfeebled church which could be hoped for from human powers, directed by the most profound prudence, zeal, perseverance, genius, and a combination of talents. They got possession of courts, of nations, of confessionals, of pulpits, of the education of youth, of missions, and of the deserts of the two worlds. Nothing appeared to them impossible in extending the dominion of the Holy See to places where it did not exist, or in consolidating it where it was still maintained. In pursuit of this object they dreaded neither persecutions nor calumnies. Represented as ambitious, fomenters of troubles, corrupt men, and even, as regicides, by their adversaries, they opposed the stoical severity of their lives, their services, and their studious austerity, to these accusations. This is not the place to enter into the detail of the movements produced in the politics of Europe by this celebrated society, the influence of which arose only from the reaction of Catholicism against the reform. It is sufficient to observe, that if the latter could have sunk, and experienced a counter-revolution, the Jesuits would doubtless have effected the great work. So far from this, that the enemy, whom they flattered themselves they could crush, gave them the mortal blow: the genius of modern times declared against the spiritual tyranny of Rome, and, formed by the reformation into an effective power, has reduced those audacious defenders of papism to a nonentity. To consummate, and, at the same time, to bear testimony to the humiliation of his party, it was necessary that the pope himself should be compelled to discard them. A victim to the general spirit of humanity, which in its progressive advancement decrees the ruin of every institution inimical to it, *Ganganelli* signing with humid eye the bull for the extinction of the Jesuits, was only the precursor of the unfortunate *Louis XVI*, who, in less than twenty years after, was forced to send away his army, his nobility, his guards. Whoever reflects on history cannot withhold admiration from a society which has constantly shown such courage, concert, perseverance, and address in its plans: while acknowledging the ill it may have done, he will be unable to avoid doing justice to all of great or useful which it has produced. Its radical vice, and the principle of its destruction, lay in the institution itself. Destined to support the edifice of the hierarchy, which imperceptibly mouldered away, on every side, the hand of time, and opinion which guides it, must necessarily overturn this last rampart, attached to a vast ruin which nothing could uphold.*

The aspect of the clergy in the countries which have adopted the reform, is totally different, its members do not wish to be other than what they can, and ought to be, the ministers of the word of God, the guardians of the public morals. Freed from all obedience foreign to the country from which they receive their stipend, become husbands, fathers, citizens; they have no longer any interest but that of the state in which they live. They are appointed either by the prince, or by the magistrate, or by the people: *Luther* brought the Saxon church, in what relates to its internal government, to the democracy of the first age, and the hierarchy to a moderate system of subordination. The churches which have followed *Calvin* are still more democratically constituted. But the clergy no longer form a civil corporation in any of them. Some public marks of honour and deference are the only privileges of the ministers. According to the words of their master they give unto *Cæsar* that which is *Cæsar's*, by rendering unto God that which they owe him. The abolition of auricular confession† cuts off, at one stroke, the infinite ramifications by which the hierarchical despotism had taken root in all parts, and deprives the clergy of their incalculable influence over princes, grandees, and women, and over all families.

The constitution of the church, in Denmark, in Sweden, and more especially in England, has continued more conformable in appearance to the Roman hierarchy, for reasons peculiar to these three countries, and which are to be found in their history. One of the principal was the attachment of their sovereigns to the system of episcopal subordination, which they thought more favourable to their authority. The Puritans, Presbyterians, and others, had given sufficient indications of republicanism, to alarm their princes for the consequences of this spirit, so nearly connected with that of Protestantism. The favourite motto of the *Stuarts*, "No Bishop, no King," is well known. Thus these kingdoms have retained Protestant bishops, who enjoy moderate revenues, and some civil prerogatives attached to their situations, as being members of the states, or of the House of Peers, etc. But these prerogatives are individual, and it would be wrong to to suppose from this circumstance, that the clergy still forms a distinct order in these nations.[*] In some parts of Germany the principal guardians of worship are called *general superintendents*. Ecclesiastical affairs are discussed by tribunals, called *consistories*. They are established by the prince, and it is by no means uncommon for their president to be a layman; as, for example, in the free towns, it is the syndic of the senate.

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* Some individuals, animated by a blind zeal, still make weak and vain efforts to revive the order of Jesuits. They will not succeed. A moral impossibility opposes them. Their order was a natural product of the time in which it arose; to the present time, it can only be a foreign and parasitical plant, which must wither for want of nourishment. Our age cannot acknowledge the sons of Loyola for its children. A few retreats, in which their feeble remains may be concealed, where they may secretly propagate superannuated principles, will be their only reliance. They must never more quit them to domineer over opinion, and through it, over the world; it is opinion which will wound them there, and will change even the spirit of their sectaries.

† It is necessary to guard against blending the auricular confession of the Roman Catholics, with the particular confession, still in use with some Protestants. They are two very different things, which scarcely have any resemblance to each other, except in name.

The Protestant princes have everywhere become the supreme heads of the church. This circumstance has contributed greatly to the increase of power which has followed the reformation in most of the governments of Europe, and which may be considered as a consequence of its influence. In the Protestant countries, the immense vacuum occasioned by the sudden cessation of all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, was immediately filled by the civil power, which increased in proportion. In the Catholic countries, the church, terrified and menaced, also gave some ground to the authority of government. The wars, both civil and external, which, in most states, were the consequence of the religious animosity, in the end, enabled princes to render their power unlimited, as will be shown in speaking of each state in particular.

A proximate consequence of the reformation, and of the oppositions, the actions, and reactions, it set in motion, was also the establishment of various sects of Christianity as *dominant religions* in the countries where they had taken root. Formerly, when only one communion was known, such an idea could not have existed. Papism governed by its own power, and not by the law. When heretics were persecuted, it was not by a law of the state, but by a requisition from the Pope, to whom the prince gave his aid. One effect of the reciprocal jealousy and opposition of these sects was to exclude from all the places of state, and frequently, even from the throne, all who did not profess the same faith, or had not the same creed, as that adopted by the bulk of the nation and by the government. From this legal arrangement arose a new species of intolerance, which, hitherto, had remained unknown, and which was established in the different Protestant communions, as well as among the Catholics. Hence the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the civil disability which weighed so heavily on every citizen of a confession different from that which was predominant. In some Catholic countries this disability amounted to a civil death. A reformist could not possess goods in his own right, nor bequeath them, nor marry, nor have legitimate children; happy if he was not hunted by dragoons, and did not perish by their hands, or by those of the executioner: for it must be confessed that the Catholic states pushed this intolerance much further than the most intolerant reformists.

Finally, there are very few of the states of Europe that have adhered to the Holy See, in which it has retained all its prerogatives. Venice and Portugal have always shown themselves refractory; and so has Spain at times. A multitude of Protestants, Socinians, and Dissenters of every confession, have sprung up in Poland, Hungary, and Austria. It has been the same in the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany. In France, besides a very great number of individuals who have adopted the reform, the kings and the parliaments have on many occasions, shown themselves but little favourable to the ultramontane pretensions; and, in more instances than one, the monarchs have threatened Rome to follow the example of *Henry VIII.* The courageous Gallican church has had more than one worthy successor of *Gerson* and *Richer*; and it has required great management to keep it an integrant part of the patrimony of *St. Peter*. The council assembled at Trent to reconcile all the church of Christ, only marked its divisions more strongly. This assembly issued a multiplicity of decrees which the greater part of the Catholic states did not adopt without great modifications, and which soon fell into disuse, for want of a power to enforce their execution. This council, which was to reinstate the Popes, produced *Sarpi's* book, which has done them more harm than ten councils can remedy. M. de *Marca*, Archbishop of Toulouse, in his Treatise *De concordiâ sacerdotii et imperii*, and more especially M. de *Honthiem*, suffragan Bishop of Treves, in his work[*] published under the feigned name of *Justnius Febronius*, have completed what *Sarpi* so happily began. The successive efforts of the Christian states to attain independence, are connected by an uninterrupted chain with those of the first reformers. Thus we must consider, as consequences of the same influence, the reforms attempted, and, in part, effected, in the clergy of Austria by *Joseph II.*; as well as the total dispossession of the clergy of France, and its political annihilation by the constituent assembly; and, finally, the general secularization which has been lately effected in Catholic Germany.[†] It is obvious how easy it would be to show that the remote source of these great events is in the reformation, which alone, as is very evident, could have made them possible; and that the fall of the Roman clergy, which began at that time, has only been completed in our days.

SECT. II.

On the principal Christian States.

Here a double point of view manifestly offers itself; that of the interior situation of the different states in themselves, and that of the exterior situation in respect of each other. The first must exhibit the proportion of their strength; that of their prosperity; the power of their princes; the liberty of the people: the second relates solely to the system of equilibrium introduced into Europe since the reformation.

FIRST POINT OF VIEW.

Internal Situation of the States.

The influence of the reformation has been more perceptible on the states in which it arose, and acquired consistence, than on those which have not adopted it. It therefore appears natural to begin here with the former.

And in the first place, let us attend to their common destinies, as *Protestant states*.

1. PROTESTANT STATES.

The immense sums which, under every name and pretext, these states sent continually to Rome, and which exhausted their currency, have ceased to leave the country: they circulate in it; they give a new activity to commerce and industry; a new prosperity to the subjects; and an increase of strength to the government: while, on the other hand, public credit experiences temporary checks in them. Treasures are concealed or buried, from a dread of the future, the standard of coin is changed, emigrations become frequent, the insecurity which is a consequence of the uncertainty of a triumph of parties, lessens the credit of landed property! money being more transportable, is in greater estimation than it; but man, in himself, more particularly acquires a price superior to both of them; his intrinsic value being more useful is more felt, and becomes the most esteemed of all property.

This is one of the best effects of these terrible commotions which, deranging all rights, the offspring of social institutions, leaves, in their stead, only greatness of soul, virtue, and talents, the produce of nature alone.

The immense possessions of the clergy, as well secular as regular, are placed at the disposal of the governments. Most of them wisely turn this good fortune to advantage, pay their debts, fill their coffers, apply the property of whole abbies, and other ecclesiastical possessions, in useful establishments, in schools, universities, hospitals, orphan houses, dwellings, and rewards for the old servants of the state ; measures, by which this property is restored to its primitive destination : and finally these governments are placed in a state to support the wars, in which every one sees that the existing crisis must inevitably plunge them. Some of them, however, dissipate the wealth they have acquired, without thought : others are obliged to leave the better part to the nobility, Denmark for instance, as will be noticed hereafter.

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[*] It is useless to notice the only two evangelical bishops of Germany, that of Osnaburgh, and that of Lubeck. These two bishoprics have been secularized in favour of the houses which have long possessed them.

[*] De statu Ecclesiæ et legitima protestate Romani Pontificis. Ad conciliandos dissidentes in Religione christianos. Bullioni, 1763.

[†] More terrible attacks perhaps still await the Papal authority and the Roman clergy, in this country. What friend of knowledge and of humanity but observes with interest the measures taken in Bavaria by an enlightened and benevolent prince, who will regenerate this fine country, by promoting learning and industry at the expense of superstition and monarchism ? May all his beneficent views be accomplished without opposition. The immortality which awaits him, the homage of every good man, the benedictions of his subjects, will be his certain recompense.

Governments not only dispose of the wealth of the church, but they also find that they have the disposition of the wealth, the persons, and all the strength of the people. The cause of religion is become that of every individual : the resources which this disposition offers to princes are incalculable. We have seen what it was able to effect in the first war against *Charles V.* and afterwards in the thirty years war against the two *Ferdinands.* What the most imminent danger of the state could not have obtained from the individuals of it, religious zeal brought about without difficulty ; for it, artizans, tradesmen, farmers ran to arms ; no one attempted to screen himself from the taxes though they had become triple their former amount. In the violent agitation in which the danger of their religion had put all minds, life and property were devoted, and the efforts and the burthen, which in a state of greater tranquillity, would have been insupportably distressing, were not felt. The dread of an inquisition, of the scenes of St. Bartholomew, opened sources of power to the league of Smalcald, to the Prince of *Orange*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, to Admiral *Coligny*, which would have been closed in every other state of things.

When once a people of their own accord, enthusiastically, and for several successive generations, have made common cause with their princes, a public spirit of concert and harmony is produced between the people and the government, between the head and the members, which is salutary to the country, and is sometimes continued in it for ages. We cannot err with respect to this disposition in the Protestant nations, if we examine them narrowly ; and the histories of them, that of Prussia in particular, exhibit many instances wherein it was manifested.

But if through his quality of head of the church, and through the confidence of his people, a Protestant prince acquires more stability and more authority, the very nature of the event which puts this new power into his hands, requires that he should make the most legitimate and most equitable use of it. He has only acquired power to serve and to defend the nation, not to oppress it. The most accurate observers have noticed, that nature has particularly fitted the people of the North to be republicans ; and it cannot be denied that several of those who have embraced the reformation have always been actuated by this spirit, as for example, the Saxons, the Swiss, the Dutch, and the English : it may even be said, that the reformation itself was only a positive application of it. This shock in its turn, awakened all the energy and the accessory ideas of it. The will to be free in matters of conscience, is, at the bottom, the same as the will to be free in civil matters. Now this will can accomplish all that is required, and there are no slaves, but those who wish to be so, or who have not the strength of will to put an end to it. The energy of men's minds at length constitutes true liberty, as their effeminacy makes tyranny necessary. The calm and sober sentiment of the high dignity of man, is the only solid foundation of true republicanism ; it is by it alone that equality of rights, and reciprocity of duties are established. Christianity, in the purity of its essence, inspires this sentiment ; for which reason it is very common and general, in the evangelical countries. The constitution of England has been much admired, I shall not dispute on its value ; but that which renders this uncouth constitution so good, is the patriotism, the dignity, the independence of the peasant, the citizen, the gentleman of England. Introduce the sentiments of slaves into all those hearts which now swell with freedom, and you will soon see the use of this fine palladium of a constitution. Prussia and Denmark have no parliaments, nor any visible barriers to the royal authority, yet they enjoy the most admirable liberty, but there, the invisible barriers are in the mind, even in that of the prince, nursed and trained in the spirit which animates the nation ; they are in the great simplicity of manners, the most remote from luxury and pride. There we see powerful princes habited like their subjects, going like them on foot or in a plain carriage, without attendants, without etiquette ; during their youth, simple officers in the national army which they are one day destined to command. What modern state can boast of a king like the immortal *Frederick II.*? what nations of a union of princes so distinguished and so wise, as the Protestant nations of Germany ? Sweden instances with pride the four *Gustavuses.* Two extraordinary women, *Elizabeth* and *Catharine* have filled thrones in Europe during the last centuries ; both of them were reared in the principles of Protestantism. Finally, can France forget the best of her kings, and the best minister of that king, were both disciples of the reform.

Having spoken of this disposition of the public spirit amongst the Protestants, ought I to notice here the progress they have made in the science of legislation, and the other sciences connected with it, such as administration, statistics, &c. ? or, should I reserve these considerations for the section in which I am to treat of the progress of knowledge ?

The uncertainty which I feel in this respect proves that everything that concerns man, in society, has a very intimate connection, and that the great business of his liberty depends very closely upon the true culture of his mind.

It will be therefore sufficient to observe that the ecclesiastical authority being, before the reformation, closely interwoven with the civil authority, in many places, and wholly blended with it in many others, it was impossible to probe and discuss the rights of the one, without the examination being extended to the rights of the other. It was asked, by what authority the popes claimed the power of setting up, and dethroning kings : this naturally led to an inquiry into the first authority by which the kings were instituted. These respective rights of the church and the state being brought into discussion, it was not impossible to touch on this important question, without a speedy recurrence to the rights of the people. It was found that society, considered as a religious union, that is to say, as a church, had a right of choosing its ministers, and fixing its creed : it was very easy to conclude from this, that, with regard to its political union, it had also a right to elect its own magistrates, and to give itself a new constitution. The emperor opposed the new religious creed ; it was therefore asked, whether in matters of belief the emperor ought to be obeyed. In 1531, the faculty of right, and that of theology of the university of Wittemberg unanimously replied in the negative. From thenceforward, there was nothing but debates on the limits of obedience due to sovereigns, and on those of the resistance which might be offered to them. *Zwingle* pronounced his severe *cum Deo potest deponi* against the oppression. Before Luther, such a language had never been loudly and explicitly heard in Europe. He dared to speak great truths, and he led the way for many others.* The writings of the first reformers on politics mostly breathe this spirit. When the long wars of Germany and Flanders were terminated, the same spirit was developed in some excellent work still received as classical, and in which the rights of the two powers, those of the princes, and the people ; those of political bodies with each other, are discussed with spirit and precision, very different both from the ancient spirit of the schools, and the demagogic exaggeration of the eighteenth century. Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, even France, in which the reform had spread considerably, although the government did not adopt it, produced a number of similar writings about this period. Some of the principal ones will be noticed in one of the articles of the second section.

The reformation, therefore, which, at first, was only a return to liberty in the order of religious affairs, became, for all these reasons, also a return to liberty in the political system. Princes relied on this liberty, they sought it, and embraced it, as well as their subjects. For this reason the Protestant sovereigns have constantly held a different language towards their people; they have professed other principles of liberality and humanity, than the Catholic sovereigns, their cotemporaries. Their people have been long familiarized to the language and the principles of reason; they know that it is the basis of their government, and they are accustomed to the discussion of their interests and their rights, which produces no emotion in them; the liberty of thinking and writing is as natural to them as the air they breathe. This may induce a reasonable belief that a political revolution, similar to that of France, is not practicable in the states which are not Catholic; the most essential results of such a revolution are already completely established in them, and cupidity cannot now be stimulated by the possessions of the church. Consequently there are no people more submissive to their princes and to the laws of their country than the Protestants, because these laws are conceived in a right spirit; princes and subjects are equally patriots and republicans, and every one knows by experience the moderate medium proper to be kept between speculative democracy and practical democracy.

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* In his book, de la guerre contre les Turcs, Luther himself says, " No one had yet taught or understood; no one knew any thing concerning the secular power, neither whence it came, nor what was its office, nor how it could be agreeable to God. The best informed held the temporal power and authority to be worldly and profane, nay, pagan and impious, and a state of danger of salvation. In a word, good princes and lords (being otherwise so disposed to piety) considered their state and dignity as less than nothing, and in no respect agreeable to God; and therefore became true priests and monks, though without cap and cowl. Moreover the pope and clergy, were all in all, over all and everything, like God himself, in the world; and the civil authority was in darkness, oppressed and misunderstood. At present I am reproached with being seditious; although I have (by the grace of God) written wisely and usefully on the secular power, so as has not been done by any teacher since the time of the Apostles, (unless perhaps St. Augustine;) this I can say with a safe conscience, and the world can testify it.

It is asserted that, at first, *Francis I.* appeared very favourable to the doctrine of the reformers of the church.* His beloved sister *Margaret*, Queen of Navarre, protected it publicly. At that instant, the fate of the kingdom depended on the party which he should embrace. If he had adopted the reform, all France would have followed his example: the fate of Protestantism, in Europe, would have been sooner decided; the civil wars in France would doubtless not have taken place, nor would the revolution of the eighteenth century. Everything assumed a contrary aspect, because the prince conceived lively apprehensions of the political consequences of the reformation. *Brantome* relates that one day, in a conversation on this subject, the king accidentally said, "That this novelty tended principally to the overthrow of monarchy, both divine and human."† In fact, this prince showed, in the end, an irreconcilable hatred to Protestantism, of which his successors inherited too much: the lesson remains.

But if *Francis I.* thought in this manner, is it not permitted to take his opinion for an authority, and to consider the establishment of the French republic as a remote, but necessary, corollary to the reformation, as the republic of the United Provinces was a proximate corollary, and that of America another, nearer than ours?

In some of the extravagant sects which arose from the reformation, such as that of the Anabaptists, we may observe the same pretensions to absolute equality and liberty, as occasioned all the excesses of the Jacobins of France: the agrarian law, the pillage of the rich, made part of their creed, and *war with the castles, and peace to the cottages*, might have been inscribed on their ensigns. At first these enthusiasts gave great uneasiness to the princes of Germany. *Luther* was much hurt at their excesses, and frequently reproached himself with having, though innocently, given rise to them. However they were soon repressed. England was not so soon freed from the disturbance of its Presbyterians and Independents, as will be seen in the article relating to that power, in the detail to which we are about to proceed.

It may be added, that all the Protestant princes and states benefited more or less by the labour and industry of a multitude of the proscribed, who emigrated from the Catholic countries, where they were persecuted, as happened particularly to the Protestants of France, at the revocation of the edict of Nantes; while the Catholics, tranquil and tolerated, under the dominion of the Protestants, never thought of quitting and impoverishing their native land.

We may also observe, that in the Protestant countries, agriculture and industry were enriched by the suppression of numerous holidays, lost to labour in Catholic countries, and which are, in reality, negative quantities, that diminish, by all their amount, the aggregate of national industry and riches.

Germany.

Before the reformation, the German empire was an irregular aggregate of states, which chance, convenience, or events had united into an ill-formed confederation, the constitution of which was a true chaos. The individual forces of these different states, without direction, without unity, were almost a nullity as confederate forces, and incapable of acting externally. The *Golden Bull*, a strange production of the fourteenth century, fixed, it is true, some of the relations of the head with the member; but nothing was less clear than the public right of all these independent, though united states. The personal character and power of the emperor were generally the only motives which decided the degree of respect paid to him by the other princes. During the long reign of the indolent *Frederick III.*, called the *Pacific*, who slept on the imperial throne from 1440 to 1492, this throne lost nearly all its consequence. *Maximilian I.*, notwithstanding all the efforts he employed, had much difficulty in restoring it. Among the most powerful of the electors and other princes, there was not a single one sufficiently so to make himself respected externally. They all lived at home, more like private gentlemen and fathers of families than like sovereigns, and were scarcely anything more than the richest proprietors in their provinces. There was no likelihood that any of the reigning families would raise themselves from this general lethargy above the rest. Each prince divided his states among his children, who were often very numerous, which, instead of strengthening, weakened the dynasties. None of the lands were indivisible but these particularly attached to to the electoral dignity. From these divisions, and from other causes, wars between prince and prince, troubles and disorders, frequently arose, which were not put an end to without much difficulty. The younger branches, who were worst provided for, and the lords, frequently gave themselves up to depredations, which at present would meet with extreme punishment, but to which, in those times, a kind of chivalrous honour was attached. Nothing can be weaker than a body thus constituted. They met in diet, it is true, to deliberate on their common concerns; but Frederick, during more than half a century, which he reigned, had never appeared there, and Maximilian, his son, seldom came, except to ask for money, of which he was always in want. for the execution of his numerous projects. If, during the first years of Frederick's reign, the Turk, at that time the irreconcilable enemy of all Christianity, had not planted the cresent in Europe, and incessantly menaced the empire with invasion, it is not easy to judge how the feeble bond which united this body could have remained unbroken. The terror inspired by Mahomet II. and his ferocious troops, was the first common interest which obliged the princes of Germany to form a more solid connection with each other, round the imperial throne.

It was in these circumstances that Charles, already in the possession of the flourishing kingdom of Spain, of part of Italy, of the states of the houses of Burgundy and Austria, acceded to this throne. The boundless power of this new emperor soon occasioned an inquietude in most of the states for their future existence, which was menaced by the ambition of their young chief. The reformation offered them a rallying point, new powers, and the possibility of forming a respectable opposition; they embraced it, as much from political motives as from religious persuasion. Charles V. did not embrace it, and, on his part, saw only in it the fortunate event, which, furnishing him with the pretext and the right to combat the new opposition with all his power, offered the most desirable opportunity of accomplishing his designs without difficulty, and in a plausible manner. This is the main idea which forms the ground-work of the whole history of his reign. The Protestant princes and states entered into a solemn league, in a sort of peculiar diet, held at Smalcald, under the two most considerable princes of the league; Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, the protector of Luther, and his first disciple among the sovereigns; and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, called the Generous. This league remained long in a menacing and independent attitude, in the presence of Charles. The continual attacks, as well of the French, the Venetians, the Milanese, and the popes, as of the Turks under Soliman II. and which gave the emperor sufficient employment in the south and east, prevented the rupture from taking place sooner. During this interval, the Protestants demanded concessions from the emperor, and Charles, who required their assistance, was compelled to yield to most of them.

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* He even wrote to Melancthon to request him to come to Paris. Melancthon was unable to comply with this request, because the Elector of Saxony refused his permission.

† Did not Francis I. imbibe this opinion from ecclesiastical insinuations? This king, (says the president Henault, under the year 1534) complaining of the pope to his nuncio, wished to make him fear the example of Henry VIII. to which the nuncio replied: "Truly, sire, you will be the first sufferer; a new religion given to a nation requires afterwards only the change of the prince." Francis might have replied, that neither Henry VIII. nor Gastavus Vasa, nor any of the Saxon princes, were dethroned, after having embraced the reform.

At length the moment arrived (in 1546, the very year of Luther's death, who had constantly endeavoured to prevent every sanguinary catastrophe) in which, being freed from his other enemies, Charles V. was enabled to engage in a contest with the party of the Protestants. At first he was successful; the strength and the military talents of the princes of the league were unequal to their courage; and the brilliant victory of Muhlberg, in the second year of the war, in which the principal of them were made prisoners, seemed to have put an end to it. But scarcely had Charles began to enjoy his triumph when Maurice of Saxony snatched from him, by a blow as impossible to foresee as to guard against, the laurels he had so lately acquired, and nearly all those he had gained in his laborious career. The Saxon prince had very nearly made prisoner of the emperor himself, in Inspruck. The latter, by the peace signed at Passau, in 1552, strengthened more than ever the existence of the evangelical body, and saw the fine projects he had conceived for bringing Germany under his dominion, annihilated. The king of France, Henry II. who had assisted the Protestants in this war, publicly took the title of *Protector of the Germanic liberty, and avenger of the captive princes.* Assisted by these civil troubles in the empire, he also made himself master of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun. Charles V. did not lose an instant in hastening to retake these cities. He miscarried before Metz, and this was one of his last reverses.

Germany now ceased to be what it had been before this crisis. Its ancient indolence was changed into an active vigilance. The princes of the league had tried their strength, and acquired confidence in themselves. The general confederation, which continued to subsist, was composed of two opposite parties, jealous of each other, both possessed of a constitutional existence, mutually watching each other, and continually appearing ready to come to blows. This marked opposition, this reciprocal irritability became a new principle of life to the whole body, and developed all its powers. Notwithstanding the peace, (too sudden to be well secured,) the empire resembled the ocean after a tempest, the waves of which are still terrible. The universal agitation made a new rupture apparent, and it would certainly be an inexplicable phenomenon in history that this was retarded until 1618, if the personal characters of the three emperors who succeeded Charles V. did not assist us in penetrating the causes of it.

At length, Ferdinand II. on ascending the imperial throne, found that devastating war already commenced, which continued during all his reign and great part of that of his successor. Austria took advantage of its open rupture with the Protestant party, its frequent successes, and the presence of its armies, to annihilate in the archduchy, Silesia and Moravia, not only the privileges previously granted to numerous Protestants, who had oftener than once given uneasiness to their suspicious sovereigns, but also those privileges of the states which ameliorated their constitutions. She did the same in Bohemia and Hungary, where she not only destroyed all religious liberty, but also took possession of the inheritance to the crown, which had been formerly elective. The Austrian monarchs are indebted to the reformation for the definitive establishment of their real power within their states; the hope which they lost of ruling other states was certainly not so valuable to them as the real advantage of being absolute and uncontrolled masters of their own, and of acquiring, as patrimonial inheritances, two kingdoms, so inexhaustible in resources and natural riches. The fate of Bohemia was decided in 1620, after the bloody battle of Prague. That of Hungary, it is true, was not definitively settled until nearly sixty years later, but it was not the less an immediate consequence of the religious war, and of the oppression of the Protestant party in this country. After the treaty of Westphalia, the Austrian power retained no other internal weakening principle except the division of its possessions in Suabia, Belgium, and Italy, which by that means became too difficult to defend, as was very evident in her subsequent wars. The last which she had with France deprived her of these fine but burthensome domains. She has acquired others in Germany and Poland, which are much more agreeable to her real interests. Austria cannot longer conceive projects inimical to the liberty of Europe, because rivals, of too great weight, have sprung up around her, and confine her on all sides; but she may always hold an honourable rank among the principal powers, if she makes a wise use of the lessons of external degradation, and internal consolidation, taught her by the reformation.

During this long and cruel civil discord in the nations of Germany, the ancient bond which subsisted among them was never broken. Some of them were desirous that the whole should be Catholic; the others would remain Protestants; but nearly all of them wished to remain united with each other and with their head. Had the empire been divided into two empires, these two weak confederations would have fallen a prey to the strongest, or to some stranger. On the contrary, experience has shown that the existence of an evangelical body, and its definitive organization, has become a salutary institution to the empire in general, and a strong security for its constitution; and, that both parties have an equal interest in guarding and supporting it. Even at the present day, when so many of its members have changed their form and their name, the life which supports the whole body will, in all probability, become the more active for it. Whatever may happen hereafter, all was disorder and disorganization in this extensive country before the reformation; since that, and through its influence, every state has become order and organization.

Protestant Germany subsisted at first by its federative force, with considerable equality between its principal members; and, as these states, with the exception of one, have not since been raised so as to produce any sensible influence on the political situation of the states of Europe, they may be passed over here in silence. That a succession of religious troubles has placed the house of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, is a circumstance of considerable interest in different points of view; but on the whole it rather concerns an individual house, than a state. The King of England being a member of the empire, has sometimes found greater facility in exciting the mass according to his interests; he has been enabled to draw some regiments from Hanover. But, if what the defence of this country, and the attachment of the kings of the house of Brunswick for their German states, has cost England, to be taken into the account; and if the sort of dependence on Prussia and France which this royal crown, by its amalgamation with the electorate, always must be in, and the state of humiliation to which it has sometimes been, consequently, reduced, be added to it, it will be acknowledged that the disadvantages are at least equal to the advantages. The true strength of England is in its riches, and its riches proceed from its fleets. Farther on we shall see what influence the reformation has had on the first developement of this marine. A more important circumstance to the manner in which Germany is settled, was the establishment of the Prussian monarchy, the foundation of which was laid by the reformation. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Prussia was an ecclesiastical country, governed by the grand master of the Teutonic order. Albert of Brandenburg, who was grand master at that time, soon followed the example which had been set him by more than one ecclesiastical prince. He secularized Prussia in 1525, and made it an hereditary duchy for himself and descendants, under the seignorage of the kings of Poland. He married and had children, and the last heiress of this branch, named Anne, espoused the hereditary prince, who was afterwards Elector of Brandenburgh, by the name of John Sigismond. Prussia ceased to be a fief of Poland, in 1657, by the treaty of Wehlau, and definitively by that of Oliva, three years after. In 1701, it was erected into a kingdom, and has since raised itself to the rank of the first powers of Europe. It is very true that the future grandeur of the Prussian monarchs could not be foreseen at the time of the secularization of the duchy of Prussia; it is, however, equally true, that without this event, we should at present find an elector of Brandenburgh, but not a king of Prussia among the sovereigns of Europe.

This power, in its developement, retained that kind of disposition which we have, before, attributed generally to all the Protestant states; a very marked public spirit, a fervent patriotism, great reciprocal attachment between the prince and his subjects, a spirit of liberty and of true republicanism, which extends from the throne to the people. It may be added that a great part of the ancient possessions of the clergy is also united to the domains of the crown, and another part is employed in establishments useful to the country, we shall therefore find no difficulty in accounting for the internal strength manifested by Prussia in several trials, and which so effectually seconded the genius of the great Frederick, in the seven years' war. It cannot be questioned that the circumstance of being a Protestant added something to the successes of this prince, while it also diminished the number of his enemies among his co-estates in the empire. The number of those who secretly adhered to the reformation, in Silesia, Bohemia, and other Austrian countries, was great. When the tolerant banners of Prussia appeared, all these sects would be more favourable to them than to the Catholic colours of intolerant Austria.

Since, by a concurrence of many other causes, foreign to the object of this essay, Prussia has attained to the rank of a power of the first order, its sovereigns have replaced the electors of Saxony in the important station of head of the Protestant party in Germany. They have attained a double influence in Europe, that of counterbalancing Austria in the empire, and that of contributing powerfully externally to the support of an equilibrium in the general system of states.

It may be also observed, that the treaties of Augsburg and Munster, while they consolidated the body of the evangelical states in the empire, left, nevertheless, a certain priority and preponderance to the Catholics, as well in the electoral college as in the remainder of the joint concerns.* No Protestant prince has yet been decorated with the imperial crown. Since the religious interest has been, by degrees, replaced by a political interest, the evangelical body might be more aptly called the Prussian party, and the rest the Austrian party; although more than one Catholic prince has found it convenient to join with Prussia, and some Protestant states have also been seen attached to Austria. It is probable that the imperial dignity will continue, for a considerable length of time, and perhaps to its extinction, to be enjoyed by the head of the latter house.

The custom of some German princes of selling their troops to foreign powers, also originated in the time of the wars of the reformation, and of the long intervals of peace which followed them. These troops, raised on a temporary occasion, disciplined, accustomed to live in camps, to plunder, to excesses, became, during peace, exceedingly burthensome to their master and to the country. They were very happy to dispose of them to whoever would pay them, and they even turned this traffic to advantage. Philip II. attacked Holland with German soldiers, and it was with Germans that Holland defended itself. It is notorious that this custom has been since continued to the great disgrace of humanity.

Denmark.

Since the celebrated Margaret, called, before Catharine II. the Semiramis of the North, Denmark has been aggrandized by Norway; and the states of Sweden had also placed the sceptre of their country in her hands. Her successors endeavoured to make this election valid as an hereditary title; which occasioned vigorous wars between the Danish monarchs and the Swedish aristocrasy. The first lost the throne of Sweden by them, and benefited by not having further occasion to waste their strength externally. The clergy and principal nobility of their own states gave them sufficient employment at home. In 1527 they, with their people, adopted the reformation; but it was not completely consolidated, by the wife Christian III., until twelve years after. He was obliged to divide the spoils of the clergy with the great men of his kingdom, and to keep only the smallest share to himself. The income of the prelacies alone were adjudged to the crown, and these were also charged with the expenses of several establishments. Besides the regal dignity remained elective. It required the warlike reign of the enterprising Christian IV.—it required more especially the ascendancy which the order of the citizens began to acquire, to reduce the nobility, and lead things to that state in which Frederick III. found them in 1660, to enable him to render the kingdom hereditary and his authority uncontrolled. The only fundamental law which remained express and untouched was that which established Lutheranism as the predominant religion of the state.† During the thirty years' war the king of Denmark was, for an instant, the Agamemnon of the Protestant army; this was the first attempt made by this government to the southward, in the general affairs of Europe.

Sweden.

The reformation found also an elective crown, and a powerful aristocrasy in Sweden. But Vasa was a conqueror; he had lately raised himself to the throne by a revolution, and delivered his country from the Danish yoke. It was therefore in his power to make a better use of the reformation than his neighbour, Christian, had done. In 1527, he appropriated the greatest part of the possessions of the clergy to his own use, and only allowed small shares to the nobility. His wise and vigorous administration, directed these new riches to the maintenance of the royal authority, and he procured to himself a constitutional grant of the succession.

This power, which is naturally weaker than any other of the great European powers, soon raised itself, however, by the genius of its kings and its ministers, as well as by the benefits of the reformation, to a sort of supremacy in Europe. Its armies saved Protestantism, and, at almost every encounter, beat the imperial armies. She had the glory of presiding at Osnaburgh in the European congress of Westphalia, as France presided at that of Munster. A sum of money was given to her to withdraw her troops from Germany, where they became as burthensome to their friends as they had been to their enemies, and only a part of Pomerania, instead of the whole, which she demanded, with some other small districts in the north of the empire, were ceded to her. By this cession the kings of Sweden have become members of the Germanic body as the king of Denmark is for Holstein, and that of England for Hanover. Since that period exhausted Sweden has constantly declined. Twenty years after the peace of Westphalia, in 1668, notwithstanding the obligations of this country to France its ally, the interest of religion, or perhaps jealousy, induced it to unite with England and Holland, against that power, in the war of Flanders and Franche Comté. Christiana, whose only merit as a queen was that of having protected men of science, and in particular, having honoured our great Descartes, contributed very much to the decay of Sweden. Charles XII. completed its ruin. A gallant and weak queen, a despotic and conquering king, neutralized the advantages which the reformation had procured to this country; if the successors of Gustavus Adolphus, and Oxenstiern had always been worthy of them, the czars, in all probability, would not have built their imperial city on the Neva; they would not have gained the banks of the Baltic; and the aspect of the north, and consequently that of Europe, would, without doubt, have been different from what it is at present. But Sweden shone only for an instant; and, like one of those sudden meteors which just gave a transient splendour to its long nights, it soon disappeared from the political horizon.

Switzerland.

Switzerland had its reformer in the person of Zwingle, a monk, like Luther, and like him, irritated by the opprobrium of the hawkers of indulgences, and who appeared almost at the same instant. Republicans, ardent friends to liberty, it was expected the Swiss would have outstripped all others in the reform; seven cantons, however, remained Catholic; and, what is more remarkable, the cantons most decidedly republicans were of this number. This phenomenon would not be easily explained without a knowledge of the localities. It has already been observed above,* that Catholicism is not, nor can it be everywhere the same, modified as it is in different places by the peculiar spirit and character of each. The Catholicism of the small cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwald, precisely because it was established among these mountaineers, republicans by nature, had taken the forms which suited their character, and was interwoven with their manners. Besides, the inhabitants of these mountains have a lively imagination, on which external objects produce a powerful influence, the indolence of the pastoral life makes religious spectacles and feasts necessary to them. A worship accompanied by many forms and ceremonies would, therefore, please them, in preference to one which is too simple and too sedate. It was here that the founders of the Helvetic liberties resided; and the remembrance of all the events and all the great men of that period, was intimately blended with the Catholic worship, and its ceremonies. It was not obelisks, it was chapels which, in this country, marked the renowned fields of battle, the acts of their ancestors. Who has travelled in Switzerland, and not seen the chapel of William Tell? It was an idolatry, a national fanaticism, which excited this mixture of the worship of liberty with that of religion, in these small cantons.

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* Were it only by the clause which provides that if an ecclesiastical prince changes his religion, so far from being enabled to secularize his states, he is declared to have forfeited them.

† M. Spittler formerly professor at Gottingen, and minister of the Duke of Wirtemburgh, has given a very good history of this revolution; it is translated into French, under the inspection of the author, by M. Artaud; and will be published shortly.

* In the first part, at the commencement of the paragraph, Reformation.

Such is their Catholicism at the present day; they have no idea of any other. The abuses of the church were scarcely felt among them. The popes could not exact tribute from these poor mountaineers; and their priests, being the only men a little informed, in their hamlets and towns, had acquired, and still retain to the present day, a great ascendency over the deliberations of the assemblies, and of all their affairs. It may be added, that knowledge had made less progress among them, than among their rich neighbours in the plain; and that having formerly given them, as it were, their liberty, they were not disposed to allow them to prescribe a change in their religion. Other localities kept Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure in the Catholic faith. Sanguinary conflicts and a religious civil war, several times suspended, but prolonged at intervals, until the eighteenth century, ensued between the members of this modern Achaia; and a germ of division still remains undestroyed among them.

Spain, the pope, and Austria gave effectual support to the Catholic party. France and England alternately supported the Protestant cantons. Hence the sympathies and antipathies of the different members of the Helvetic confederation to one or other of these powers. The late events have also exhibited an example of the animosities of the small cantons against the French, the ancient protectors of the reformed cantons, and of the attachment of the Bernois to the same French.

Switzerland, employed and weakened by these civil discords, has, since the reformation, lost the little external influence which it had previously had in the affairs of Europe. But its Protestant cantons were in the number of those countries to which the revocation of the edict of Nantes procured the greatest advantages. The refugees flocked there in considerable numbers with their industry and their property.

The high pitch to which the sciences and good manners had reached in these cantons, favoured by a long peace, and that species of inviolability which this respectable confederation so long enjoyed, is well known.

Geneva.

While in this faint outline I have neglected to devote particular articles to considerable states such as Bavaria, for example, it will doubtless appear astonishing that I pause at a simple town, a city of a few thousand inhabitants. But this imperceptible point on the physical map of Europe is of very great importance on that of European morals. It was there that the two Frenchmen, Calvin and Théodore de Bèze, rejected by their country, established a new and powerful focus of religious reform. The first fruit of it was the liberty of Geneva, which expelled its prince bishop, and afterwards governed itself for almost three centuries. It found sufficient resources in the energy of its inhabitants, and sufficient strength in the benefits of the reformation, to support long wars and to defend itself by force against the princes of the house of Savoy, its dangerous neighbours, who had long endeavoured to reduce it under their dominion, and did not definitively acknowledge its independence till towards the middle of the last century. The influence of this small democracy sprung from the reformation; replete with knowledge, patriotism, and activity, its influence, I say, on some of the great states, particularly on France, England, and Russia, is incalculable.

Geneva was the cradle of the religion professed by Henry IV. and which the ambition of the house of Guise, the subtlety of a Medicis, the interest and the secret practices of Rome and Spain, prevented him from carrying with him to the throne of France.

It was to Geneva that all the proscribed English exiles, who were driven from their island by the intolerance of the first Mary, the wife of Philip II. came, to get intoxicated with republicanism and independence. From this focus issued the sects of Presbyterians and Independents who so long agitated Great Britain and conducted the unfortunate Charles I. to the scaffold. In the works of Dr. Swift, there is a sermon which he delivered on the anniversary of the death of this martyr king (for so the English have since named him,) in which he explains, like a man of good information, the progress of this order of events.

Finally, it is well known that a multitude of men of talents have issued from Geneva, who, as writers, as men in office, have, in the most decided manner, influenced the different states of Europe, their political and moral situations, their opinions and their knowledge. To mention Le Fort, the friend and counsellor of Peter I. is to bring to recollection all which one of its citizens has done for the civilization and prosperity of the most extensive empire in existence. Besides the great men which it has formed, Geneva, has, at all times, been visited by the numerous travellers of every country who have come to Italy and Switzerland. It has communicated more or less of its spirit to all those who were calculated to receive it; and from all these considerations, it may be truly said, that this small republic has had as great a share in the destiny, and in the moral and political amelioration of Europe, as many great monarchies.

This is an additional proof of the immense advantage of small states to humanity, and of the use, which, by means of them, is made of the central power of every district of the earth. These proofs are continually renewed in Germany, where we meet with free cities, and principalities, of a moderate extent, all of which have an active, peculiar, and independent existence. Every one is emulous that industry and the arts and sciences should flourish in his small capital. Universities and schools are multiplied, and instruction consequently becomes more general through the nation. If truth is persecuted by fanaticism in any place, it is only necessary to make one step, and it finds a secure asylum on passing the nearest frontier. In a word, every small state of this confederate system feels that it has some consequence in itself, and therefore really possesses that consequence. Each town of a moderate size is not paralyzed by the idea that it is nothing; that at a distance of one or two hundred leagues there is another larger city, which is everything, a gulf in which all its labours are to be absorbed: a city in which all the glory of the empire centres in a single point, out of which there is no prosperity, out of which there is only a political, moral, and literary insulation, through the whole extent of an immense territory.

If Athens, if Delphos, if Corinth, Pisa, Lacedemon, Mytilene, Smyrna, had not enjoyed this peculiar individuality, and if one queen-city had attracted to itself all the glory of Greece, would so many great men and great virtues have blazed forth in every part of it? If the arts, if the muses of Italy, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had not perceived its courts and its flourishing republics smiling on them everywhere and at hand: if genius had not been aroused by immediate fame and encouragement at Ferrara, Mantua, Florence, Venice, Guastalla, and Sienna, as well as at Rome and Naples: if, in all Italy, there had been but one centre, one point, one city, would it have become the most classical country of the arts in modern times?

Holland.

Another creation, of more immediate importance to the politics of Europe, and which arose out of the reformation, was the republic of the United Provinces. This new state was a part of the possessions of the house of Austria, and was retained by the Spanish branch, that is to say, by *Philip II.* after the death of *Charles V.* Here the same solid foundation of national spirit, liberty, and rectitude prevailed, as in Lower Saxony: it had the same manners, nearly the same language, and the same origin. Before their independence, the Low Countries made part of the empire, and of the circle of Burgundy. The reformation made rapid strides in it. Its mortal enemy, *Philip II.* endeavoured to stifle it in a country where it was cherished, and opposed force to opinion, without discretion. But opinion is a secret file which wears away the iron that is rubbed against it. The inquisition, that was intended to preserve Holland to Spain and the Catholic faith, only hastened its revolt against both of them. After fifteen years of troubles, resistance, and sufferings, the exasperated Batavians declared themselves free from the yoke of *Philip.**

The idea or forming an independent republic does not seem to have occurred to them at first: they only wished to preserve their franchises and privileges. The confederate provinces offered the patronage of their country to several of the neighbouring princes, upon the condition of their ancient capitulations. The duke of *Alençon*, brother to *Henry III.* quitted this station from incapacity and want of conduct:

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* Some of the wise counsellors of this prince wished him to employ milder and more salutary measures against the Batavians: he might, perhaps, have adopted them but for the opposite and violent advice of Pope Pius V. who also induced him to intrust the expedition to the execrable and ferocious Duke of Alva. It was Clement XI. who, in canonizing Pius V. applauded him for this great zeal in support of the faith. The bull of canonization is dated 22d May, 1712.

Queen *Elizabeth* refused it through a policy which penetrated beyond the apparent advantage of a day. At length, not knowing who to give themselves to, the Batavians resolved upon being their own masters. Each province formed itself into a republic, and entered into the terms of confederation with the others. The body which resulted from this, was a complicated and uncouth form; but the spirit was good, and its good effects prevailed notwithstanding the faulty machine in which it was enclosed. Men of talents, animated by this spirit, carried the republic to that height of greatness and prosperity to which it is known to have attained. Having to struggle against Spain, which at that time, was the first maritime power, and which brought its fleets to the attack, it was necessary that the new state should also be maritime, to make head against its enemy, and to obtain resources by commerce. The Dutch fleets soon ranked among the first in Europe; the genius of patriotism and liberty wrought the same miracles on the sea as on the soil of Belgium. Thus, it is to the reformation that Holland is, mediately, indebted for this source of power and prosperity. Let us return to what passed in its interior.

Religious enthusiasm had been the principle of the revolution. Can it therefore be thought strange, if, in a new and free state, it should continue to manifest itself, to exercise a powerful influence on the body of the state, and to give rise to a multitude of fanatic and formidable sects? It was not here as in the states of Germany, for example, where the prince had become a Protestant, as well as his subjects, and was enabled to maintain very nearly the old government with the new religion. Here, every one thought all was free, and the theologians acted very important parts. It was from this cause that the bigotry of Protestantism was carried to a greater excess in Holland than in any other country, and, that religious controversies always led to political convulsions, and revolutions in its government, the history of this republic offers many such examples. It is known how much the Prince stadtholders, in order to extend their own authority and lower that of the states, made use of the dissensions between the sect of Arminians and that of the Gomarists. The animosity of Maurice of Orange was carried to such a a pitch that he took advantage of his triumph to bring Barneveld, an old patriot, who had rendered the most signal services to his country, and who supported the party of the states, to the block. These troubles form the ground-work of the internal history of the republic, from the time it has had a settled existence. They originated in the religious opinions: though, it is true, they were afterwards kept alive both by the defects of the constitution itself, and by external causes, the developement of which does not belong to our subject.

England.

Among the passions of Henry VIII., king of England, must be reckoned that which he had for St. Thomas Aquinas. His veneration for this vigorous champion of the Roman orthodoxy was carried so far, that Luther having contradicted St. Thomas with acumen, Henry thought himself bound to enter the lists and defend his master. He therefore wrote a treatise, or *assertion of the seven sacraments*, against Luther, who admitted of no more than two. The latter treated his new adversary as his equal, and ridiculed him. The king doctor conceived a violent hatred against him. The Pope, who perhaps laughed as much at the book as Luther did, gave its author all the consolation he was able, and conferred on him the title of *defender of the faith*. Six years had not elapsed when Henry, unfaithful to the Pope, separated with his kingdom from the holy see, preserving however, his title of *defender of the faith*, which his successors still retain. This first step was the foundation of a series of revolutions and evils, which have scarcely ceased, at this time, to distract the three kingdoms: for the late revolts in Ireland were also a consequence of it. The reformation has not produced such extravagant and contradictory effects in any other country. The insulated situation of Great Britain, as well as the saturnine and invincible character of its inhabitants, contributed to them. The neighbouring nations were unable to give effective assistance to either party, and the internal activity could not act externally. When a conflagration takes place in a building so inaccessible, it must burn within it, and the flame only ceases when it cannot find aliment. Other causes have also contributed to these vigorous and long discords in the English church, and it is necessary to point them out.

In the first place, Henry did not intend to become a Protestant; he only wanted to espouse the beautiful Anne Boleyn. But to accomplish this the pope's consent to the divorce of Henry from his first wife, sister to the emperor Charles V. was necessary. The pope, who, in other circumstances, would doubtless have been more complaisant, decided in favour of him, who, of the two princes, appeared the most formidable, and refused his consent to the divorce. Henry, enraged that the pope should dare to thwart his love, declared himself head of the church of England, and prohibited all intercourse with Rome; he was excommunicated, by way of reprisal. But he hated Luther at least as much as the pope; and during his reign, it was as dangerous to pass for a Protestant as for a Catholic. He gave an episcopal constitution to the church, in which, with little more exception than the monks, whose possessions he seized, the ancient edifice of the hierarchy remained almost entire, and, in which he, very closely and very despotically acted the part of the sovereign pontiff. This was doing either too much or too little. The universal crisis did not admit of half measures. The German reform had found many partizans in England, and a considerable number of minds were devoted to it. The greater part of them were discontented to find their attempt frustrated, and made very little difference between the Catholics and the Episcopalians. The signal of rebellion against Rome was given; it was easy to foresee that it would not willingly stop half way. This was the first cause of the troubles. The determined Protestants, as well as the Catholics, became sworn enemies to the Episcopalians, and to the government which supported them.

Second cause. Far from a constant perseverance in this half reformation of Henry VIII., nothing was seen in the succeeding reigns but retractions and sudden and violent transitions from Protestantism to Papism and from Papism to Episcopacy. After Edward VI., whose reign was too short, had made a step towards the reformation, followed the reign of the Catholic and bigoted Mary, daughter of the princess who had been repudiated by Henry, brought up in Spain, under the eye of her mother, in hatred to Protestantism and Episcopacy. She had scarcely ascended the throne when she married her relation, the sanguinary Philip, afterwards king of Spain. All that had been done by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was overturned; the Protestants and Episcopalians were displaced, expelled, persecuted and inhumanly massacred. Four bishops, among whom was the virtuous patriot Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, were burnt alive. Every place was filled with the most intolerant Catholics. The animosity of the different parties was carried to its utmost pitch. A reign of five years, from 1553 to 1558 was sufficient for Mary and her popish theologians to disperse the venom of civil wars, and the most implacable hatreds, over unhappy England. The Protestants, persecuted by her, fled in multitudes to Germany, Switzerland, and more particularly to Geneva, from whence they afterwards carried back the republican ideas of the Anabaptists and Calvanists which, combined with the acrimony of exile, rendered the explosion so fatal to their country.

If Henry VIII. had prudently adopted Luther's reform, and his successors had persisted in it, the island would probably have remained as tranquil as Sweden and Denmark did in the end. Elizabeth succeeded Mary, and re-established the reform, retaining the episcopacy. The new ecclesiastical system was published in London, by a national council, in 1563, and called the *act of uniformity*. It was intended to bring all parties to an union by its means; but the time had passed; the minds of men had become too ulcerated, their heads too eccentric. The separation of Nonconformists, Puritans, and Presbyterians, from the Episcopal Church, became more obvious and more injurious. To complete the confusion, the Irish had remained Catholics. It was here that Philip of Spain, enraged against Elizabeth, who had refused him her hand, and supported his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries, employed his intrigues, scattered gold, and endeavoured to stir up a revolt; he was seconded by Rome, France, and Mary, Queen of Scotland, who afterwards perished by the axe of the executioner, in the hands of her rival.

The long war, replete with animosity, which from that time raged furiously between England and Spain, rendered the first of these powers ambitious of ravishing all its advantages from her adversary, and of rivalling it in all points. The English marine takes date from this period of inimical emulation. Subsequent to the discovery of America, Spain rode triumphant on the seas, which she covered with her vessels. Elizabeth constructed fleets, formed sailors, and endeavoured to make head against Philip on this element. The latter, who believed himself to be king of England, because the pope had conferred its crown upon him, and Elizabeth, being excommunicated and a heretic, could no longer possess it, prepared a fleet, which still retains the nickname of invincible, but which was destroyed by the English and the winds, for the conquest of his kingdom. Thus, with an action of such splendour, began the marine of England; and it is with reason that its foundation, as well as that of the Dutch marine, is attributed to the events produced by the reformation, while the spoils of the clergy assisted both governments in this expensive undertaking.

To the immortal Elizabeth succeeded James I. king of Scotland, an enemy to the Presbyterians, who predominated in that kingdom, and revolted against him, for having attempted to put them on the footing of the Episcopal Church. His reign is a tissue of erroneous measures, which displeased all parties. He married his son to a Catholic princess of the house of France, after having offended the nation by a project of marriage between the same son and a Spanish princess. His faults prepared all the misfortunes of the reign of Charles I. When the latter came to the throne, every disposable part of the possessions of the clergy had been lavished in the preceding reigns, either on favourites or enemies of the throne, whose minds it had been employed in seducing and retaining; or applied to the expenses of the new marine, or the wars with Spain. The unfortunate Charles found himself without resources, and constrained incessantly to demand imposts from a lower house, which, having become almost wholly Presbyterian, insolently refused them, or shackled him with intolerable conditions, to obtain them. Hence his necessity for having recourse to every illegal method of establishing new levies. Favourable to the Catholics, like his father, and consequently, a greater friend to the Episcopalians than to the Presbyterians, he endeavoured to complete the work of James, by establishing Episcopacy in Scotland. By this step, he drove the inhabitants of that kingdom into open rebellion, and he made war upon his subjects of Scotland with an army of English, who were very nearly as little attached to him; leaving behind him, in London, a parliament as greatly to be dreaded by him as the Scotch convention. From this religious and political fermentation, arose a powerful sect of Independents, who made themselves masters of the commons, expelled the lords from the upper house, and began by compelling the unfortunate Charles, already at his last resource, to give up his faithful minister Strafford, to the executioner. The new parliament declared itself exempt from the royal prorogation; deposed and persecuted the Episcopalians, disposed of the places, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, to the most violent, to men without conduct, without shame, and, frequently, of the lowest class of the people; they secretly excited the rebels of Ireland, and, at the same time, refused the king every means of reducing them; and when, at length, exhausting his last resources, Charles assembled an army to give them battle, the Independents had the address to bring his army over to oppose the unfortunate king. Abandoned by it, he threw himself into the hands of the Scotch, who delivered him up to the English. The weak party of the royalists took up arms in vain. Cromwell subdued them, and reigned more despotically than any monarch would have dared to do; and, as the parliament, already mutilated by him, did not conduct itself to his liking, he dissolved, and dismissed them. The crowned head fell upon the scaffold. The implacable and inveterate hatred which had been restrained by the soldiers of the protector, while he lived, broke out during the anarchy which succeeded his reign. The most discordant political opinions were united with the most extravagant and religious opinions. Massacres, executions, and civil war, desolated the face of three kingdoms. From having abused every religious principle, and carried them to excess, they all fell indiscriminately into discredit; atheism, libertinism, and a contempt for every law, divine or human, succeeded them. In this state of things Charles II. ascended the throne; favoured Catholicism again in secret, and Episcopacy openly; married a Catholic princess, who drew a multitude of foreigners of this sect into the kingdom; and made war upon Protestant Holland, the ancient ally of England.

At each of these changes, so sudden and so numerous, and which were the principal source of all the misfortunes of England, those who adhered to the oppressed party, took refuge in vast numbers beyond the seas; the Protestants, as has been said, in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and America; the Catholics, in France and Italy, where their fanaticism acquired new strength, and whither they were followed by the Episcopalians, who, in that situation, generally became Catholics. In fact, it was there that James II. who succeeded Charles II. became so. His impolitic attempts to establish Popery in England only served to carry the animosity and confusion to its height; he lost his crown, and died in exile. His daughter Mary, a true Protestant, and his son-in-law, William of Orange, were called by the nation to fill the throne. Their wisdom began to still this long tempest. It was a long time before the roaring of the waves ceased; but a solemn act of succession having excluded the Catholic princes, the Protestant house of Hanover came to the throne of England; and by a mild and uniform government, has gradually calmed the agitation of the ancient parties.

Now when this terrible crisis is appeased, what remains to the nation from it? The energy arising from long civil commotions; the melancholy produced by the recollection of them; the profound love of liberty, for which so much blood has been shed: the tendency to mediation left by religious exaltation; and the toleration of all opinions, which is the natural successor of the intoxication of fanaticism.

One great error in the English monarchs, was the belief that the episcopal system was a support to the throne; a feeble prop, which so easily carried with it, in its fall, the throne which depended upon it, and of which it could not in any case retard the ruin. In the dark period which preceded Luther, the support of the clergy was of importance to princes; but since his appearance, the church, protected in its external government by the civil power, should limit its activity to the simple encouragement of good morals in the state, through the influence of religion.

The reformation, which has been a benefit to other countries, was the most grievous of scourges to unfortunate Ireland. Treated as a conquered people, and for a long time at the discretion of the English, the Irish remained obstinately Catholic, precisely because their oppressors wanted them to be Protestant. Their chains became consequently heavier: their island was filled with rapacious English, who possessed themselves of almost all the estates. The despair of these irritated men, at length broke out with fury in 1641. The consequence was a massacre through the island, of upwards of one hundred thousand Protestants. Cromwell afterwards took vengeance on them, and gave nearly the whole of Ireland to his soldiers. William III. founded a legal and constitutional tyranny there. The Catholics were deprived of civil life, of property, of instruction itself; it was his pleasure to convert them into hordes of rude, barbarous beggars; and they have revenged themselves like barbarians whenever an opportunity has offered. Such resentments last, and are transmitted to remote generations. During the last war, the Irish gave many strong proofs that several reigns of toleance had not been able effectually to eradicate their strong animosity against the English.

United States of America.

It is sufficient to name this new state, which is wholly European upon the soil of America, to bring to mind that it was created by the partisans of reform and of liberty, flying from the oppression and intolerance of parties. If the English emigrants who had sought shelter on the continent of Europe, during the course of the troubles which have been spoken of, brought back with them the seeds of discord and of hatred, those who took refuge in the solitudes of Pennsylvania, acquired peace and toleration there. They founded Philadelphia, *the city of brothers;* certainly the most pleasing name that ever was borne by the residence of man. Escaped from the tempests to this distant coast, restored to nature and the primitive destination of the human race, these colonists, who had taken their knowledge with them, had leisure to reflect on the origin and rights of societies; on the respective duties of governments and nations. Having besides an entirely new political body to organize, the elements of legislation must necessarily engage their attention first. We have consequently received from thence some admirable precepts, and still more admirable examples. It is known that after having returned under the dominion of the mother country, this association of free and energetic men, of almost all countries, afterwards determined to resume the rights of governing themselves. Louis XVI. seconded them in this enterprise, and sent an army thither. The French who composed it came as friends among these republicans, were admitted into their confidence, and, for the first time, saw this spectacle to them so surprising, of simplicity of manners, of evangelical peace, among men who supported their rights. Reflection arose within them; they compared the principles and the government of their own country, with what they observed among the descendants of Penn, and it is notorious how eminently these Frenchmen, who were thus made soldiers of liberty by a monarch, showed themselves to be so in effect, during the first years of the revolution. Among the great number of proximate and remote causes which contributed to it, the American republic, and the reformation from which it sprang, must not be forgotten.

This state, still weak, at a distance from Europe, has not hitherto had much direct influence, on the political system. But who can calculate that which it may one day acquire on the colonial and commercial system so important to Europe? Who can foretell all that may result in the two worlds, from the seductive example of the independence conquered by the Americans? what new position would the world assume, if this example was followed? and without doubt it will be in the end. Thus two Saxon monks will have changed the face of the globe. The Dominican Tetzel, came impudently to preach indulgences at the gates of Wittemberg; the open and vehement Luther was indignant at it; he raised his voice against the indulgences, and all Europe was affected, put into a ferment, and inflamed. A new order of things was the result; powerful republics were founded. Their principles, still more powerful than their arms, were introduced into all nations. Hence arose great revolutions, and those which may yet arise are, doubtless, incalculable.

II. STATES, THE GOVERNMENTS OF WHICH DID NOT EMBRACE THE REFORM.

Spain.

THIS country, governed by one of the branches of the house of Austria, had a principal share in the party opposed to the reformation. The mortal wars which its kings carried on, first against Holland, then against England, and afterwards against both at the same time, was pernicious to it. Besides exhausting it of men and money, these two rival powers, being obliged to provide themselves with arms, similar to those made use of by Spain, raised a marine, which soon crushed hers. From that time a considerable portion of the sources of its prosperity were dried up. A rivalry once established in this manner between Spain and England, necessarily obliged Portugal, in the end, to throw itself into the arms of the latter power; the right of patronage thus acquired by England still exists, and procures it great commercial advantages.

The terrible struggle, which Spain supported externally, could not however, be continued without exactions and rigorous proceedings at home. The people, wearied and indignant, prepared to repel oppression. However ignorant the Spaniards might have been, the double example of the Bohemians, who had conquered their religious liberty, and of the Dutch, who had conquered their political liberty, from the despotic house of Austria, was so well known to them, and so seducing, as to induce them to follow it. Hence arose the revolts of Andalusia, of Catalonia, of Portugal, and of the Italian states. Portugal was strong enough under its new kings to maintain its independence. But what was the consequence to the other revolted provinces, to Catalonia in particular, which cost a war of nineteen years to reduce it? They lost all their rights and privileges by it, and were treated as conquered countries. The authority of the kings of Spain was in reality increased and strengthened at the termination of this crisis; the numerous armies which returned into the interior, at the peace, served to complete the subjugation of the nation. It must, however, be observed, that these internal revolts, and the war of Catalonia, compelled Spain to agree to very hard conditions as the price of peace. She became sooner disposed to acknowledge the republic of tho United Provinces, and was obliged to yield Rousillon, Perpignan, Conflans, and a considerable part of the Low Countries to France, and the important island of Jamaica to England.

In other respects, the religious reformation had little or no effect in Spain. Its geographical position, and, still more, its language being different from the other nations of Europe, were obstacles to it. At that period the inquisition, introduced into the kingdom by Ferdinand, was more strictly on its guard than ever; and there is no doubt but many of the cruelties then exercised by it, resulted from the terror inspired by the noise of the storm which grumbled at a distance. Nevertheless the general influence of the reformation and the progress of knowledge on the spirit of humanity, has already terminated in the extinction of the inquisition itself. Now, when perhaps there are more heretics and unbelievers in Spain than at any former period, there are also fewer religious executions. Great reforms seem to be in preparation there; and the kings of French origin who are placed on the throne, act differently towards the church than Philip II. did.

France.

While the reform spoke German, it made but few proselytes in France: when the French-Swiss of the canton of Berne, when *Calvin*, lent it their organs to enable it to explain itself in French, it penetrated into every part of the kingdom, and made itself known, particularly under the new form it had taken at Geneva. The nation was too enlightened, too vivacious for the new ideas to be retarded in their progress. From the steps of the throne to the most remote cottages, the doctrines of the reformers found numerous partisans, and the Roman communion would doubtless have been overturned in France, if the monarch had consented to it. All the weak minds, who compose the multitude, and the great majority of the people, would have been drawn into it. The Catholics who chose to continue so, would have retained the free exercise of their worship; the country would not have been torn by a long civil war; an edict of Nantes would not have been revoked; the immense force which, at that time, might have been freely displayed by France, would, without difficulty, and at its pleasure, have stopped the commotions of Germany and England; France would have remained tranquil within; and, without, would have been tho arbiter of Europe.

Francis I. remained a Catholic; something has been said of the reasons which determined him to act thus.[*] From that time he pretended to show his consequence, and to eradicate the roots of the heresy. He therefore, without pity, burned and massacred those of his subjects who openly embraced the reform. Externally, he supported it, and formed alliance with the princes of Germany. This double and inconsistent conduct of the French government deprived it of the best part of its strength, and obstructed its operations. Within, it was requisite to guard against the reformed; these refused their assistance, or served with regret, and preferred deserting, emigrating, and combating with their brethren of Germany, Switzerland, or Holland, to remaining exposed to punishment, while fighting on the side of their persecutors. Hence, it became impossible for France to acquire all the preponderance which would have been her portion in another state of things.

It has become a trite axiom, that the blood of martyrs extends a rising sect. Henry II. showed himself still more intolerant than his father, and the reformed entered into a closer connection with each other for their mutual support, and to prevent their total ruin. Thus they began to raise a formidable opposition in the kingdom, which raged during the sanguinary course of the three succeeding reigns. Tho throne ceased to be the tribunal of justice and of peace to tho people; the king to be a father to his subjects. France mangled its own bosom, and the aggression which was the child of authority, compelled the unfortunate objects of its oppression to become rebels. The horrible scenes of Saint Bartholomew will for ever be an afflicting and irrevocable proof of the perfidy and implacable hatred which actuated tho court in its conduct towards the Protestants. Thus the latter acquired the form of a political party; princes, nobles were at their head; they had armies, allies, posts in the kingdom. The history of the intestine wars, which, on this occasion, desolated France from 1562 to 1598, when the edict of Nantes put an end to them, is too well known for it to be necessary to give even a sketch of them here.

But animosities and commotions, of such violence, do not take place without leaving deep traces in the constitution of the government, as well as in the character of the nation; hence they determine, for a length of time, the mode of existence of the latter, and its political situation. Let us endeavour to show the principal result of the religious troubles in France, at the end of the sixteenth century, both with respect to the government, and to the political character of the nation.

The most fortunate event that can happen to a monarch whose authority in his states is limited by the power of his nobles, or of any civil corporation whatever, is that which produces a marked opposition, an open rebellion, which he may combat and reduce by force of arms. At this moment of general dread and submission, everything is allowed to him;

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[*] At the end of that article of this section, intituled, First Point of View. Internal situation of States.

no one dares to urge rights or privileges, and the prince has an open field to render his power more absolute in future. History furnishes frequent examples of similar issues to revolts and commotions in states. Without doubt this is not always the case, and the prince, if, on the contrary, he is obliged to compound, loses a part of his authority, or is wholly deprived of it. We have seen the house of Austria in these two different situations, at the same time, in the thirty years' war; having the worst with the German princes whom it hoped to reduce to vassallage, and the upper hand in its states, particularly those of Hungary and Bohemia, where it established an unlimited and hereditary monarchy. But that which succeeded so badly with the Emperors in respect of the German Protestant princes had the most happy issue with the kings of France against the reformed party. The result of it was a great consolidation and extension of the regal power. At the moment when it became unlimited, and when the strength of government was the most energetic, if France had had a Louis XI. or a Philip II. of Spain, on the throne, with what despotism might not our annals have been stained? But at that period Providence placed a Henry IV. on it, who, having so many outrages to avenge, so many crimes to punish, thought only of burying all animosity in oblivion, of healing all wounds. Then, which is very rare in the government of nations, absolute power was employed only in promoting the prosperity of the state, and the felicity of every individual. The Catholic religion remained dominant: but the edict of Nantes effaced intolerance, and soothed the irritation of the conquered party, to whom liberty of conscience, and a political existence were secured.

These wise dispositions were satisfactory to good sense and equity; they were not enough for fanaticism; it made several attempts on the life of the saviour of France, and, at length, succeeded in assassinating him. From this day of mourning (May 14th 1610) the Protestant party, alarmed, with justice at the intrigues of the new court, and at the offensive steps taken against it, revolted again, took up arms, and prepared for the defence of its rights. The impartiality of history cannot blame this conduct; but neither can it blame that of Richelieu, in not suffering an armed faction, which formed a state within a state, which called in foreigners, frequently thwarted the best projects of the administration, and incessantly threatened the existence of the government. In the existing situation of things, he was obliged to oppose them; his success is known, as well as the new increase which the royal authority obtained from his victories. The legal despotism of the three subsequent reigns, which terminated in the terrible catastrophe of the last revolution, may be attributed to the definitive reduction of the religious opposition under Louis XIII.

But though the government succeeded in rendering its authority absolute, the nation, nevertheless, retained a ferment, a principle of irritation, resistance, and contradiction, which was manifested here and there against the arrangements which emanated from the throne. From the edict of Nantes to the period which preceded its revocation, when the open violation of it began to be manifested, the parliaments had been partly composed of Huguenots. During this period, it was natural that these bodies should show themselves refractory, and be animated with a certain spirit of republicanism and opposition to the court. When the Huguenots were expelled, this spirit did not go with them; the parliaments were proud of their influence, and of the essay which they had sometimes made of their strength. This was not the only cause of the ulterior conduct of the parliaments; but it contributed greatly to it. It was therefore in them that the spirit of independence remaining in the nation took refuge, and there it was found in 1788, when the exhausted finances, an effeminate court, the principles of republican liberty propagated by some writers from the books of the English and other Protestants, or brought from Pennsylvania by the French army; in short, when a thousand circumstances gave it the impulse it then took, and which was so rapidly communinated to the whole nation. It is known what influence was produced on the general revolt by the old resentments of the Huguenot party, which were far from being extinguished, and which had often been too wantonly envenomed before the reign of Louis XVI.

In fact, Richelieu only wished to subdue the dissidents, not to annihilate them. The peace of Rochelle, in 1629, had left them some privileges, with the free exercise of their religion. From a contempt of the royal word, all these promises were soon violated. Secret and open persecutions increased from day to day, until the formal revocation of the edict of Nantes gave them free vent; a deplorable epocha, which reduced a multitude of families to beggary, gave rise to the emigration of the best and the most industrious citizens, whose descendants are still to be met with in every Protestant state in Europe, where they have carried prosperity to the prejudice of their own unjust country. Such of these unfortunate people as remained in France, lost all civil existence, were pursued without remission, without pity, and like wild beasts; their blood frequently streamed under the steel of the executioner, or of the soldiery. Such treatment made a deep impression on men's hearts, and indignation was propagated from father to son.* This last explosion of popish intolerance at length ceased. The unfortunate Louis XVI. who had not been rendered inhuman by a great share of Catholicism, laboured to heal all these wounds,† when the storm arose, of which he was the most illustrious victim. Since religion has become tolerant and the friend of liberty, in France, the dissidents of this country have rebuilt their peaceful temples, and enjoy the right of professing the gospel in their own way. By this wise measure, if it is well adhered to, the new government will for ever eradicate the tares of religion, the most fatal sources of discord, from the nation.

Italy.

We have already noticed the reasons which rendered a religious reform impracticable in Italy. We may also add the vicinity of the holy see; the interest of all the small Italian states to be on good terms with it; and, more especially, the dread of the imperial arms, which would, instantly, and without a possibility of resistance, have sacked the first state which should have dared to show itself favourable to Luther. Besides, the elegant Italian considered these people of the north with whom the reformation was effected, as little better than barbarians. The most enlightened of them applauded it in secret; more than one prince rejoiced to see the Pope humbled; but none of them durst risk appearing openly. Those who took a liking to the reform, went into Switzerland, or into other countries, where they might adopt it at ease, like the two Socini, natives of Sienna. Italy, which had already lost so great a part of its commercial importance, by the discovery of America, and of the Cape of Good Hope, wholly lost that by the reformation which the capital of the church gave it. The first of these events had deprived it of its commerce in spices, and the other productions of the east; the second took from it, in part, that of indulgences and of benefices, and dried up several of the sources of its riches. The arts of painting and of music, attached to this enchanting soil, continued to flourish there; but in true civilization, and the superior cultivation of the understanding, its people remained generally behind the other European nations. The events which have since agitated Italy, and even those which have changed its aspect, depend very little, if at all, upon the influence of the reformation.

Poland.

The vicinity of Bohemia and Germany, and the Latin generally spoken in Poland, gave the reformation an easy access into that country. There it made rapid and daring strides during the last half of the sixteenth century. The lax police of the small towns, and of the flat country, where every magnate, every individual lord, claimed a sort of sovereignty, made this country the refuge of the most audacious sectaries, who were not suffered even in the Protestant states. They came hither in crowds from Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Sweden, Germany, and even from Switzerland. The two Socini, uncle and nephew, but particularly the latter, made a great number of proselytes here, and founded the sect which bears their name; a sect which has spread very much in Poland, the principal tenet of which is to honour J. C. as a sage sent by God, but not as one of the persons of the Divinity itself. All these different sects, which, in Poland, experienced neither assent nor opposition from the central government, could not, at first, on account of this toleration, acquire the life, the importance, and the developement which they acquired elsewhere: they remained individual opinions among the nobles, and did not produce any beneficial fermentation among a people composed of ignorant serfs. In principle, everything was limited to the disputes of theologians with each other, and to the name of *dissidents*, given generally to all who were not Catholics. But when Charles XII. undertook the conquest of Poland, and made a few partisans there, although perhaps the smallest number of these were dissidents, still, the king of Sweden being a Lutheran, the suspicions of the Catholics turned to that sect, their hatred was kindled, and the dissidents from thence forward became a political party, obliged to take arms in its own defence, and for the support of its rights. Dissident and partisan of Sweden became synonymous. This event soon produced discord in a country the constitution of which exposed it too much to the animosity of factions, and in which it was not forgotten that Gustavus Adolphus had been the hero of the reform. When Charles XII., the promoter of these new divisions, was conquered and weakened, the Catholics became persecutors, and the dissidents were oppressed. The diet of 1717 also began to deprive them of their civil rights. Hence the acrimony of the two parties could not be assuaged, even when the idea of a Swedish faction had ceased. To crush the dissidents, became a maxim of the government and of the Catholic party. The Jesuits were principally employed for this purpose, and acquitted themselves with a method and a connected system which does honour to their sagacity. Thus at a period when the religious troubles of all Europe had ceased they began in wretched Poland. Its neighbours had long been accustomed to interfere in its domestic concerns. The advantages which her policy might derive from these divisions among the Poles did not escape the penetrating eye of the great Catharine, when she came to the throne of Russia. In 1761 and 1766, she declared herself protectress of the dissidents. In 1768, a Russian minister and Russian soldiers gave laws to the diet, and arrested several of its principal members. The Catholics, in despair, formed a confederation at Bar. They applied to the Turks and French for assistance. Only the first appeared to wage an unfortunate war against Russia. The French contented themselves with sending some officers to the confederates, who prosecuted the civil war they had commenced with fury. At length Russia, which had brought Prussia and Austria into its views, proceeded to a first partition of Poland, which was followed by a second, and shortly, as is known, by a third, which definitively erased this country from the list of European states. The sanguinary expedition which led to this last catastrophe recalls to mind the time when the right of war consisted in the annihilation and general massacre of the conquered; it is a worthy termination to the history of a society wherein civil wars, intestine convulsions, and the delirium of political and religious factions, were the ordinary scenes which each generation saw renewed.

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* Should it not be permitted here to consider the punishment of Calas as one of those events, which, from the notoriety given to it by Voltaire, and from the animated writings he published on the occasion, contributed the most to sour all minds against the fanatacism of Catholic priests, and against the authority which supported them?

† It will be recollected that the king did not pay any attention to the intolerant Memoire de l'Assemblee generale du clerge, in 1780, against the reformed.

Russia.

The lion's share which Russia obtained from Poland is the most important political event by which the influence of the reformation and of the religious troubles in Europe was felt in this country. We must, however, take into the account some of the ideas of administration, and government which Peter I. acquired in Holland and England; more particularly, it must not be forgotten that his genius was roused and his mind enlightened by a child of the reform, the Genevese Le Fort, who may, in fact, be considered as the real legislator of Russia. Besides, at the time of the reformation, this empire being within the pale of the Greek church, took no part in the dissentions of the western church. But Peter I. having seen what was passing among the Protestant princes, at his return, effected a reform in the Russian church, of which he declared himself the supreme head, withdrawing his obedience from the patriarch of Constantinople, as the kings of England had separated from Rome. Perhaps it may also be necessary to consider the influence which the protestant and liberal education of the young princess of Zerbst, at the court of Brunswick, may have had on the ever memorable reign of this princess, under the name of Catharine II. The toleration of the czars drew colonies of sectaries into many parts of the vast empire of Russia, as well from our southern countries, as from Poland, Germany, and Holland. The Anabaptists, and the Moravian brethren, have several establishments there. There are also propagated the sects of Ascetic Christians, who lead a sort of conventual life, under the name of Theodosians, Phillipons, and Raskolnicks, and who have all the enthusiasm and fervour of the ancient Cenobites. Some Dutchmen had also established several flourishing colonies on the banks of the Wolga, in the early part of the reign of Catharine II. The brigand Pugatschef soon afterwards exterminated them.

SECOND POINT OF VIEW.

External and Respective Situation of the States of Europe with each other.—System of Equilibrium.

Before the fifth century of our era, the greatest part of Europe was Roman, and consequently subjected to a certain uniformity of action. What was not Roman endeavoured to maintain its independence against the common enemy of all nations, and to this was confined all the political system of that age. When the various nations of the north and north-east invaded the south and south-west, a chaos which lasted several centuries confounded the whole of Europe. The wandering hordes of new conquerors founded empires of a day, which were quickly destroyed by new hordes who drove the first farther on. By degrees, however, these irregular oscillations slackened; dominations were settled; and groups of small states were established on the soil of the ancient divisions of Europe. In Germany, Gaul, Italy, Iberia and England, these species of confederations were formed, the limits and constitution of which varied often, and, in which the right of the strongest was almost the only public right. This new state was but one step towards another, better regulated. The leaders of these anarchial aggregates, in which every possessor of a fief set up for a sovereign, at length strengthened their paramount authority, reduced a number of small princes to the condition of subjects, and thus founded durable powers, monarchies, and empires. But during the infancy of this new order, the confusion and anarchy were still great. The Gothic kings of Spain, contended with the Moorish kings, who had come from Africa; the kings of France fought against the kings of England, who had invaded a part of their provinces, against the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, and others; Italy was the prey of eternal invasions; of conquests followed by defeats: of a flux and reflux of armies which succeeded each other. Hungary was contended for by the Mussulmen and the Imperialists; Germany saw civil wars incessantly arising, without object and without end, between its different princes. There were, therefore, as many political systems in Europe, as groups of states within the limits of each country; and in each of these systems ignorance and disorder generally reigned. The interest of the moment, or the local interest, determined everything; each one thought only of his own danger, or his own design; their ill-arranged alliances were of short duration; the attention of their statesmen seldom passed the boundaries of one country; Hungary was nothing to England, Sweden was nothing to Spain; the political bodies had not acquired that universal contact which now makes a confederation of states in Europe, already embracing almost all the old and the new world. It is true, momentary alliances were formerly entered into; but they were mostly without consistence, without any fixed and durable plan. To be convinced of this, we need only attend to the history of the greater part of these alliances; that for example, of the absurd and ridiculous league of Cambray, of which our guileless Louis XII. was the dupe. It must however be acknowledged that the multiplicity of negotiations, of transient leagues of this period, exposed the necessity, which began to be generally felt, of a union, a reciprocal support, a stability of principles. The partial systems had nearly found their centres of gravity; that of the total system was to be sought.

It has been already said that the crusades had, for the first time, accustomed the western nations to a general union, a sort of European fraternity. Catholicism produced this good effect for a continuance. The pontifical monarchy taught princes and nations to consider themselves as compatriots, being all equally subjects of Rome. This centre of unity was, for some centuries, a real benefit to the human race. But it derived its power from opinion, and from the acquiescence of princes. But from the time when abuses of too great magnitude had disgusted opinion; when princes had humbled popes; when a long schism had offered to undirected Christianity the spectacle of several popes at once, who claimed the same power, and, of councils, which in their turn, aspired to be superior to all these pontiffs, this centre of unity lost its attractive force, and the general system, which was insensibly detaching itself from it, was menanced with falling again into a chaos. Masses, however, had been formed, sufficiently powerful to become centres of action in a new order. Austria, which then predominated, France, England, and Spain had acquired great internal consistence; these powerful bodies were in presence of each other, and it required only one decisive occurrence to bring them into contact, to render them rivals or friends; in a word, to connect them closely. This event was the reformation, and the wars to which it gave rise.*

The new interests to both princes and nation, produced in men's minds by this religious reformation, became a general concern of Christianity in the aggregate, and no longer depended on the localities of any country in particular, but exceeding them all in importance. States which had scarcely existed to each other, then began to feel a sympathy which led to a union. France formed an alliance with Sweden; England with Holland; Bavaria with Spain. Their views, being enlarged, enlarged also their foresight, and gave birth to precautions. Their interest having become common, required common measures. The designs of the house of Austria were discovered and openly resisted. To find a counterpoise which could balance this ambitious power, and prevent it from rising at pleasure, became an affair of the utmost importance to the newly coalesced Europe. Hence the fruitful idea of an equilibrium between the European powers; an idea which was the soul of the negotiations in Westphalia, and has become a principal consideration in all the public affairs of Europe, since the treaty which was the result of it.

Austria and the Catholic states were then placed in one scale, and, in the other, all the powers which had fought for the reform, including also France. The principle of the European equilibrium was therefore, in reality, only the opposition of the Catholic party and the reformed party. New circumstances soon supervened, which gave it a totally different aspect; but, in general, it may be considered as the division of the political bodies of Europe into two groups, nearly equal in strength, and in each of which sometimes one and sometimes another of the powers bears the principal sway.

Before the states of Europe entered into an aggregate system of connection, Italy and Germany had, for a long time, formed individual systems, or confederations, in which the common policy of each of the states endeavoured to maintain a certain equilibrium, and to restrain one party by another. It is possible that this partial equilibrium may have been the type from which the idea of a general equilibrium was formed: but how much more extensive and accurate were the views which flowed from this! Politics, which, in Italy especially, had hitherto been a tissue of low craft, petty perfidies, intrigues, cruelties, and meannesses, became more expanded and more liberal; its principles were more evident, and better known: the greater part of the powerful governments who took part in negotiations by their ministers, mutually enlightened each other. Among these governments, some were animated by frankness and good faith: the mean Italian spirit was gradually banished from cabinets. There is no doubt but a little knavery still enters into politics, and that deceit is practised here and there; but reciprocal deceit is neither so easy, nor even so necessary as formerly. Since the long and universal war in which every power was involved by the reformation, it has been found that true politics consisted in real strength; and that this had its origin in the prosperity of the state, in commerce, a good public spirit, and the attachment of the citizens to the government. The strength and resources of each state were known to all the others. Statistics renders this knowledge more and more exact, and mutual imposition is now scarcely practicable. Every one feels that it is necessary to protect his ally against inimical enterprises; that the weak must be protected against the powerful, who would become too much so by aggrandizement. An exclusive egotism has therefore ceased to be the dominant spirit of European politics: the state which aims at raising itself is watched and repressed; that which is on the point of falling is supported: the disproportionate elevation of any power only tightens the bonds which unite the others. Even the smallest states have acquired a real importance in this system. Precaution and good will, externally; within, the developement of the total strength by a good administration: such is, in general, the new tendency which politics have taken since the great conflict produced by the reformation.

First period of the equilibrium of Europe, from 1520 *to* 1556.

Charles V. and Francis I. were the two principal actors in the events of this period. The colossal increase of the Austrian power was the first cause which showed other states the necessity of a closer alliance among them. From thenceforward the situation of France was fixed, and, from the nature of things, its monarch became the most formidable rival to Charles. But it was not easy to bring about an alliance of interested states, and to make this confederation act with the requisite effect and energy. The reformation came and supplied the means; and, by its assistance, the European opposition was organized with facility. Henry VIII., who might have held an honourable rank in it, drew back; he dreaded appearing subordinate to Francis I., and at length was too much engaged with his mistresses and theology. In revenge, France introduced the Ottoman power into the new system. France, Turkey, and the Protestant princes of the north, were the first united mass destined to be a counterpoise to German Austria, Spain, and Burgundy. These two masses, formed themselves, one around the Protestant party, and the other around the Catholic party, in Germany. It was generally felt that the equilibrium in the empire would decide that of the rest of Europe; and, that if Charles V. triumphed over the Protestant princes, his power would become irresistible. Henry II., who succeeded Francis I., formed a close alliance with Maurice of Saxony. At length, in 1556, the formidable Charles V. disappeared from the theatre of events, and shut himself up in a cloister; his German states were separated from the Spanish monarchy and Burgundy, which were the lot of his son Philip. A change became perceptible in the European system.

Second period, from 1556 *to* 1603.

Philip II. of Spain, and Elizabeth of England, became the two ostensible personages; the one at the head of the Catholic, the other at the head of the Protestant party. The peaceful Rodolph II. suffered Austria and the rest of Germany to take breath. The scene of events was transported to a new theatre. Great Britain was Protestant, and the Low Countries revolted against Philip. Spain, on the one hand, fighting for Popery; England and the United Provinces, on the other, fighting for the reform, fill the history of this period. The new republic, scarcely born, attains to the rank of the first powers. The overstrained spring of oppression had provoked the reaction of the spring of liberty in it; the efforts made to subdue it had no other effect than accelerating the developement of all its strength. If France had not then languished under weak princes, who seemed to be devoid of energy, except in feeding factions, yielding to fanaticism, and persecuting their Protestant subjects; if it had not been reduced to support the miserable, contradictory, and difficult character of a protector of the reform, without, and its enemy within, no doubt it might easily have supported the Batavian league with a powerful hand, and attached it to itself for ever, to the prejudice of England. The latter has since made good use of this attachment of Holland, which France neglected. It would be superfluous to detail here all we have lost by it during two centuries, and all which our rivals have gained; every body knows it too well.

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* A writer of great talents says, "The interests which had hitherto been national, ceased to be so, in proportion as a religious interest united men of different countries, and subjects of different governments, who had formerly been strangers to each other. The difference in language, manners, and character had raised a wall of separation between the nations of Europe which nothing had been able to shake. It was destroyed by the reformation of the church. A sentiment of greater power over the heart of man than even the love of his country, had rendered him capable of seeing and feeling beyond the limits of his country. The French Calvinist felt a greater relation with the English, German, Dutch, or Genevese Calvinist, than with his Catholic countrymen. The triumph of the Batavian armies was more grateful to him than the triumph of the armies of his sovereign, who fought for the papacy. Thus the men who were formerly troops employed by princes in their personal affairs, become gradually the judges of their own destinies, and were actuated by views arising from their dearest affections. The assistance which would not have been granted without repugnance to a simple neighbour, was lavished with zeal on an associate in the same creed. The Palatine quitted his own country to defend, against the enemy of his religion, the Frenchman who had adopted it. The Frenchman quitted a country where his conscience was not at liberty, and he was subjected to a thousand vexations, to shed his blood for the salvation of Holland. On the banks of the Loire and the Seine, Swiss and Germans were seen fighting against Swiss and Germans, for the order of succession to the throne of France. The Dane quitted his marshes, the Swede his icy regions, to come and break the chains prepared for Germany. By these new bonds all were taught to extend their good-will beyond the narrow limits of their country, and to mix with the great human family; and, ceasing to be attached to the glebe of a certain district of the earth, they become Europeans, citizens of the world." Schiller's history of the thirty years war, vol. i.

In the preceding period, land armies decided the fate of the war: in this, the geographical position of the two countries required fleets: and the pheonomenon or maritime powers contending on the seas, was seen for the first time in modern Europe. Since this time, the superiority of naval armies has become of still more decisive consequence than that of land armies. The merchants of Holland have possessed themselves of a considerable part of the navigation of the two worlds, and show what a commercial state may become by the sole aid of its vessels. The religious spirit had given rise to the new republic; but it also gave rise to the spirit of commerce, which, by degrees, made the first lose its influence, and, at length, wholly disappear; and took its place in politics. Thus everything is connected in the destiny of states, and yields to a mutual developement.

In the struggle which employed all this period, the opposition of the two religious parties was more marked than before, since one was wholly Catholic, and the other Protestant without mixture. Now, as the Catholic party fought for the royal authority against rebellious subjects, and the Protestants fought in support of these same rebels, and for the foundation of a republic, it has been since received as an avowed and fundamental maxim of state, that Catholicism was the best support of absolute power, while Protestantism favoured rebellion and a republican spirit. Even at the present day, this maxim is not relinquished by many statesmen. It may have its true side; but we have already shown in what manner.

The powerful Elizabeth died after Philip; the United Provinces subsisted by themselves; a new period was preparing in the European equilibrium.

Third Period, from 1603 *to* 1648.

The preceding period had only been an interlude to the long commotions in Germany; an interlude which supplied the stage with the liberty of Holland, and the civil wars of France. After six years of war, and three of trouble and uncertainty, the league of Smalcald had obtained from Charles V., tired and enfeebled, the peace of Augsburgh, which was dated in 1553, but was not entirely consolidated by the emperor until 1555, a few months before he abdicated the throne. In 1618, the war between the emperor and the Protestant princes broke out again with more violence than ever, and lasted for thirty successive years, until the treaty of Westphalia put an end to it in 1648.

Spain had again become inert. England was agitated by terrible convulsions, which have been already noticed in the article appropriated to that power. *Henry IV.* had ascended the throne of France; but the early years of the reign of this great prince were consumed in the re-establishment of what had been overturned in the interior of the kingdom, by so many shocks. If Providence had thought it right to leave him longer to his people, whose idol he was, from what evils might his genius have relieved Europe! The war of thirty years would either have been prevented by him, or it would have been sooner terminated. He had already restored France to her rank, and her importance. Thus he had again brought it into its natural place, that is to say, with respect to Austria, which he had resolved to curb. He was become the protector of the Protestant party in Germany, and had resolved to maintain the peace and equilibrium of the European republic. Who can ascertain how much the will of such a hero, seconded by such a minister as Sully, might have influenced the world? The project for peace is known; this in the head of the Abbe St. Pierre could only be a dream; but in that of a powerful monarch there were, at least, some means of realizing it. Henry was snatched from the world in the midst of his brilliant career. France, after his time, fell again into a paroxysm of weakness and anarchy, under a minor king. She formed an alliance with Spain which had done her so much injury, and became the sport of all the petty intrigues of the Italian court of Mary de Medicis. It was not until 1624 that the skilful hand of Richelieu was effectually applied for its welfare. Thus it was disabled from having any weight at the commencement of this period.

In 1630, Sweden appeared on the theatre of war in Germany; and France was not long in joining her. The armies of the two countries rivalled each other in courage, as did their leaders, in talents. It must not, however, be concealed, that the part of the Swedes, who fought boldly in the cause of their religion, was better supported, and more uniformly heroic; and the intrinsic weakness of Sweden rendered these efforts more worthy of admiration. Austria, Spain, the Pope, Bavaria, and some of the small Catholic states, on the one side; France, Sweden, and the Protestant states of Germany, on the other, formed the two principal groups of the European equilibrium, towards the close of this period. They remained the same at the celebrated negotiations for peace. Austria there saw its fate determined. France and Sweden became the guarantees of a treaty which regulated the future order of the empire. Both of them acquired portions of that Germany which they had come to defend: the first, the three Bishoprics, and Alsace; the second, the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, a part of Pomerania, and some ports and islands on the Baltic.

Sweden soon declined; France rose; and new variations supervened in the equilibrium of Europe. But it is not necessary to follow them. From this time the influence of the reformation, at least the immediate influence, cease to be manifested in it. Religious interest is no longer the dominant principle of activity in cabinets. The ambition of Louis XIV., the Spanish succession, the colonies, the establishment of Prussia, the intervention of Great Britain in the affairs of the continent, and other events also occurred to fill the scene. Nevertheless, the support of the equilibrium continues to be the fundamental law of the politics of Europe; and, now, when new events have, for a short time, disordered this balance, we see the heads of nations eagerly seeking to re-establish it, not, it is true, with the same materials, but still on the same basis as before. Individuals change in the political order, as in the other parts of nature, but the laws of the great whole remain constantly the same.

Summary Recapitulation of the results of the Reformation with respect to Politics.

Europe, plunged for several centuries in a stupor and apathy, interrupted only by wars, or rather by incursions and robberies, without any beneficial object to humanity, received at once a new life and new activity. An universal and deep interest agitated the nations; their powers were developed, their minds expanded by new political ideas. Former revolutions had only exercised men's arms; this employed their heads. The people who, before, had been only estimated as flocks passively subject to the caprice of their leaders, now began to act for themselves, and to feel their importance and utility. Those who embraced the reform, made common cause with their princes for liberty, and hence arose a closer bond, a community of interest and of action, between the sovereign and his subjects. Both were for ever delivered from the excessive and burthensome power of the clergy, as well as from the struggle, so distressing to all Europe, and which had endured so long between the popes and the emperors, to know which of them should retain the supreme power. Social order was regulated and brought near to perfection. The Austrian power was confined within proper limits; that of France was raised and made head against it; the necessity of durable alliances began to be felt; the political bodies of Europe formed a connected system of equilibrium, a regularly organized aggregate, of which even the idea was not formerly entertained. States, such as Sweden and Turkey, which had scarcely had an existence for the others, gained a rank and an importance in this system. Some, such as Holland, originated from this great shock, and acquired much preponderance from their origin. The foundations of the Prussian monarchy and the American republic were laid. A general spirit arose in politics, and embraced all Europe. The art of negotiation was improved and became more liberal and more certain; the progress of affairs, clearer and more simple. In this state of intercourse and contact, commotions and wars became more general, but they were also sooner terminated, and their rigour was lightened by a more humane law of nations.

If France had been Protestant, she would have fought more zealously for the cause of Protestantism, and the struggle might, perhaps, have been shorter. But an equivalent advantage to humanity might nevertheless result from her being Catholic: that is, men became gradually habituated to toleration and to the fraternity of sects, more especially when they saw a very powerful minister habited in the Roman purple, Cardinal Richelieu, make common cause; and enter into strict alliance with Protestant Sweden, and all the league of heretic princes of Saxony.

In one part of Europe the church ceased to form an extraneous state within the state; from which it was easy to foretell that this change would one day be effected through the whole of it, and that its head would be reduced to the simple spiritual primacy. At length the Catholic clergy reformed their conduct on the example of the Protestants, and gained in manners, knowledge, and esteem, as much as they lost in power and riches.

Almost all the European governments, however, increased in their power, and internal strength; the Protestant ones, because they were united with the mass of the people, and had appropriated to themselves the wealth, prerogatives, and jurisdiction of the church; the Catholics, because they had placed themselves on a formidable war establishment, had overthrown the Protestants in their own states, and thus subjugated one part of their people by another, the citizens by the soldiers.

After the discovery of America and the Cape of Good Hope, the commerce of the two worlds was concentrated in the hands of Spain and Portugal. But these two countries, like almost all others, before the sixteenth century, had only a throne and no people; all the national activity resided in the government. The ignorance of princes was employed in conducting a commerce as greedy as it was ill understood, the profits of which were absorbed by the luxury or unskilfulness of the court. How much longer might a true commercial spirit, navigation, the exploring of seas, have languished, had not two states, actuated by the reformation (states in which the whole nation exerted all its powers, lavished its resources, and seconded the action of the government,) found themselves led, and, as it were, forced to seize the trident? Without the religious commotion produced by Luther, the order of events would have been different; Holland, a poor portion of the Austrian states, would have remained without a marine and without commerce; England would not have had that volcanic force, or that direction which turned its against Spain. On the contrary, the maritime and commercial systems of Europe have, by means of these two powers, attained to a developement and a range, proportionate to the internal force which animates them. Their fleets, their skilful mariners have traversed all seas, and encircled the globe in their course; this example has been followed by France, the constant emulator of everything great and useful. Thus the fermentation excited in Europe by religious opinions, has created in it a new order of things more beneficial to humanity, and has even affected the two worlds.

SECOND HEAD.

ON THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE.

"It is about two hundred years since a man of genius, having discovered and collected incontestable proofs of the motion of the earth, was condemned, as an heretic, to perpetual imprisonment, by the tribunal of the inquisition. Now, a complete treatise on the celestial mechanism is freely published. Its illustrious author sees the sciences honoured in his person, by the most dignified men of the state. What a progress in so short a time, and what a career has been gone over since Galileo!"

This was the language of Citizen Biot, lately, in announcing the third volume of the immortal work of the senator Laplace. This ingenious observation of a distinguished votary of the sciences, who, in writing it perhaps had no thought of Luther's reformation, contains, nevertheless, in an implicit manner, this certain result; that is to say, that the ancient system of Roman Catholicism was diametrically opposite to the progress of knowledge; and that an event which has contributed to free the human mind from such an adversary, ought to be considered as one of the most fortunate epochs in the intellectual culture of modern nations. The opposite system of liberality, of examination, of free criticism, established by the reformation, has become the Ægis under which the Galileos, of subsequent ages, the Keplers, the Newtons, the Leibnitzes, the Hevels, and finally the Laplaces, have been enabled securely to develope their exalted conceptions.

But in this really immense career, passed through by the human mind, during three centuries, how can we distinguish the progress which the reformation alone has enabled it to make? So many causes have contributed to the intellectual culture of this period! The reformation, as has been already observed, was itself only a first effect of the restoration of knowledge. This effect, however, must have become a cause in its turn; it must have influenced subsequent events. But in what degree, and in what manner? Has the reformation accelerated, or has it retarded the progress of the human mind? Has it been favourable or injurious to it? Writers of eminence have supported each opinion. Must one of the two be adopted without reserve? Is it more expedient to take a middle course? The author of this essay will freely avow his opinion, and endeavour to justify it.

A daughter of renovating knowledge, the reformation could doubtless be no other than favourable to its progress. But this child of light was conceived in an age still gloomy, in a world still in a chaos, and in which a multitude of opposite principles fermented. Abandoned to all the passions which then prevailed; frequently disfigured in its exterior forms by the ignorance and by the superstition of those who contributed to its establishment; the reformation which originally tended only to good, has been the source of many evils. The good which it produced is a result of the spirit which constitutes its essence; the evils it has occasioned depend in a great degree on the incidents with which it was accompanied, on the resistance opposed to it, and on the foreign motives joined to it. It is therefore necessary to consider two things here, which cannot be blended without injustice; the one is the moral impulse given, primitively, by the reformation; the other is the commotion which resulted from it, when to this primitive impulse, so many other things were added, which modified it in different ways and changed its nature; in a word, in the reformation, the spirit and the event, the intention and the effect must be considered.

SECT. I.

Results of the Moral Impulse given by the Reformation.

From what has been said in several passages of this work, on the nature of the reformation, the direction which its moral impulse must have had, and the objects to which it extended, may be easily presumed. The intention of the reformers was, in principle, to free themselves from the despotism and infallibility of the popes; to depend only on the sacred writings for the grounds of their belief; and, in short, to overthrow the scholastic divinity which has become the soul of the Roman theology, and the firm support of the hierarchy. Hence it follows, that in its essence, the reformation must have had an influence on the liberty of thought, so precious to man, and the basis of his civil liberty; on the manner of contemplating religion, establishing the proofs of it, and of interpreting the Scriptures; in the third place, on philosophy, and on the ramifications of the tree of science, arising from any of these three principal points. Order and perspicuity require that each of these articles should be separately treated of.

With respect to Liberty of Thought.

I should think myself deficient in respect to my judges, and to the enlightened part of the public, were I to go into a long enumeration of the advantages which the human mind derives from the unlimited faculty of exercising its powers with freedom. Let us only reflect on the immense train of censures, prohibitions and inquisitors employed by the Romish church to keep every eye closed, at a period in which every new truth became a heresy, that is to say, a crime deserving the severest punishment, and against which all the rigour of the secular arm was demanded; and we shall shudder at the danger incurred by humanity before the sixteenth century. If, through a most happy and most unexpected concurrence of favourable circumstances, thought had not received, one after another, new supports and new food for its activity, what would the feeble spark of light which began to shine have become, with the system of oppression and *obscurantism* adopted by the court of Rome! If the Greeks of Constantinople had not emigrated towards the west; if Copernicus in the heavens, and Columbus upon the earth, had not enlarged the limits of knowledge; if the art of printing and the reformation of the church had not issued from the bosom of industrious Germany; if the colossal power which fettered consciences, and oppressed minds, had not experienced rapid and perceptible attacks, how many ages, perhaps, might the culture of the human race and the amelioration of the social state have been retarded! Let it be asked in the south of Germany, of the people of the two Sicilies, of Spain, of Ireland. After having freely examined the state of knowledge in these countries, let an impartial observer satisfy himself to what degree it has attained in Switzerland, the two Saxonies, Holland and England; the contrast will not escape him. It is not asserted that in the Catholic countries named above, men of superior talents, and eminent in their age, have not been met with; but they are rare, and it is the masses of the nations which are to be compared. Without doubt, considering the close connection in which the nations of our little Europe live together, it is impossible that the knowledge of some should be prevented from penetrating a little among the rest. The wall of separation cannot be sufficiently strengthened, nor so strictly guarded as that the individuals on each side cannot have communication. But certainly on the part of the Catholics, the precautions for repelling the liberal ideas of Protestantism from the limits of their territories, like a dangerous epidemy, have not been neglected. It was at Rome that the first censures of books were invented, and the example was religiously followed by the governments devoted to Rome. Leo X., this vaunted protector of the arts, in 1515, promulgated some severe regulations against the printing and publishing of books translated from the Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic. Almost at the same instant, in which five years after, he fulminated that famous bull against the reform, beginning thus; *Exurge, Deus, judica causam tuam*, in which Luther and all his adherents are assailed with the most terrible anathemas; in which it is indiscriminately prohibited to read all their books, on whatsoever subject they may treat; at the same instant, I say, this pontiff did not blush to publish, in the name of Jesus Christ, a bull in favour of the profane poems of Ariosto, menacing with excommunication all who should blame them or impede their circulation. What could be expected from such a spirit, from such an abuse of things which they wished to be respected as holy, and received as the oracles of heaven itself? France, the most enlightened of all the Catholic countries, and wherein papacy had never prevailed indefinitely, notwithstanding its attempts to get footing there and to introduce the inquisition; France, where a half reform existed under the title of the Gallican liberties, was not entirely free from that stifling system.[*] In Spain, Italy, and Austria, prohibitions and censures were carried much farther, and even yet impose heavy shackles on the liberty of writing and thinking. Several of the governments of southern Germany, from time to time, renew these salutary regulations against reading books written by heretics or by wits. The public libraries lock up the works of Rousseau, Voltaire, Helvetius, Diderot, etc. and it is expressly ordered "that they be not communicated, except to those who will undertake to refute them;" these are the words of a very recent edict. - A professor of a Bavarian university was deprived of his employment, some years before the French revolution, for having required that a copy of Dictionnaire critique de Bayle should be placed in the common library. These facts, and an infinity of others which are daily making their appearance, characterize the spirit of Catholicism, with respect to the propagation of knowledge and the freedom of instruction. This maxim of the centuries of the middle age still lives in it, and is kept up as much as it is possible to do so in these times; "to keep men's minds in perfect stupidity on certain subjects; to keep as many empty spaces in them as possible, in order to be able to fill them up afterwards at pleasure, and that superstition may be more conveniently instilled into them." Has it happened that any pope has retracted the bull *In Cœna Domini*, by which all those are excommunicated who read books composed by heretics? Fra Paolo, mentioning the first index of prohibited books which was published at Rome, in 1559, says, among other things, "that in it, under pretext of religion, the pope had condemned to excommunication the authors of writings solely because the authority of princes and magistrates was supported in them against the usurpations of the ecclesiastics. Besides this, the Roman inquisitors prohibited en masse all the books printed by sixty-two printers, without regard to their contents; adding also a general prohibition against reading any book coming from the press of a printer who should, once in his life, have printed any writing coming from the pen of a heretic. So that, continues the historian, nothing was left to read. A more excellent secret for stupifying and corrupting mankind by religion, will never be discovered. (*Histoire du Concile de Trente*, Lib. VI.)

The reformation broke all these chains imposed upon the human mind, and overthrew all the barriers which prevented the free communication of thoughts. Nothing remains prohibited by it but such productions as public morality or modesty would blush at.

To have recalled the remembrance of these chains and these barriers, to have examined the long barbarism which they would have supported upon earth; is not this to have shown sufficiently how much the reformation has contributed to the progress and the universality of knowledge? In fact, as soon as the career was open by it, men dared publicly to discuss the most valuable interests of humanity, and to speak, as men, of everything human.

The Roman church said; "*Submit yourselves to authority, without examination.*" The Protestant church says, "*Examine, and submit yourselves only to conviction.*" The one commanded a blind belief; the other teaches with the apostle[*] "to reject the bad, and to adopt only that which is good."

"Protestantism," says an esteemed writer,[†] "is the repulsive power with which reason is endowed, throwing from her, and repelling everything which would usurp her place." I shall abstain from saying more, and from indulging in idle declamations on this subject. It is sufficient to reflect a single instant on the immense opposition of these two principles, adopted respectively, by the two parties, as the basis of moral culture: on the one side, *believe!* on the other *examine!* Most assuredly on the supreme authority of these two contrary principles everything must wear a very different aspect, on the two sides. The principle of examination provokes that knowledge of which it is the friend, as that of blind submission is the votary of ignorance. And by what means shall we calculate how far the infinite influence of a fundamental principle which is admitted for the basis of religious instruction, and, consequently, also, for the moral instruction of a nation, may extend? The man who is free in his inmost soul, looks freely and boldly around him; he becomes enterprising, active, capable of all that is great and useful. He that is a slave in his conscience, a slave in the centre of his being, is so, without perceiving it, in every part of his conduct, debased as he is by the stupefaction and apathy which enervates his faculties.

With respect to the Study of Religion—ancient Languages, Exegesis, Archæologio, History.

Conformably to the terms of the question proposed by the National Institute, the study of religion can only be considered here, in as far as the mode of this study has had an immediate influence on literature and the sciences. It will be unnecessary, therefore, to attend to the doctrine of the different reformed churches, or to their method of religious instruction, which belongs to the science called *catechetic*, or to the science of sacred oratory, called *homiletic*, etc. . . . which, in other respects, and under other circumstances, might, perhaps, furnish matter for a very extensive and very interesting work.

In the time when the Roman church reigned alone in the west, the absence of all contradiction led to that of all inquiry, and of all study of religious antiquities. Besides, the church, as we have already seen, opposed an active resistance to all investigations into these matters. It prohibited with all its power the teaching of the oriental languages, and the reading of the books of the Old and New Testaments. Its system was founded on passages and terms in these books, which it interpreted according to its views; and on traditions, passages from the holy fathers, decisions of councils, pontifical bulls, decretals, charters, and other historical monuments, true or counterfeit. To attack this system with effect, and in all parts, as well as to establish their own on sure foundations, the Protestant theologians were compelled to penetrate into all the depths of criticism, as well in regard to the idioms in which the originals of the sacred books were written, as to the different branches of sacred history and ecclesiastical history. It was of the utmost importance to them to show with precision that this passage was mutilated, or not well interpreted; that that expression had, at the time in which it was written, a totally different meaning from that which was now attributed to it, and so of the rest. Hence, to them the study of orientalism, of the sacred antiquities, (which are intimately connected with the profane antiquities of the east) and, finally, that of languages, which are the necessary key to them, became indispensable. They were obliged to investigate and attain an exact knowledge of the places, manners, events, ideas, the whole intellectual culture, the political and private state of the different nations during the periods when this prophet or that evangelist had written. We have seen already that the principal leaders of the reformation were very strongly attached to studies of this nature, which required the assiduity and phlegm of the north. Is it necessary here to remind my judges of the immense services rendered by the reformists of different communions, from Luther, Melancthon, Camerarius, Zwingle, Calvin, the Buxtorfs, ect. to Michaelis, Eichhorn, Schultens, Lowth, Kennicott, and others, to oriental literature and antiquities? The study of Greek, so important on account of the New Testament, the fathers, and the version of the septuagint, was pursued with at least equal ardour. An acquaintance with the ancient master-pieces written in this language, gave it a new attraction. Shall I name here all the celebrated Hellenists which Protestant Europe has produced? Shall I display a list of their labours? This would require a work of pure nomenclature, more voluminous than all this dissertation. Who that has trod on classic ground is unacquainted with Ernesti, Heyne, Heeren, Schütz, Wolf, Hemsterbuys, Bentley, Voss, and Spanheim?[*] Who does not know that in the Protestant countries, the knowledge of Greek is, perhaps, more common than that of Latin, in most Catholic countries? In England, Holland, and Germany, every man who has received an education, is as well acquainted with the language of Homer as with that of Virgil. With respect to the ecclesiastics, this knowledge is indispensable to them, and it is not uncommon to find them versed in the culture of the oriental languages and antiquities. Thus the impulse was given by the necessity which the Protestants felt, at the first, of acting offensively against the church of Rome. They were the aggressors, and their existence depended upon conquering the Catholic theologians. Thus their attention and their efforts were turned towards historical criticism, and philology. Public education was consequently organized: and this study became as much more esteemed and more generally in vogue, as the advances of the learned men of the nation became more eminent.[†]

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[*] The history of all the books which have been juridically condemned would be highly interesting were it philosophically written. We should find many stigmatized for having dared to say that every honest man ought to glory in thinking. Let us take one instance among a thousand. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the missionary Lecomte published his Neveaux Memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine, in which he had the candour to say, that, "the Chinese had adored the true God for two thousand years; that, among the nations, they were the first who had sacrificed to their Creator, and taught a true morality." We cannot, at this time, conceive what a clamour this simple assertion of an historian then excited. The abbe Boileau, brother to the celebrated satirist, thundered in the Sorbonne, and denounced the good missionary as a blasphemer. In 1700, the Sorbonne condemned the book, which the parliament had also the weakness to order to be torn and burnt by the hands of the hangman.

[*] Spiritum nolite extinguere . . Omnia autem probate; quod bonum est tenate. Quench not the spirit. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. 1 Thess. v. 19, 21.

[†] The Rev. M. Greiling, in a very good German work, entitled Hieropolis, on the reciprocal relations of the church and state.

The study of languages, and of the sacred and ecclesiastical antiquities, could not, however, belong exclusively to the Protestants. The Catholics were obliged to take measures to defend themselves, and to prove, in opposition to their learned adversaries, that the passages and expressions, charged by them to be falsely interpreted, were, on the contrary, explained with justice and truth. Besides, the impulse once given in the republic of European literature, no one could remain behind, and submit to the disgrace of appearing less informed than the adverse party.[‡] A great number of Catholics distinguished themselves as much in criticism, and philosophy, as the Protestants. But it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that this study was never so much encouraged and so universal in the nations attached to Rome, as in those who had separated from it.[*] Here they gave themselves up to these sciences with the ardour of desire and enthusiasm; they were revered as the protectors of the public welfare, as the sources of religious and political independence: there they were only handled like dangerous weapons, from which the first attack had been received; and they were only cultivated by compulsion, and through a necessity of defending themselves upon equal terms.

It was thus that Protestantism, by its new method of studying religion, of examining it, and establishing its evidences, gave birth in Europe, and more especially in its own bosom, to a more profound culture of sacred, profane, and ecclesiastical antiquity. Even in our own days we see striking proofs of it in the erudition of the learned men of the north, who, more remote than the other Europeans from the countries in which the beauties of antiquity have flourished, seem nevertheless to secure to themselves the domination over them, in their scientific excursions. The Italians tread upon Herculaneum, and disinter its wonders; they multiply museums and collections; it is for Winklemann they amass these materials: by their assistance, he rediscovers the thread of the art; he writes the annals of it; he becomes its legislator.

From this acute study of the oriental and Greek archæologia by the Protestant theologians, applied to the interpretation of the sacred books, a perfection and richness, which it was very far from having before, has resulted to the science called *Exegesis*, or a critical examination of the text of the scriptures, which forms an important part of their studies. Exegesis has several branches. That which relates particularly to languages and antiquities, to a knowledge of times, places, and authors, is called hermeneutic. The English in particular, the Swiss, the Dutch, and the Germans have carried this science very far. There the various fragments, books, poems, or treatises which compose the Bible (in as far as they are considered as works written in a certain age and in a certain nation) are interpreted, commented on, and restored to their true meaning. There the Pentateuch is explained with the same care and the same penetration as the poems of Hesiod or Homer, in profane archæologia. The scholia written on the book of Job; on those of Isaiah and Jeremiah; on the Psalms; on Solomon's Song, &c. throw an entire new light on these precious remains of oriental antiquity, on their authors, and on the spirit of the age in which they were written. The mythology of the nation and of the neighbouring people is developed and unfolded in them. The hermeneutic labours on the books of the New Testament are not less important. The gospels, the acts and the epistles of the Apostles, the apocalypse itself, submitted to criticism like historical passages, give rise to inquiries and dissertations which cannot be read without the most lively interest. In thus tracing the sacred historians and poets through the Egyptian, Arabian, Syriac, Chaldean, Samaritan, Persian, Greek and Roman antiquity; in analyzing their language, their manners, their dispositions, the culture and ideas of their cotemporaries, they have cultivated an extensive region of the domain of antiquity, and have thrown a light upon a part of the archives of the human race, which is greatly essential to us.[†]

All the Protestant universities have professors, by whom exegesis, the hermeneutic, and other sciences which depend upon it, are in general taught with credit. Such a course, the object of which is the interpretation of the Proverbs, or of the epistle to the Galatians, is very frequently a complete picture of the political, literary, and religious history of the period in which these writings were composed; a picture in which the erudition, critical knowledge, and philosophy which have contributed to its composition, often command admiration. The Protestant states, as well as individuals, neglect nothing to carry this science of the interpretation of the sacred books to the highest possible degree of perfection. The libraries of the old monasteries of the east and west were for a long time visited without intermission by indefatigable English, German, and Danish philologists. Manuscripts and monuments of every kind were sought there, deciphered and compared; obscure passages were elucidated; knowledge flashed from these old dusty depositories: it was for the intelligent and experienced eye of the Protestant that the indolent *Cenobite* had preserved these treasures. What rich and invaluable discoveries have the adversaries of Rome made in these receptacles of knowledge which the Catholic monks are doubtless entitled to the honours of having kept shut up during so many ages, but which the greater part of them were unable to make any use of, and the most learned of them too frequently disfigured in their writings. It would be inconsistent with the plan of this slight essay to enter into the endless details which a thorough investigation of this subject would require, or to collect all the justificative documents which would be necessary to it. Since the zealous Pocock, how many others have been sent for the same purpose, by the Protestant princes, and even by simple societies, to traverse all the Levant, Asia, Palestine, the vicinity of Thebes, and Ethiopia? I shall only mention the expedition in which Niebuhr, a Dane, already known by his travels in Arabia and Egypt, was concerned, and which had no other object. All who were acquainted with Niebuhr's relation, know also the interesting series of questions prepared for him by the celebrated Michaelis of Gottingen before his departure, and which such a man as him alone could conceive.

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[*] The greatest number of men of erudition in France, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were the reformists, Robert and Henry Etienne, Jos. Scaliger, Casanbon, Saumaise, Bochart, Tanegui-Lefebvre, J. Morin, (who afterwards abjured, and joined the Congregation of the Oratory,) Bayle, etc. etc.

[†] The great attention given in Protestant countries to the study of the ancient languages, is without doubt one reason of the facility with which they also learn the modern and living languages. In general, a Protestant, of the informed class, commonly understands two or three languages besides his own.

[‡] The Jews were also aroused by the general activity, and during this period published several grammars and lexicons of the Hebrew tongue. They remained, in general, more learned and more enlightened in the Protestant countries, than elsewhere. Spinoza lived in Holland, as did Moses Mendelshon at Berlin, where they still reckon several learned men and philosophers of the first order among the Jews.

[*] It is very evident that this has no reference to the works published by the propagandists or foreign missions, nor to the works of some other Catholics, the objects of which are only the languages and state of the modern east, or of India, China, &c. The particular subject in question is biblical orientalism.

[†] See on this subject a Discourse delivered on the opening of the Protestant academy of Strasburgh, on the 15th Brumaire, in the year XII. by M. Haffner, professor of theology, the title of which is: Des secours que l'etude des langues, de l'histoire, de la philosophie, et de la literature offre a la theologie. This excellent piece has been too little read; the journals have taken too little notice of it; in a word it may be said of it, as Condorcet also said of a very good discourse on the reformists which appeared in his time; "It would make a great noise if the people of Paris employed themselves seriously with anything but pleasure, intrigues, and money." (Tom. X. of his Œuvres, p. 289.)

Before terminating this article relative to the sublime and profound science of exegesis among the Protestants, I cannot avoid noticing, cursorily, how greatly the whole system of the study of Protestant theology differs from that of Catholic theology. They are two antipodean worlds to each other, having nothing in common, except the name. But, unhappily, this is sufficient to deceive all who judge by the name.[*] The Catholic theology rests on the inflexible authority of the decisions of the church, and, consequently, prohibits to the student every free use of his reason. It has retained the jargon and the barbarous accompaniments of the scholastic divinity; in it may be discovered the works of darkness of the monks of the tenth century; in short, the greatest happiness that can be experienced by him who has had the misfortune to learn it, is to forget it as soon as possible. The Protestant theology, on the contrary, rests on a system of examination, on the unlimited use of reason. The most liberal exegesis opens to it the knowledge of sacred antiquity; and criticism, that of the history of the church; a simplified and pure doctrine is, to it, only the body, the positive form necessary to religion; it is supported by philosophy in its examination of the law of nature, of morality, and of the relation of man to the divinity. Whoever is anxious to be well informed in history, in classical literature, in philosophy, can use no better method than a course of Protestant theology. Ecclesiastics, so instructed, quit the universities to fulfil the functions of pastors, of ministers, in the small towns through the country. There they frequently establish excellent schools, and disseminate around them that knowledge with which their masters enriched them. The class of our village curates and vicars has generally been very respectable, and very exemplary, at all times; it must, however, be acknowledged, and all who have had an opportunity of making the observation will acknowledge it, without difficulty that this class is not less exemplary among the Protestants, and that it receives much more and much better instruction.[†]

Another advantage which the new mode of religious studies introduced by Protestantism has procured to the sciences, is its having contributed so powerfully to take ecclesiastical history, and also a great part of civil history, out of the hands of the monks, the usual chroniclers of the centuries preceding the sixteenth. These recluses, very ill-informed respecting the transactions of the world, seldom impartial, gave merit to princes only in proportion as they had endowed their convents, or rendered services to the church. They mixed a multitude of fables, superstitions, and maledictions against heretics, with these deformed annals. Where was then the muse of history with such ministers? In a few instances they have done some service; but how much more would human reason, which they held in bondage for ages, have done for itself, if it had been suffered to act without constraint? At length Reineccius, Melancthon, Sleiden, Buchanan, Grotius,[*] De Thou, Puffendorf restored history to its true form; it has since their time been united to criticism and philosophy, from which it ought never to be separated. Bayle, and many others of the Protestant historians, wrote with a freedom, a critical knowledge, and a spirit, which many of the Catholics afterwards imitated.

The history of the church, as well that of its doctrine, as that of the exterior events which connected this church, as a society, with the other political bodies, acquired a consistence, a truth, an impartiality, and an accuracy, which have made it one of the most important branches of human knowledge. The essays of the two Basnages, of Lenfant, of Beausobre, Le Bret, and others, are known in France; there are also known the works, already become ancient, of the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, the fathers of true ecclesiastical history, those of Seckendorf, and Mosheim, in Latin; but those of Walsh and Cramer in German, are less known. These have had worthy successors in the later historians of their country, the only one in which this history, so full of noble lessons and ideas, has been ably treated by men of profound information, such as M. M. Semler, Plank, Schræck, Spittler, Henke, Munter, and Thym; and with respect to the history of the gospel, in itself and in its critical history, by M. Paulus, the Michaëlis of the New Testament. In conclusion, we may add that literary history, that species of history which is employed to show the picture of the progress or the variations of the human mind in the sciences and the arts, is also indebted to this same impulse for a new life. The first example of such a picture was given at Kiel by the illustrious Morhoff, in his book entitled, Polyhistor.

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[*] Some years ago I read in a French journal called le Propagateur, a sharp reprimand to these inconsiderate people who praised the German literature. Among others, under the article of theology, the journalist observed, ironically, that at the last fair of Leipsic, above a hundred works on this subject had appeared. "Thanks to heaven," added he, "we no longer have such folly among us." Those who know the subjects of Protestant theology, those also who have a little knowledge of the literary history of the two last centuries in France, under Nicole, Arnauld, Bossuet, Fenelon, Fleury, &c. can set a just value upon this ignorance in the journalist.

[†] In some Protestant countries, the ministers who are to be stationed in the country, are required to go through a course of agriculture and rural economy, as well as to have some knowledge of medicine and pharmacy. At Geneva, the young ecclesiastics are examined on their progress in grammatical knowledge, the ancient languages, &c. before they begin their theological studies; and after these, which last four years, they are subjected to another examination in the same, to ascertain whether they have lost anything in that species of instruction. This good custom has been preserved at Geneva, ever since the re-establishment of learning. The same regulation is also in force in all the academies of Protestant Switzerland.

[*] It must be confessed that the only modern historians whom we dare to compare with the ancients, such as Burnet, Clarendon, Robertson, Hume, Gibbon, J. Muller, Schiller, etc. are all Protestants. The abbe de Mably, in his Maniere d'ecrire l'histoire, directly places Grotius far above Tacitus; and in many places he gives the Protestant historians the preference over those of the Catholic persuasion. The reason of this preference is clearly expressed in these words of Mably; "in fact, it is not worth while to write history to make it only a poison, like Strada, who, sacrificing the dignity of the Low Countries to that of the court of Spain, invites its subjects to servitude, and thus prepares the progress of despotism. If this historian is to be credited, Philip II. might trample under his feet all the laws, all the treaties, all the agreements with his subjects, because he held his crown from God; and this dangerous casuist condemns the Low Countries to suffer patiently the ruin of their privileges and the most cruel oppression, that they may not render themselves culpable of a sacrilegious disobedience. It is to this ignorance of natural rights, or to that baseness with which the greater part of modern historians betray their consciences by flattery, that the disgusting insipidity of their works is owing. Why is Grotius so superior to them? It is because, having meditated deeply on the rights and the duties of society, I find in him the elevation and the energy of the ancients. I dwell with avidity on his history of the war of the Low Countries; and Strada, who has perhaps more skill in narrating, falls continually from my hands. Buchanan is another example of that power of study which I speak of. After having read his learned production bearing the title of De jure regni apud Scotos, we are not surprised that this writer should have composed a history which breathes an air of dignity, generosity, and elevation." (Page 18 et seq. of the Paris edition, 1783, in 12mo.) Here is the great secret disclosed; the one have liberality and philosophy in their manner of thinking and writing; the others have not.

With Respect to Philosophy—to the Moral and Political Sciences.

A revolution began by a reform in religious opinions, could not fail to awaken the philosophical spirit in man, which is so intimately connected with mystical speculations, with the ideas of a divinity, of a future life for him in another world, and of his moral duties in this. It has been already sufficiently shown above, what an imperfect philosophy reigned in the schools before the reformation, and what an extravagant and puerile dialectic was amalgamated with the system of the Roman theology, which maintained itself by its aid. To support this system was, in fact, for many centuries, the only end of all philosophy; the theologians, who were generally monks, were the only philosophers. Their subtle, and sometimes risible arguments, tended only to the support of orthodoxy, against innovators and heretics; it never entered their heads to teach a useful morality to human society; they only employed themselves in establishing the rights of the pope and the clergy, but never those of the people, nor of individuals. To reason conformably to the views of the Roman church, at that period, it is evident that it must only be done in a certain manner, and on certain subjects. To reason in a new manner, and to extend the reasoning of subjects considered, till then, sacred and inviolable, was to loosen the bases of the edifice. A firm, independent philosophy, which aspired at becoming universal, was, in this state of things, a monstrosity, consequently nothing of this description existed before the reformation. A strange mixture of disguised propositions of peripatetism, which was applied in the strangest manner to matters of faith and controversy, formed all the ground-work of the doctrine of the schools.

Subsequent to the renovation of letters, some men of talents, with the famous Erasmus at their head, had opposed this monkish barbarism. But, remaining in the bosom of a church to which scholastic divinity had become an indispensable auxiliary, how could they labour effectually to destroy this support. Such an undertaking could only be accomplished by reformers bold enough to quit this church, and to establish one separate from it on the pure principles of the gospel and of reason. It was in this manner that the reformation dethroned the scholastic divinity.

Protestants and Catholics, having entered into a competition in the study of Greek to acquire a knowledge of the original writings in this language, read also the works of Aristotle, which they procured from among the dust of the libraries. With what surprise did they find that their contents were totally different from what had been, for centuries taught in the name of this great man! They discovered that the grotesque pagoda, so revered in the schools under the imposing name of Aristotle, did not in any manner resemble the philosophy of the Stagyrite. Melancthon laboured to obtain evidence of this new conviction. He laid down the true doctrine of Aristotle, in favour of which he declared, and he allowed it to be valid in everything which came within the jurisdiction of human reason, but at the same time, contended most strenuously, that it ought to be excluded from the domain of theology. They did not confine themselves to reading the original books of Aristotle: the discoveries they had made in them inspired the learned men of this century with the desire of extending their investigations to all that remained of the monuments of the ancient philosophy. The writings of the Pythagoreans, those of the two schools of Plato, the old and the new academies, those of the stoic and epicurean schools, were read, interpreted, and their different doctrines publicly taught. Then began a philosophical period, during which the interest in truths of a superior order, in the discussion of the most sublime rules of logic, metaphysics, and morality, acquired an activity which had been lost to it for many centuries. The perusal of the precious remains of antiquity, from its connection with the speculative sciences, became again to the moderns, what it had been in the age of Petrarch, from its connection with poetry.

It would be necessary to follow all the deviations of the philosophical spirit during this period; to show all the various forms which it assumed, either in the systems alternately borrowed and modified from the ancients, or in those created by modern genius; it would be necessary to state what these deviations had been in so many comprehensive minds as those of Agrippa, Bacon, Cherbury, Descartes, Spinosa, Gassendi, Pascal, Mallebranche, Locke, Leibnitz, Wolf, Bayle, Berkeley, &c. &c. to give a complete idea of this period;* but so extensive a picture cannot enter into the narrow limits of this work. It is sufficient to our purpose to have shown the share which the reformation had in this great agitation of the human mind.†

It must, however, be observed that this agitation could only receive a free and full expansion in Protestant countries: it was foreign and contradictory to the system established in the Catholic states. In the latter, philosophy could only be considered as a sort of disturber of the public peace, or rather of the public apathy, which, in the eyes of a considerable number of people, amounts to the same thing. In Austria, Italy, and Spain, this philosophical flash was soon extinguished, and the usual torpidity resumed the upper hand. Even in France, a country, which as we have several times shown, is by no means to be put on a level with the other Catholic countries, the philosophical spirit was at an end soon after Descartes, who, as is known, found the greatest number of partisans and opponents in Holland. The interest in truths, or in the philosophical systems, on the contrary, far from losing any part of its activity, seemed to be constantly increasing among the English, the Dutch, the Swiss, and the Germans of the north. London, Halle, and Geneva, became the schools from whence the French derived their erudition: Locke and Hume, Wolfe and Bonnet became our masters; the modest plurality of the small number of the national thinkers, attached themselves sometimes to one, sometimes to another of these great men, and more particularly to the first. Their works, the produce of a Protestant soil, became our classical and fundamental works in philosophy.

When, however, for some lustres, the philosophical spirit seemed deadened in England and Holland, it revived in Germany more powerfully than ever, and with a depth and energy which it had not had since the best times of Greece. It is indebted to the immortal Kant for this new flight. Kant has laid down principles, and arrived at immutable results, which will remain for ever, as the cardinal points of the mind, as brilliant light-houses in the darkness of metaphysical researches. The schools, the offspring of his, are powerful adherents of his doctrine when they follow and examine it; they often lose themselves when they deviate from it. However this may be, it is demonstrated to every one who observes the progress of the intellectual culture of nations with attention, that the doctrine of the philosopher of Kœnigsburgh could not, on the one hand, excite so profound an enthusiasm, and on the other, so vigorous an opposition, such powers of reasoning, except in a country where the grand questions on the relations of human reason to nature, and to universal reason, were habitual to its inhabitants, that is to say, in a country where they think with freedom on the objects of a purified religion, and where the most exalted ideas of the high destination of man, are universally diffused. Nothing is more pure, more religious, more strict, more stoical, than the moral doctrine of the most celebrated schools of Germany, whether that of Kant, or that of Jacobi. The superficial lessons, the errors of Helvetius and his associates, were never able to take root in this soil. For the influence of the reformation on the study of morality has been as decisive, as on that of the other branches of philosophy. This science, which is the same to the conduct of man, as metaphysics is to his knowledge, had, after the last of the Roman moralists, fallen into an almost total oblivion. It is known that the fathers of the church, who exerted every resource of their minds in the controversies on tenets, did very little or even nothing, for the moral sciences. The scholastics did still less; and under their long domination, true morality disappeared entirely, and gave place to a casuistic degenerate morality. in which the duties of man towards God and towards his fellows, were almost wholly reduced to his duties to the church: here a multiplicity of practical superstitions and subtleties corresponded but too well to the superstition and subtleties of the theology of these dark ages. When the gospel had regained its rank, and displaced casuistry. the pure and divine morality announced in it, also resumed its place in the pulpits and the writings of the spiritual pastors. Besides, the reading of the ancient philosophers in the original works, must have familiarized men to their different moral principles. They compared these principles with each other, and with that of christianity. Hence the study of morality acquired a high degree of interest, to which it would never have attained, if casuistry had remained dominant, and the pulpits of the churches, and the schools, had remained in the power of the monks. Now it has become, to the ministers of the Protestant worship, the most essential, and almost the only ground of their precepts to the people, the inexhaustible text of their discourses. It makes one of the most important objects of the public instruction in the universities. It is well known what a number of excellent writings on this subject have been produced by the different Protestant churches, particularly in the last century; what a spirit of purity, of humanity, and of religion, they display; at the same time equally remote from the ascetic fanaticism of the ages of ignorance, as from the stern and cyrenaic egotism of the ages which are called more enlightened.*

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* It is to be observed, that, at that time, philosophy had its martyrs. Bruno was burnt alive at Rome, in 1600; Vanini at Toulouse, in 1619; and Kuhlman at Moscow, in 1686; the two former, Italians by birth, as atheists.

† It would be too easy to make this essay, which can be no more than a simple sketch, a voluminous history, filled with details and compilations. In this article, for example, which relates to the influence of the reformation on philosophical studies, it would only be necessary to copy everything interesting on this subject, inserted by Brucker in the fourth volume of his history of philosophy, lib. II. cap. I. De causis mutatæ, tempore emendata Religionis, Philosophiœ; and afterwards to lay under contribution the learned works of Rexinger and Edzard, (Dissert. quantum reformatio Lutheri logica profuerit;) of Lehmann, (De utilitatæ quam morali disciplinæ reformatio Lutheri attulit;) of Seeleo, (De incrementis quæ studium politicum e reformatione Lutheri cepit,) and a multiplicity of writings of this kind.

With respect to that morality of states, which, rising superior to individual relations, fixes the respective rights of societies and of their members, those of princes and of citizens, as also those of nations with each other; which gives the theory of the laws, that of the right of nature, and that of positive right, in a civil state! the progress which the reformation has enabled it to make has been already mentioned, in different passages of this work.† The great questions, which for the first time, in modern times, were at length discussed, and appeared before the European public, turned their minds to this subject, of such universal interest. Luther wrote his Treatise of the civil magistrate; his Appeal to the German nobility, &c. Melancthon, Zwingle, John Stourm, and other reformers, discussed similar subjects, and brought them within the reach of the less informed.‡ Buchanan published his famous and bold libel, de jure regni, in Scotland: while on the continent, Hubert Languet wrote his Vindiciœ contra tyrannos, and Etienne de la Boëtie, his Discours sur la servitude volontaire. Milton, who laboured to defend the long parliament of England, and to justify the punishment of Charles I. to the human race, composed several political books, which breathed the most ardent republicanism, and among others his Defence of the people of England, against Saumaise. Some of these productions, full of the vehemence and anger of the parties which then clashed with such fury, too frequently overshot their object; but they, at least, served to point it out, to inspire the wish of attaining it, and effectually to attract attention. These shortly gave way to the superior productions of wise and penetrating minds, which re-created the science of the right of nature and of people. Bacon foresaw the necessity; he projected the basis of it, as well as almost all the parts of the philosophical edifice. It was reserved for the immortal Grotius to carry light into the midst of darkness, to class and arrange the principles, and to offer to Europe the first book in which the rights and duties of men in society were laid down with energy, precision and wisdom. Why did Jean Jacques, so great, so much a friend to truth, without a shadow of reason, in his Contrat Social, calumniate Grotius in so strange a manner? Had he not read the Law of Peace and War; or, had he forgotten what he had read?

After Grotius, shall I speak of his rival Selden, of his commentator Bæcler, of Puffendorf, who published a Law of Nature, superior, perhaps to the Law of Peace;* of Barbeyrac, the able translator and Aristarchus of these two works? Hobbes, however, in England, supporting another system, was not less useful to the science, both by the truths which he published, and by the refutations which he provoked against him. Algernon Sydney followed the opposite principles to those of Hobbes, in his Treatise on Government, and died a martyr to his attachment to the cause of the people. It is necessary to cease these citations, notwithstanding the importance of similar works; and although I might still bring forward such names as Conring, Forstner, Locke, Leibnitz, Wolf, Thomasius, Jurieu, Burlamaqui, Vatel, Bolingbroke, and so many others more modern, in the north of Europe and in America, this may suffice to show how greatly the moral impulse given by the reformation has influenced the progress made in the science of legislation, formerly plunged in a Scholastic barbarism, equal to that which prevailed in theology. But though we may, with justice, attribute this influence on the minds of Europeans to the reformation, we must guard against the belief that it was an exclusive cause, confining its effects to those countries alone in which the reformation has become dominant. Italy has had its Machiavel, Spain its Mariana, France its Bodin, (suspected, it is true, of being secretly the partisan of the reform.) The ardour of these studies was also increased by the polemical disputes which took place between the different parties. We have in the eighteenth century, seen writers on public law eclipse those of the sixteenth and seventeenth; but they are only able to surpass them from benefiting by their labours. Would Montesquieu have become so much the pride of our political literature, if he had not had so many laborious predecessors to smooth his path?

From all these facts it is not difficult to deduce this evident truth; that the reformation, which from its birth was so intimately in contact with politics, and with every object of public utility, must have directed the minds of men to the sciences connected with the economy and the administration of states.

Men, on the contrary, who, in their own country, lived under the continual influence of a foreign authority; who saw around them a powerful secular and regular clergy, in the possession of the finest domains; in addition to this, raising tithes, the most unincumbered produce of the labours of the cultivator; these men became incapable of any generous effect: the interest they took in the culture of the soil was without energy. Besides, the members of this clergy were the pastors, the founders, the depositaries of all the knowledge, the masters of all souls. Employed in the exterior practice of devotion, and in supporting the rights of the church, these were also nearly the only objects on which they instructed the people. From this resulted a profound ignorance and indolence respecting the most precious interests of men in society. Agriculture, economy, and its various branches were in a deplorable state of degradation. Such is nearly the present condition in the fine provinces of Naples and Rome, in Spain and in Portugal; poverty, indolence, immorality, all sorts of vices are engendered among people of such dispositions;† the state remains weak and badly governed. What activity, on the contrary, what improvements in agriculture, in rural economy, in the government, strike the attention of an observer in the midst of the cold and infertile fields of Scotland, in England, and in Holland! There, the hand of man creates everything, because it labours for itself; there it is all powerful, because it is free, and a suitable instruction guides it. The contrast of these indubitable effects of the two religions is more particularly perceptible in Germany and Switzerland, where the different territories which are intermixed, cause the traveller to pass continually from a Catholic to a Protestant country. Does he meet with a miserable mud cottage, covered with thatch, the fields badly kept, wretched rude peasants, and many beggars; he will be in little danger of erring, if he conjecture that he is in a Catholic country. If, on the contrary, neat, pleasant houses* are seen, offering the spectacle of affluence and industry, the fields well enclosed, a culture well understood, it is very probable that he is among Protestants, Anabaptists, or Mennonites. Thus nature seems to change her aspect, as he who gives her laws enjoys his liberty more or less, and exercises all his powers in a greater or less degree: while, at the same time, nature appears to have delighted in endeavouring to bestow all her gifts upon the Catholic nations, which inhabit the finest countries of Europe. This singularity is very evident in the limited territory of Helvetia. Let the fertile plains of Soleure be compared with the much less favoured soil of Argovia; the rocky sterile land, unprotected from the northern blasts, of the Pays de Vaud, with the magnificent Italian Switzerland, or the well sheltered Valais;† the territory of Neufchatel, with the fruitful fields of the country lately subjected to the Abbe of Saint-Gall; and, finally, even in the states of this monk-prince, let that portion which follows the Roman worship be compared with that, much smaller, which, under the protection of Zurich and Berne, has been able to adhere to the reform; and it will everywhere appear that the activity and knowledge of man is superior to even the liberalities of prodigal nature, while all her benefits are as though they were lost, to idleness and want of care. Agriculture is carried to such a height of perfection in the canton of Berne, that many of the methods of the Bernois farmers are adopted in England, and the economical society established by them are the authors of the true irrigation, the importance of which is very well known to every agriculturalist.‡

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* M. Stœudlin, professor of theology at Gottingen, has given a very good history of the attempts which have been made by philosophers, to treat morality scientifically. The elevation of religious morality to the rank of a science, is owing to Calixtus, a Protestant theologian, who collected into one body the scattered precepts of the gospel and of reason, and arranged them systematically.

† It was particularly noticed, in the article on the Internal Situation of the Protestant States in general.

‡ It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the canon law was subjected to a total reform in the Protestant countries. It was there rigorously separated from the civil law, on which it had hitherto been continually encroaching, and it was made subordinate to the local law of each particular state. While the Protestants simplified their ecclesiastical law, and reduced it to a very small number of indispensable regulations, the popes augmented still further the immense code of the apostolic law, incorporating with it all the decrees of the council of Trent, the Institutes which they had caused to be composed by Lancelot of Perouse, their bulls, decisions, &c. Nevertheless the Catholic civilians, endeavoured to give their code a better form, and more connection and consequence.

* The book of Puffendorf, like that of Grotius, was put into the Index, and prohibited in certain Catholic countries, at Rome, in Austria, Spain, &c.

† It is a certain fact that more crimes are committed in Catholic than in Protestant countries. The author might instance many facts which he had collected on this subject. He will be satisfied with foreign authorities. Cit. Rebmann, president of the special tribunal of Mayence, in his Coup-d'œil sur l'etat des quatres departements du Rhin, says that the number of malefactors in the Catholic and Protestant cantons, is in the proportion of four, if not six to one. At Augsburgh, the territory of which offers a mixture of the two religions, of 946 malefactors, convicted in the course of ten years, there were only 184 Protestants, that is to say, less than one in five. The celebrated philanthropist Howard observed that the prisons of Italy were incessantly crowded: at Venice, he has seen three or four hundred prisoners in the principal prison; at Naples, 980 in the

The activity impressed on the public spirit of each state by the reformation, was therefore naturally directed to the objects of public interest of the state. The science of cameralistics taught the administration of the national revenues; agriculture and commerce had their libraries, and were raised above a daily routine, by the inquiries of genius, and the assistance derived from the other sciences, such as geography and navigation, which, in their turn, also received improvement. The knowledge of the mechanical arts, and of all the objects of human industry, under the name of *technology*, resumed a rank among the sciences which it had lost since Pliny; finally it must not be forgotten that, on the Protestant soil, was born and brought to perfection, *statistics*, a science which forms an account of the resources of every country, and of which, statesmen, even of Catholic countries, begin to perceive all the importance. The study of all these objects has long been a part of the public instruction among the Protestants; and their universities, at which all the subjects who fill posts in the state, of greater or less importance, are formed, are provided with professors of the political and cameralistic sciences, of public and rural economy, commerce, technology, and statistics. It is known how many good works, on these subjects, were produced by the Germans, English, Scotch, Dutch, and Swiss, before they were generally cultivated in the remainder of Europe. It was among the Dutch that Colbert acquired the greatest part of his knowledge; Peter I. learnt much of the art of governing in their school; no one is ignorant that it was from the example of the great Frederick that Joseph II. and his brother Leopold conceived the plans of regeneration, which one formed for his Austrian states, and the other for Tuscany.*

Almost all the system of knowledge to be acquired having changed its aspect, it was very necessary that a considerable change should also be effected in the system of public instruction. Luther was the first who felt the necessity of a reform in this department, and who laboured effectually to produce it.† Melancthon, and the other principal reformers being also, like Luther, professors of universities, turned their attention to these establishments, and to the secondary schools. They purged them, as far as circumstances would admit, from the vices of that monarchal and scholastic period. That which they could not themselves effect, was brought about, by degrees, and very naturally, in the end, by the proper spirit which they had introduced. It is remarkable that, during the three last centuries, besides a great number of gymnasia, lycea, and other schools, Germany has been enriched with upwards of twenty universities, three-fourths of which are Protestant.‡ England has founded three, and Holland five.§ On the Catholic side, six have been founded in Italy, eight in Spain, and three in France. The Protestants have not only the advantage of the plurality, which might be equivocal; but no reasonable person will doubt that they have also the advantage in respect of the instruction which is given at these universities. It will not, I am of opinion, be thought a very inconsistent paradox, to say that there is more real knowledge in one single university, as that of Gottingen, or Halle, or Jena, than in the eight Spanish universities of San Jago de Compostella, Alcala, Orihuela, etc. In these, they teach what must, with or without the consent of reason, be believed: in the others they teach how a reasonable belief may be acquired, on any subject whatever. Here, the Decretals are given for infallible oracles; there, no other oracle is acknowledged but reason, and the best supported facts. From all these considerations, it is natural that pedantry, the offspring of scholastics, must be infinitely more uncommon in

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succursal prison alone, called Vicaria; while he affirms that the prisons of Berne are almost always empty; that in those of Lausanne he did not find any prisoner; and only three individuals in a state of arrest at Schaffhausen. Here are facts; I do not draw any conclusion.

* Who has travelled and not been struck with the slovenliness which reigns, almost universally, in the Catholic countries, and which contrasts so strongly with the extreme neatness of the Protestant countries of the north, of Holland, and of England? Whence arise the apathy on the one side, and the activity on the other? Whence the spirit of order and industry to the one, to the others, carelessness and indolence? The reason is very evident.

† Haller found all the plants of Europe, from those of the southernmost countries to those of Lapland, in the Valais.

‡ If we pass from the culture of lands to that of minds, Switzerland will offer the same contrasts. How many celebrated men of letters have sprung from Geneva, whom literature and the sciences called with pride among us! Berne, Lausanne, Basle, Zurich, Schaffhausen, have their literary annals filled with celebrated names. The antiquarian Morel; Haller, the creator of physiology, and also a great poet; Crouzas; the Buxtorfs; the Werenfels; Bernouilli; Euler; Iselin, the first who conceived the idea of writing a philosophical history of the human race; the Wettsteins, (and all the booksellers and printers of Basle who, from the dawning of the sixteenth century, have undertaken enterprises so immense and so fruitful in results,) Gessner, the naturalist and restorer of the natural sciences: Gessner, the bucolick poet: some other German poets, such as Bodmer, etc. who have contributed so much to the restoration of elegant literature in Germany, who have restored it to national independence and originality: in short, a multiplicity of authors whom it would be superfluous to name. Catholic Switzerland, on the contrary, has not a single man of eminence, of any description, to mention.

* This is the place to observe that the more liberty of thinking and public spirit are diffused through a nation, the more also the communications become free and active between all the parts which compose the public, and between all the classes of the nation. The journals, newspapers, and periodical writings in the Protestant countries exhibit those general dispositions in the highest degree, which are common both to the authors and readers of these productions. There they are the objects of an attention much more universal and more serious, than they are in Spain or Italy, and than they were in France until 1789. For which reason I do not fear being contradicted by facts, when I state that the journals, whether political or literary, of England, Holland and Saxon Germany, have a consistence and organization, of which, perhaps, a very just idea is not generally formed in other countries.

† Seelen has written a very good treatise entitled, Lutherus de scholis optime meritus, 1716.

‡ If the Protestants have founded and endowed a great number of schools, it is because their existence depends upon being the best informed; it is because the reformation is essentially learned; it has received its impulse from science, and can only be supported by science. Knowledge is an affair of state in the reformed nations.

§ I also omit noticing those which have been erected in Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark, the Protestant university of Dorpa in Livonia, etc.

the Protestant schools than in the others. Some external forms, differing from those in use with us, have given rise to a generally received, though very ill founded prejudice, that a German professor is a pedant: but manners different from ours; Latin or Greek quotations in a book where they may be very necessary, and other similar things, do not constitute pedantry; neither do the long robe and furred cap. The true essence of a pedant is to be an enemy to reason, and to liberal inquiry in the sciences; to have a slavish belief in the authority of some other person, and, in his turn, to put in a despotic claim to make his own arbitrarily valid. If such is, in fact, a pedant, it will be acknowledged that the learned Protestants can have little title to the appellation; they, whose principal maxim is inquiry, the free use of his own reason to every reasonable being, and a liberation from all authority. This disposition tends rather to literary humanity, and should be considered as the direct antipode of pedantry. The science of instruction and that of education therefore must have gained from the new spirit which regulated learning. The pedegogic[*] science was brought to perfection. Bacon, who is always referred to when a better discipline for the intellectual man is in discussion; Comènius, the celebrated author of the Janua linguarum; Stourm, Locke, and several others, laid the foundations of a better system of education. It is from their examples that the Fenelons, Lachalotais, Schlæzers and Pestalozzi have spoken; it is their language which the citizen of Geneva has overcharged in his sublime hyperboles. In short, it is to all these great men, it is to the memorable event which unfettered their tongues, that the present and future generations are indebted for the mildest, and, at the same time, the most efficacious methods of their culture and their instruction.

It has been shown, in the preceding article, how much history had gained since the reformation, by the freedom of criticism, and by the depth of research. It remains to be added that, since that period, it has been treated in a more philosophical manner. Great lessons and great precepts have been drawn from it. The mind, become more scrutinizing, has endeavoured to bring together the unformed aggregate of scattered facts; it has seized a guiding clew in the labyrinth of ages; in it, it has discovered the progress of humanity; and hence arose the philosophy of history. The Scotch and the English productions, of this description, are known particularly in France, as those of France are to all Europe. Those of the Germans are less so, although they have a very considerable number of works worthy of being known, and included in the general classification of the history of improvement, which holds a medium between political and literary history, participating of both. Opinions are, however, divided in these meditations on the destiny of the human race. Some only see in it the tempestuous fluctuations of a boundless ocean; a blind and endless series of crimes, absurdities, and barbarisms; some fortunate moments succeeded by terrible relapses; chance dictating its pauses, necessity executing them, and crushing with its iron hand the successive generations which it plunges into the gulf of oblivion. Others, of a more consolatory opinion, see, in the progressive course of the human race, a conducting Providence, an approach towards a better state, towards a civil and moral perfection. There are many Protestants who abide by the latter opinion, and endeavour to demonstrate its certainty. Those who think that a more reasonable and a more happy state has, through the influence of the reformation, been the consequence of a commotion so terrible, so universal, and so long, in Europe, must be permitted to give credit to this sublime conception of the perfectibility of our species. Perhaps those who are of a contrary opinion owe it to being placed in contrary circumstances, or else to some individual disposition, which does not allow them to suppose any possible perfection in their fellow-creatures.

With respect to the Mathematical and Physical Sciences.

At the first glance it appears that the reformation, the immediate impulse of which would be very perceptible in the study of the historical and philosophical sciences, could not, on the contrary, exercise any direct influence on that of the methodical and natural sciences. But if it be considered that a redoubled activity, an investigating disposition, implanted in the human mind by some great event, cannot remain inactive on anything within its scope, conviction will soon follow that the study of these sciences must also have been advantageously affected by the moral impulse given by the reformation. To this presumption, indicated by the nature of things, may also be joined this historical and local consideration, that, at the moment when Luther effected the reformation of the theological system at Wittemburg, at sixty miles from it, in another city of the north, Copernicus prepared that of the astronomical system. These two revolutions, being effected by two contemporaries, it is not easy to discover, with precision, how much the one promoted the other, what have been the results of their combination, nor what are the effects which belong strictly to each of them. For this it would have been necessary to have penetrated into the recesses of all thoughts, and to have followed the most hidden steps of the progress of the human mind, of which, at present few traces and memorials remain. We may, however, observe, as we did at the commencement of this second part, that sheltered by the Ægis of the reform, the Galileans were, at the least, freed from the dread of chains, and from the disgrace of recantations. It was under the protection of this Ægis that Kepler completed the work of Copernicus, and gave geometrical certainty to the new system, which, probably in the eyes of its author, rested on a conviction purely logical. It is also remarkable, whatever may have been the cause, that the two inventors of the differential calculation Leibnitz and Newton lived, the one in Protestant Germany, and the other in England. The Catholic countries, as well as the Protestant, have since had an equal number of great mathematicians and great philosophers. It is, however, just to suppose that the superior guidance of study and the greater freedom of investigation, are among the causes which have contributed most powerfully to make these beautiful branches of the tree of human knowledge flourish.[*] But above all, it is certain that the philosophical spirit, fomented, as has been shown, by the reformation, exercised its influence in a very marked manner on the study of mathematics and physics. It was not enough to extend and perfectionate these sciences in themselves, it was also wished to unveil the sublime theory, to scrutinize their foundations, and fix their bases; scientific men of the Protestant persuasion attached themselves more to these species of investigation than those of Catholic countries, who do not seem to have set so high a value on them.[†]

The philosophy of nature, a science distinct from that called general physics, also acquired a consistence and developements which make it one of the most sublime branches of knowledge of which the genius of man can boast. It is to Kant also that it is indebted for its renovation and its principal bases. The intrepid Schelling has enriched it with the most sublime ideas. The system of Brown, which is only an organized philosophy of nature originated in Scotland; has been cultivated and developed in Germany; and is despised in France, where it is hitherto only imperfectly known.

With respect to the military science, which is usually treated as an appendix to the mathematical sciences, the north of Germany seems, in modern times, to have been destined to furnish it with its principal additions. The infant state of tactics before the thirty years' war is known, Gustavus Adolphus was its reformer, and under him, this art acquired a new aspect in the fields of Saxony and Bohemia. On this same soil, Frederick II. King of Prussia, nearly a century later, also contending against the same house of Austria, which had been humbled by the Swedish hero, completed the work of Gustavus Adolphus, and brought modern tactics to a degree of perfection, at which it will no doubt remain for the future, as far as regards its essential elements.

With respect to the Belles Lettres, and to Modern languages.

Since the reformation redoubled the ardour for a knowledge of the ancient languages, the study of which it rendered more necessary and more general, as well among the Catholics as among the Protestants, it cannot be denied that it contributed greatly to the culture of the belles lettres, and to the restoration of a good taste. In proportion as the classic works of antiquity, those eternal models of the beautiful; genuine and sublime as nature, were more dispersed and read, men's minds were gradually elevated to their pitch, and shook off the barbarism of the Gothic ages.* This revolution had been commenced in Italy by the Greek refugees, who had fixed themselves there in particular. The reformation assisted in propagating its benefits to the European nations farthest distant from this focus.

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[*] I beg pardon for this word; it means simply the science of education in some countries of Europe, where useful and respectable things are not given up to the sarcasms of frivolity.

[*] See the dissertation of Wucherer on this subject; De incrementis physices a reformationis tempore.

[†] It was Kant who first established the principles of a theory of mathematical certainty, and the evidence which is admitted in metaphysics, on occasion of the question proposed on this subject, in 1771, by the academy of Berlin.

Nevertheless, a language in which they might give vent to their ideas, a flexible and living organ, by which they might express their living conceptions, was necessary to those, in whom the spark of ancient genius had kindled an enthusiasm. The modern idioms were in the uncultivated, rude state in which long want of use had plunged them. In the south alone, the Italian, and, perhaps, the Provençal, its ally, had assumed a purer form. In the rest of Europe they wrote in Latin; Latin was the language of the schools and the books; and what Latin! a jargon bearing all the blemishes of eleven centuries of corruption and bad taste. Although the reading of Cicero, and the other masters of good Latin might have ameliorated and purified this jargon, whether good or bad, as in fact it did, this Latin was only the language of a very small number of individuals, and remained a dead letter to the people. Now the higher sciences may, without inconvenience, be well expressed in the language of the adepts; the learned might treat on subjects in Latin, which only the learned were to read; in this manner mathematics, physics, philosophy, might be tolerably cultivated. But how could they have a literature, without a vulgar tongue, without a people, or, as it may be said, without a public? Every one has a right to decide on productions of taste and sentiment: the auditory of a wit or a poet cannot be restrained to Latin scholars; he requires all classes, all ages, all sexes; he must speak the language of courts and of taverns, of closets and camps, of citizens and peasants; his business is with all minds, all hearts, and more particularly those most ingenuous, most open to all impressions, with those who know least of Latin. While Vaniere can scarcely number a hundred readers, Delille will find thousands. In order, therefore, that each nation might have a literature, it was necessary to write in its language; it was necessary that all classes should be accustomed to read; a great event, a powerful interest, a subject which should become the favourite topic of every one, which should agitate all minds, which should find access every where, was wanted; then alone would authors be found willing to write for the people, and a people who would read their writings with eagerness. The reformation was such an event, and became the active source of a general and inexhaustible interest to all classes.

The reformation, conceived by men of learning, and brought forth within the narrow boundary of a Latin speaking public, could never have been consummated, if it had remained within these limits. It was requisite that it should quit them, that it should become the cause of the multitude, that it should gain millions of heads, to arm millions of hands in its favour. An appeal to the people was the first step of the reformist, and this must necessarily be made in their language. When once the people were, in this manner, called upon and made judges, the opponents of the reform were also compelled to appear and plead at this tribunal, and were not sparing in their efforts to retain or bring back the multitude to their side. This controversy, which had left the schools, and become the great business of the whole of Europe, was the first active principle by which modern languages were really fertilized. Before they were only jargons, as rude as the vulgar who made use of them. A few amorous sonnets were not enough to give them that richness and flexibility which they required, to become capable of treating on all descriptions of subjects. The universal animosity between the Papists and the Reformists; the long troubles of Germany and Swizerland; those of the league in France; those of the Low Countries; those of Scotland and England, became so many furnaces in which the different languages of these countries were elaborated and purified. In his Histoire de l' Esprit Humain,† the Marquis D'Argens, after having described the state of letters previous to the sixteenth century, says, "In these times of ignorance Luther appeared, like one of those cheering lights, which after a long tempest, announces to mariners an approaching calm. This great man did as much good to science, as he did injury to the court of Rome. He showed the absurdity of the errors which long respect and ancient custom had rendered sacred; he not only ridiculed the opinions of the theologians, but their language and their manner of writing. He was seconded in his undertakings by Calvin, and it is to these disputes on religion that we are indebted for the restoration of the fine and good style. The theologians of the different parties eagerly strove with each other to write correctly, and to prejudice their readers by the purity of their style."

The German nation acknowledges Luther for the reformer of its literature and its idiom. One of his first cares was to publish a faithful translation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, executed by him and some of his co-operators, from the original. It may be conceived with what avidity this immense work was received, and what a general sensation it excited. It is still taken as authority, and is the principal classic foundation of what is called high German. In this idiom he wrote the greater part of his treatises, letters, discourses, and poems, the collection of which forms twenty-two quarto volumes. One of his first writings was that entitled, *Of the Christian Liberty*, at the head of which he placed an epistle dedicatory, as decent as open and liberal, to Pope Leo X. "No writer for many ages (says M. Georges Muller, of Schaffhausen, in his Lettres sur les Sciences,) had seen his writings bought up with such avidity, and so universally read from the throne to the cottage. They were all reprinted several times, pirated, hawked over all the empire. The popularity, the natural ease, the energy of expression which prevailed in them, a doctrine which cheered and elevated the soul, gained him the most upright and judicious of all classes. A multiplicity of pamphlets, loose sheets, songs, which have reached us from that period, testify the universal ecstasy which this vivifying light inspired." Wickliff had previously translated the New Testament into English; as soon as the reformation had rendered the reading of the sacred books of the first necessity to the people of England, Tindal, Roye* and others published a version of them. The same thing occurred in France, where the reformation multiplied the French Bibles, and placed them in the hands of every one.† When the Catholic theologians saw these great mysteries of religion become the prey of the ignorant, they resolved to countermine them, and to publish also their translations, their commentaries, their explanations of the sacred books. We shall content ourselves with observing, generally, that the European languages were perfectionated by these religious and political controversies, by these translations and explanations, which is sufficient to the object in discussion.‡

It would, doubtless, be hazarding too much, to say more of the influence exerted on the belles lettres, by the reformation.§ So many different causes have contributed to their culture, and to the different modifications they have experienced, in the various European nations, that whoever enters this labyrinth will be in danger of missing his track, of blending objects, and of giving ingenious conjectures instead of certain results. The Protestant nations, which may be called the Germanic race, have such a similarity of features among them in their manners, language, and climate, that we must be careful of taking a conformity in the characters or genius of their literary productions, for the immediate effects of the great revolution which was common to them. The spirit of each people, so powerfully modified by such a number of events, and of generations, has its own tendencies, its natural dispositions, which cannot be attributed to one insulated circumstance. Without doubt, the unanimity with which the Protestant nations of the present day adopted the reform as soon as it presented itself, was only a result of this mutual conformity of their spirit. Their progress in this respect (the matter being adopted in general) has always tended to simplify religion, to render it more strict and more intellectual, remaining inviolably attached to deism, and to that morality which is the basis of it. The manners of the Protestant are are also incontestibly better and more grave, than those of the Catholic nations. Is it because these nations are Protestant, that they have acquired this character; or, is it because they have this character that they became Protestant? I must leave the decision of this question to others. I am only desirous of showing the influence of this character on the culture of the belles lettres. The French and Italian literature is rich in a multitude of works, in which love is treated with the most exquisite delicacy and grace; such a number of these agreeable productions would be sought for in vain, among the English or Germans; I might even dare to assert, that the few they have are merely imitative, and that they are not indigenous plants in their soil. Among them, love would not dare to appear escorted by the desires, and associated with voluptuousness. Their Boccaces, Grecourts and Lafontaines, have not yet been born. Should they appear they would be coldly received; and it was not by the softened imitations of this description, which Wieland hazarded, that he conciliated the most of the esteem of his countrymen. In a word, their songs, their romances, the ideal world of their poets, are totally different from what is seen among their neighbours. I dare not give this as a consequence of the reformation, but rather as a coincidence. It is, however, very deserving of notice, that the two most sublime epic poems, in which the God of Christians, and the inhabitants of heaven are the actors, and in which these actors speak a language worthy of them; the two most wonderful pictures of celestial innocence and virtue, that of the fall of the first human beings, and that of their redemption, are Protestant productions. If the too short golden age of Italian poetry had not produced the Jerusalem of Tasso, Paradise Lost and the Messiah would have been the only two epic poems of which modern literature could have boasted.

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* See Stock's work, entitled De bonarum literarum Palingenesia, sub et post Reformationem. See also Morhoff, &c.

† Tom I. p. 258.

* This is probably intended for Rogers, who in conjunction with Coverdale, revised Tindal's translation, and added the prefaces and notes from Luther's Bible. This translation was dedicated to Henry VIII. in the feigned name of Thomas Matthews, and is known by the name of Matthews's Bible. T.

† It is true that in his Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, p. 332, Father Simon asserts that the first French Bible was that of Anvers, of 1530, revised by the theologians of Louvain, and that thus "it was the Catholics who were the first authors of the French Bibles read at present." But Father Simon did not know that that Bible was the work of Jacques Lefebvre of Estaples, commonly called Father Stapulensis, the confidant of the queen of Navarre, suspected with good reason of being a partisan of Luther, declared to be a heretic by the Sorbonne, and deprived of his doctorate. This translation of the Bible was also used as the basis of that of Geneva.

‡ We must not omit here the real services rendered by Bayle to the French language, which he contributed greatly to the production of a taste for, which he made capable of being modelled to every subject, and even of treating on matters which before had only been treated of in Latin.

§ Nevertheless it may also be added, that the inhabitants of the towns and the country, who hear divine service regularly in their own tongue, who sing psalms, canticles, and rich pieces of poetry in it, written, as they are in Germany, by the best national poets, acquire by that means a crowd of ideas, a taste and a notion of the beautiful, which can never be attained by those who assist at a service performed in bad Latin, which they do not understand.

Finally, the investigating and reasoning spirit, to which the reformation opened a free career, as has been shown above, was also introduced into the domain of the imagination, and took such a post in it as it was capable of, that is to say, it took refuge in the theoretic department of the belles lettres, in the systems connected with sentiment, taste, the beautiful and sublime, &c.

It is known, that in proportion, the Protestant literati have done more on these subjects, and perhaps, have penetrated more deeply into them than the others. It is among them that the rational part of literary criticism has assumed the form of a science, under the name of Esthetics. This name was given to it by Baumgarten, a German, from a Greek word signifying sentiment. Lessing, as well as Sulzur and his followers, have published some valuable pieces of this description. Kant has founded a new esthetic school, in his Criticism on the Judgment. He has had numerous and ingenious disciples; the most remarkable among them, both in theory and in practice, is the illustrious Schiller.

With respect to the Fine Arts.

It is when a pompous worship requires magnificent temples, imposing ceremonies, and a striking appearance; it is when religion exhibits the sensible images of the objects of public veneration, when it rests on a sacred mythology; when the earth and the heavens are peopled with supernatural beings, to whom the imagination can lend a form; it is then, I say, that the arts, encouraged, ennobled, reach the summit of their splendour and their perfection. The architect, called to honours and wealth, conceives the plan of these basilisks, these cathedrals, the appearance of which inspires a religious awe; of which the rich walls are decorated with the master-pieces of art. This temple, these altars are adorned with marble and the precious metals, out of which sculpture has formed angels, the blessed, and images of illustrious men. The choirs, the galleries, the chapels, the sacristies, are decorated with pictures hung in all parts. Here, Jesus dies on the cross; there he appears on Tabor, in all the resplendence of divine majesty. Art, so much the friend of the imagination, which can find gratification only in the heavens, goes there in search of its most sublime creations; a St. John, a Cecilia, and more particularly, a Mary, that patroness of all tender and ardent minds, that virgin model of all mothers, the mediatrix of mercy between man and his God, the august and touching Elysian being, of which no other religion offers a resemblance or a model. During the solemnities, the choicest stuffs, precious stones, and embroidery cover the altars, the vessels, the priests and even the partitions of the holy place. By the most exquisite songs, by the harmony of orchestras, music completes the charm. These encouragements, of such powerful efficacy, are renewed in a hundred different places; the metropolises, the parishes, the numerous convents, the simple oratories, vie in splendour, and captivate all the powers of the religious and devout soul. Thus the taste for the arts, assisted by such a powerful lever, becomes general; artists are multiplied, and rival each other in their efforts. Through this influence, the celebrated schools of Italy and Flanders flourished, and those most beautiful productions of them which remain to us, testify the richness of the encouragement lavished on them by the Catholic worship.

From the natural course of things, it cannot be doubted that the reformation was unfavourable to the fine arts, and laid a considerable restraint upon the exercise of them. It broke the bond which united them to religion, which rendered them sacred, and secured them a share in the veneration of the people. The liturgy of the Lutherans, and still more that of the Calvinists, is simple and strict. A stone, a cloth, form the altar; a pulpit and benches are all the decoration necessary to the temple. Here nothing is thought of but the gospel, and some divine songs on morality and the Christian duties, sung by the congregation. All is devoid of ornament, pomp and elegance. The priest is clothed in a modest black garment; no veneration of a saint or an angel, and still less of their images, is recommended to pious souls. It might be said that this worship is melancholy and dry, in comparison with that of the Catholics, if, however, an assembly of persons collected to worship in common, can really correspond with the idea of melancholy. Nevertheless it is certain, that this worship which can elevate the soul, tends to disenchant the imagination; it renders superb churches, and statues, and paintings superfluous; it depopulates the arts, and deprives them of one of their most powerful resources.

Besides this general disposition peculiar to a worship which keeps so rigidly close to the pure spirit of the primitive church, and which does not admit of any coquetry with the senses, the particular disposition of the nations which have embraced the reform must be considered. The greater part of them inhabit the severest climate of Europe. They are colder, more phlegmatic, more thoughtful than those of the south; they have not nature before their eyes in so beautiful a form; they do not respire that voluptuous, soft, intoxicating air of the Italian atmosphere. Independent of the reformation, therefore, they are not so well placed, so well constituted for the practice of the arts, as the Italians for example. Without doubt they have had, and still have, esteemed artists, but not such as to excel those of Italy, or even to counterbalance them. Their real merit in the arts, and which arises from their reflecting, scrutinizing spirit, is that of treating the theory with more penetration; of observing and investigating the principles which, unknown to them, direct the great artists; of tracing the course of the imagination, and the understanding in their productions; of discovering the connections between the ideal nature of the arts, and real nature; in a word, of developing the principles and philosophy of the arts. The Italian feels and produces; Hemsterhuys, Kant, Burke, Goethe, think, analyze the production, and the faculty of producing. The one has the instinct of art; the other, the intelligence. The one creates; the other judges of the creation, and calculates its laws. These two functions equally presuppose genius. The first displays it externally, in visible forms; the second, in the depths of the understanding. This may be named the legislative power; that, the executive power of the fine arts.

SECT. II.

RESULTS OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE ACCOMPANIED AND FOLLOWED THE REFORMATION.

Troubles and Wars in the Political World.—Controversies in the Theological World.

If the reformation had only affected doctrine, and Luther had only attacked transubstantiation, or pardons, such an obscure quarrel would have remained in the schools, and scarcely have obtained the honours of a bull of condemnation. The holy father, would, unconcernedly, have treated the new heretic like a thousand others who have passed by without creating an epocha. The nations and the princes would have been wholly ignorant of a quarrel which was not theirs. But Luther not only attacked the spirit, or the doctrine of popery; he from the first, struck at the most sensible part of the temporals of the church, and began the heresy with the apostolical finances. From thenceforward no one could remain indifferent; those who raised the tribute made a great outcry; those who were freed from the payment of it, declared strenuously for the innovators. The most powerful of the Christian princes, however, those who have threatened the independence of all the others, thought proper to support the rights of Rome. The others, who, in this conjuncture saw the double opportunity of freeing themselves at the same time, from the papal despotism, and from the yoke of Austria, resolved to arm in defence of the reform, and suffered themselves to be carried down the torrent with their people. Hence also resulted this double misfortune, that the wars which arose, took a religious and a fanatic character; consequently, more animated, more dreadful, and more sanguinary than that of other wars; and that the controversies of the theologians acquired a political importance, a universality which rendered their effects more fatal, more durable, and more extensive than those of all the numerous controversies which had, at any former time, agitated the Christian church.

These were the sources of the evils, of the horrible catastrophes, which accompanied and followed the reformation; such were the causes of a century and a half of a mortal crisis, of sanguinary wars, of revolts, and of troubles in Europe. A spark which Luther had struck to light a torch, fell among heaps of powder, in a country wholly mined. The explosion shook all the west, and seemed likely to bring back the night of barbarism which had been begun to be dissipated; but fortunately the torch had been lighted; and when the clouds of vapour emitted from the volcano began to disperse, its beneficent light shone like a star which had been darkened by a tempest, but, on the return of serenity, serves to restore the pilot to his course.

It may, therefore, be truly said, with some of the opponents of the reformation, that, at the moment, it forced the reign of knowledge and the culture of the sciences to retrograde. Let us figure to ourselves the unheard-of devastations to which unfortunate Germany became a prey; the war of the peasants in Suabia; that of the Anabaptists of Munster; that of the league of Smalcald against Charles V. Finally, that dreadful one which lasted until the treaty of Westphalia, and also after this treaty, until its complete execution. The empire was changed by it into a vast cemetery, in which two generations were swallowed up, where cities were only smoking ruins, and heaps of ashes: the schools deserted and without masters; agriculture destroyed; manufactures burnt. To this may be added, that, on this desolated land, men's minds were soured, disunited, exasperated by their long divisions; Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Moravians, all accused and attributed to each other the lamentable wounds of their common country, of that country which was not only torn by its own children, but so long exposed to the troops of Spain and Italy, to the fanatics of Bohemia, to hordes of Turks, to the French, Swedish and Danish armies, who vied with each other in bringing into it the carnage and desolations of war, such as was carried on in the seventeenth century, and which had the characters of a civil and religious war. A country requires a very long space of time to recover from such a commotion and so deep a ruin. Consequently we see the German nation, after having, at first, made very great strides in the sciences, during the peace which was maintained while Luther lived, fall, for a part of the seventeenth century, into a sort of stupor, into an almost total want of culture. In this period, its literature remained behind that of the Italians, the French, and the English; and from thence may be dated the unfavourable prejudice against German talents, which is not yet wholly extinguished in the latter nations. Since this period the aspect of things has been greatly changed; but prejudices last longer than things; and the love of our own country, strengthened by a habit disposed to believe, and an indolence which checks examination, will, perhaps render this opinion very difficult to destroy.

It was not on its native soil alone, where its cause was contested with such inveteracy, that the reformation occasioned these destructive convulsions. France could not escape them; but the troubles of this county were neither so long nor so mischievous as those of Germany. The latter country was in the most deplorable state, when France had healed all her wounds, under Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarine, and had attained the summit of her literary and political glory. The Low Countries were the theatre of the convulsive struggle of Spain against the new Dutch republic. The evils resulting from it to this part of Europe, nearly equalled those of the rest of the empire. Finally, England became the prey of intestine commotions, which have been detailed above, in the article appropriated to that power. It is enough to be obliged to acknowledge that, since the irruption of the northern tribes into the Roman empire, no event had provoked such long and such universal ravages in Europe, as the war kindled in the furnace of the reformation. In this point of view, it is too true that it retarded the progress of the general culture; but when the conflagration was at an end, all the solid benefits derived from it appeared, in the better direction, the new activity, the liberty, it had given to the human mind, in the immense obstacles it had removed from its path, and which so invincibly shackled its progress.

I ask, besides, was it the reformation which called the princes and the nations to the combat? In its principle, the reformation was only the act by which reason declared itself emancipated, and freed from the yoke of arbitrary authority; an emancipation which was the natural and unavoidable consequence of the renovation of knowledge. Its object was to restore the gospel to Christians in its purity, to renounce the exorbitant claims of the popes. The adversaries of this reform were so enraged, so iniquitous, as to wish to stifle it in the blood of its sectaries. They alone are guilty of all the evils which followed. The terrible efforts made to annihilate the reform prove, to every reflecting mind, its great necessity.

A more direct reproach, and apparently a more just one, which may be brought against the reformation, is that of having rekindled, with inconceivable fury, the theological disputes, which interested all minds, were introduced into all places, and consumed so much knowledge, talents, assiduity and erudition, as were lavished in feeding their fire. The attention of the learned world was directed for upwards of a century to these calamitous quarrels of dogmas and forms, which became a new and powerful obstacle to the progress of the sciences. They strengthened the disposition for reveries and the extravagant mysticism of some ardent imaginations. Polemical disputations naturally arose, from the first, between the theologians of Rome and those of the reform; they were violent on both sides, and accompanied by contumely and insults.* The acrimony, too natural to such discussions and such circumstances, was propagated from year to year, and from controversy to controversy, and contributed greatly to giving the literary disputes of the times that followed, that strain of animosity which is more observable in this than in any other age.

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* Luther is greatly reproached, and by Voltaire among others, for some invectives and contemptuous terms which he used against the Pope. Voltaire has employed much more indecent language himself, and with less reason, against his opponents. At the beginning, Luther showed himself very submissive and very respectful to the head of the church. He expressed himself at first, and also frequently afterwards, with great moderation and decency. But let us reflect on the horrible abuse with which he was loaded; let us read the libels of Hochstraten, Eckius, Tetzel, &c. and we shall see whether Luther ought to be condemned for the anger and indignation he occasionally manifested. If he had not been ardent and irritable, how could he have become the leader of so great a revolution? If his enemies had had him in their power, they would have burned him as they did John Huss. For his part, he was satisfied with turning them into ridicule, but he did not burn any one. Against adversaries who employ tortures and fire, is it an offence so heinous to employ sarcasms even though they should be in a bad taste? There was very little good taste in the sixteenth century. Besides, leisure and tranquillity are necessary to taste; and could leisure be allied with the clashing of all interests, and all passions? The language of Luther, sometimes violent, was never cruel and ferocious, like that of some of the popes. Clement VI. in the bull of anathema which he issued against the emperor Louis of Bavaria, expresses himself thus; "May God strike him with imbecility and madness; may heaven overwhelm

It was not between the Catholics and the innovators alone that the combat raged; but very ardent contests soon arose in the bosom of the reform itself, and between its partisans. I cannot here relate the history of all the sects and all the opinions which the unlimited liberty established by the reform gave rise to, in such numbers. These sects, all enemies of Rome, did not treat each other better than they treated the Papists. Besides the fanatic brotherhoods of Anabaptists Mennonites, Adamites, Muntzerians, Puritans, &c.; besides the violent contests on the doctrine of the sacraments, which Luther, Melancthon, and others had to support against Carlstadt, Œcolampadius, &c. there arose important schisms in the Evangelical Church, which were also allied to politics and were not without influence on the fate of the people. The Swiss reform declared itself against the Saxon reform, and the English church was established independent of both. The struggle between Lutheranism and Calvinism was violent and long.* So many vain disputes could not take place but at the expense of beneficial studies and useful knowledge, the culture of which was neglected on account of them.

This does not contradict what I have said above of the happy results of the moral impulse given by the reformation. I have given these results such as they really were in the end, and without confining myself to the order of time. It is thus that what may appear contradictory in that which I have formerly said, in favour, and that which I now say to the disadvantage of the reform, is to be understood and interpreted.

We may observe, however, that these religious disputes, which related only to the different opinions on theology and matters of faith, have contributed to keep up that living spirit of religion, and that attachment to Christianity in the Protestant countries, which is much less visible in Catholic countries. After all, it is better to dispute on religion than to agree quietly not to have any; to contend on the manner of adoring God, than not to believe in him at all, and to remain indifferent and lukewarm on what relates to our connection with the Divinity. It is also better, without doubt, to adore God sincerely, and to leave each individual at liberty to perform this high action in his own manner. This is precisely what, some sooner, and others later, the different reformed nations have come to. They began with wrangling and controversy; they finished with philosophy and toleration; and the spirit of religion remained with them.†

We may also observe, that this theological inquietude, which has produced so many useless and even injurious controversies among the Reformists, was not in any respect essential to the reformation, but belonged to the age, and to Christianity in general. The first Reformers were Catholic theologians, trained in the bosom of the Roman Church, and had communicated a captious irritability to their new doctrine. It was not because they were Lutherans or Calvinists that these new doctors were full of subtleties, were vain and petulent; it was because they had been Catholics, and were compelled to defend themselves without remission against the Catholic doctors. This spirit of disputation was, as we may suppose, transmitted to their immediate successors; but it was at length subdued and overpowered by the true spirit of the reform, which is the same as that of the Gospel, and by that of knowledge and philosophy, so powerfully seconded by the reform, which are not different from those of humanity and toleration.

Abelard and St. Bernard were not Reformists; neither were the two parties of the Franciscans, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To what a deluge of controversies and scholastic barbarisms did these two give rise! Since the time of the apostles, the Christian church has been constantly afflicted with this mania of sects, and debates on doctrine. From Simon the magician, Cerinthus and Ebbion to Jansenins, Quesnel, and the last days of the Sarbonne, nothing has been seen but disputes, the acrimony of parties, hatreds, condemnations. How could a sudden revolution be effected in this church, without bearing the same characters? How could such a volcano break out without discharging torrents of lava? Poor human reason had been so long captive in the schools of theology, that, at first, it was unable to make the most proper use of its liberty. A prisoner whose chains are struck off, the door of whose dungeon is thrown open, quits it with unsteady steps; his benumbed feet are unable to support him; the blaze of day, destined to enlighten him, makes him blind; he wanders about at hazard, strikes against every obstacle, falls and destroys himself.—Would it have been better, for this reason, to have left the man in his dungeon? The opponents of the reform say yes.

Secret Societies—Free-Masons—Rosicrucians—Mystics—Illuminati.

When a certain number of individuals, forming a feeble minority of a nation, feel themselves the depositories of opinions which they believe to be of importance, and which they dare not make public, because they think them dangerous to the multitude, or because they would expose themselves to persecutions by professing them openly, or from any other cause: then arises to these individuals the necessity of secret unions, in which they may profess their doctrine with freedom; an intimate fraternity between all the members of the association, oaths not to betray it, tests, signs to know each other in the midst of strangers, are necessary to them. Hence the mysteries of Egypt, of Greece, those of Pythagoras, &c.

There is no doubt that many of these mysterious fraternities have existed in Europe since the fall of the Roman empire, and that some of them may have passed through the middle age to reach us. But without attending to all the recitals, true or fabulous, which several of them give of their origin, and which frequently have no other foundation but a romantic tradition, deceitful symbols, and suppositious monuments, we shall only stop to observe that the nature of things never made these societies so necessary and so mysterious as they were rendered by the abuses of the hierarchial despotism, the inquisition, and the vexations of every kind exercised by the agents of Rome in the period which preceded the reformation. There was a considerable number of all classes whose eyes were opened to these abuses, and who perceived their enormity; but they carefully concealed in their souls, a secret, which, had it been divulged, would have condemned them to the flames. It was only when they met a tried friend apart, that they could communicate their sentiments; then their oppressed breasts were unburthened, they consoled each other, in a low voice, on the load with which

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him with its thunders; may the anger of God, with that of St. Peter and St. Paul, fall upon him in this world and in the next; may the whole universe revolt against him; may the earth swallow him up alive; may his name perish from the earliest generation; and may his memory disappear, may all the elements be adverse to him; may his children, delivered into the hands of his enemies, be crushed before the eyes of their father, &c." (Rainaldi, Ann. Eccles.) Such language did not prevent Petrarch, playing on the name of this pope, from saying that he was clemency itself; while Garasse and all his worthy successors delight in repeating that Luther was a clownish monk, a hot-headed heresiarch, and other pitiful things. Strange blindness of ignorance and fanaticism!

* If I have not taken greater notice of the schism between the Lutherans and Calvinists, it is because I had not to give an account of the influence of the reform on the religious doctrine and belief. There have been few results of this schism of any importance to the states, because the Calvinists have obtained the same rights as the Lutherans in the empire. It has only produced some misunderstandings and internal dissentions in the evangelical party, to which it has, for that reason, been hurtful. The electoral houses of Saxony and the Palatinate, among others, have had severe contests on this subject: but I cannot speak of them; my only object has been to give results of importance to the rest of Europe, these domestic bickerings of the reform are not of that description.

† The religious discussions had also some other good effects, from the favourable disposition to philosophical and speculative subjects which they kept up in men's minds. Would our great Descartes have founded a school; would his doctrine have occasioned the sensation it did, or, would it have produced the good it did produce, if he had not found both opponents and disciples, equally ardent, in Holland? Holland was the true focus of Cartesianism. It was there also that all those sheltered theologians, Saurin, Jarieu, Basnage, (as well as Beausobre, Lenfant and others at Berlin,) discussed and wrote, and whose books warmed the zeal of our Arnauld, Bossuet, and Nicole, in their answers, from which, as well as from the replics of their adversaries, we might select more than one master-piece, in works remarkable for the eloquence arising from a warmth of soul, for the beauty of style, and the erudition which is displayed in them.

they were borne down, and consulted on the means of uniting, and supporting themselves, and of forming a small circle within which the tyrants of the mind could not reach them. It is more than probable that such societies existed at the time of the reformation. The Wickliffites in England and Scotland, the Hussites in Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia, as well as the remains of the Albigenses in France, must, doubtless, have felt the want of a mutual communication, and also of a careful concealment; two conditions which are principally instrumental in the formation of these societies. How much more pressing and general must these circumstances have become, when the reformation broke out openly in Saxony, and everywhere redoubled the activity and watchfulness of the spies and inquisitors of Rome? There was not any Catholic country in which the principles of Luther had not gained a great number of partisans. The situation of these secret adherents of the reform was exceedingly perilous. A simple suspicion would have undone them, would have given them over to punishment. The extreme constraint they were under could only cease and receive some alleviation in the hidden conventicles of the most profound mystery. If the order of free-masons did not then take its rise, (that is to say, towards the close of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century,) at least it received both new modifications and a new extension at that period. They have not yet found titles which are completely sheltered from criticism, or in which a formal mention of them is made, prior to the year 1610. The temple of Jerusalem, the strict filiation of the templars, belong probably to the mythology of this order, rather than to its history. There are ancient laws in existence which exclude the Catholics, and confine the order to the Protestants alone. The principles of equality and fraternity between the members, are very conformable to that seen at that time in several open and avowed sects. The geographical position of Bohemia and Saxony, from whence issued the light of reform, with respect to Scotland, England, and France, seems to explain the denomination of the *East* commonly used in their lodges. In the state of confusion and advancement of all nations, a conformity of opinion was of more importance to them than a conformity of country. A Lutheran of Bavaria was more attached to a Lutheran of Saxony, than to a Bavarian Catholic. The Swiss Calvinist, become the enemy of the Swiss Catholic, considered the French and Dutch Calvinist, as his true countrymen. The Scotch Puritan fraternized with the Englishmen of his sect, in despite of the national antipathy. Nevertheless the civil wars, these of nation against nation, long and sanguinary, which followed, particularly in England and Scotland often brought these brothers, the secret allies, to blows, and exposed them to the mutual danger of taking each other's lives. Each followed at random the colours under which his fortune had thrown him. How many soldiers, zealous Protestants at the bottom of their hearts, served in the imperial armies of Ferdinand, and in those of Philip II.! How many Calvinists in the army of the league, and Presbyterians in the ranks of the episcopals! A mysterious sign was, therefore, required, by which brother might be revealed to brother in the midst of the confusion and carnage. It is known that the Free-Masons have one destined to accomplish this object; and this alone seems evidently to prove that this order belongs to the sanguinary period of the wars of the seventeenth century, during which there are numerous examples of individuals being saved amidst the greatest perils, by their enemies themselves, who, by this sign, recognized them for fellows and brothers.

The state of disorder and fermentation in which the human mind was, in general, at the moment of Luther's appearance; the efforts which it made in various directions to arrive at the light, and escape from the darkness of the middle age, gave rise to several coincident events in the reign of science, which were mingled in a thousand different ways, both with the ideas of the religious sects of this period, and with the mysterious doctrine of the secret societies. A fanciful assemblage of aphorisms, called of Hermes, Pythagoras, and Plato, adapted to the Hebrew text of the books of the old Testament, and of those of some Rabbis, had renewed the Judaical reveries, known by the name of Cabbala. The sectaries of this obscure doctrine, called also by them the Hermetic, the Pythagorean, etc. philosophy, expected to find in them the sources of knowledge, of universal wisdom. Reuchlin, Zorzi and Agrippa gave it its consistence in the sixteenth century. Cardan and others added judicial astrology to it. The celebrated Swiss, Theophrastus Bombast de Hohenheim, better known by the name of Paracelsus, united his knowledge to the cabbala, and aimed at penetrating all the secrets of God, or of nature, which to him was the same thing. To find the primitive element, the great menstruum; to fix the light, and subject it to his operations; in a word, to find the philosopher's stone, to cure all diseases and to make gold, by its means, was the end, the great work of the new science, which its numerous partisans sometimes called theosophy, the philosophy of fire, etc. He who, after Paracelsus, gained it the most popularity, was the celebrated Englishman, Robert Fludd. In the laboratories of this sect were propagated the Oriental ideas of magic, of apparitions, of genii; ideas which prevailed about this time, and have not yet entirely ceased. The common doctrine of the groundwork of all these cabbalists, astrologers, and alchemists, was the pantheism of the school of Alexandria; and, consequently, through all its variations, a sort of Platonism, which, as such, would oppose, with all its powers, the famous Aristotleism, defended by the scholastics, and the principal support of the Roman theology.* The Protestant sects, the enemies of Rome, received therefore, and gave credit to all these novelties, introduced, principally, in the secret associations of which we have spoken, and which sometimes were open to these magicians, blowers of gold, etc.

The religious ideas of every description, from the most extravagant cabbala, to the most rational Protestantism; the moral ideas of equality, of fraternity, and of beneficence among all men; those of judicial astrology, of theosophy and alchemy, with all their shades and consequences; such were the elements, so various and so heterogeneous, of which the mysterious basis of the secrets of all these new associations was composed. According as an individual or a lodge adopted more particularly one or other of these views, its doctrine tended more to religious mysticism, or to political mysticism, or to astrology, or to alchemy, etc. Gradually, however, the elements purely moral were separated entirely from the mysteries of alchemy, and of the philosopher's stone. They took refuge in the society so well known by the name of *Free-Masonry*, which, whether its origin ascends higher than the reformation or not, received a new growth and a new vigour from it. For a long time, since the religious troubles have been calmed in Europe, and all the Christian sects are allowed in it, this estimable society has only retained some of the mysterious forms of its infancy, a secret which only seems to be preserved to render the association more connected or more enticing, and a great respect for the sacred books, which was the characteristic feature of Protestantism. The remainder became the portion of the Rosicrucians, who notwithstanding the imposing history of their pretended founder, Rosencreutz, and of his interment; notwithstanding the rose surmounted with a cross borne by Luther on his seal, according to all appearance, owes its origin to a Wittembergian theologian, Valentine Andreœ, who established it there with a good design, but afterwards withdrew from it.†

Sometimes the religious ideas of the theosophists remained united with their metaphysical pantheism, with their mythology of supernatural beings, with their chemistry, with their manner of seeing nature. From this the most eccentric and sometimes the most whimsical doctrine was produced in some heads which gave way to this medley. The most famous of these mystical theosophists was a shoemaker of Goerlitz in Lusatia, Jacob Bœhm, whose writings, being read with avidity, created him a multitude of sectaries over all the north of Europe; there are also among them, some very illustrious for their knowledge; I shall only instance the two Van Helments, father and son, of Brussels, and Peter Poiret, of Metz. At a period very near our own, we also reckon Swedenbourg, and all the sect of Martinists, among whom Paracelsus and Bœhm are likewise held in great esteem. It is certain that this Bœhm, and some other mystics, have been men of extraordinary genius; and that some of their ideas merit as honourable a rank in the sublime philosophy, as certain discoveries of Paracelsus deserve in chemistry. If, as Seneca says, there is no great genius without some mixture of folly, perhaps, also, there is no great folly without some mixture of genius.

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* It cannot be denied that these theosophists, as well as the reformist theologians, prepared the way for Descartes, in the mortal war which he waged against the remains of the scholastic philosophy. It is impossible to understand the writings of this philosopher, or those of his disciples or adversaries, such as, Vœitus, Gassendi, Poiret, etc. and, generally of all the philosophical works of this period, without a perfect acquaintance with the key of the labours of the reformers, and of those of the sectaries of Paracelsus.

† A work will shortly be published in Germany by the learned M. Buhle, professor of philosophy in the university of Gottingen, which will make what is advanced here on the origin of Masonry evident, and will exhibit all the proofs. M. Buhle has already read a Latin dissertation on the same subject to the Royal Society of Sciences at Gottingen, at the end of 1802, and an extract from this piece appeared in the literary papers of the same city, in January, 1803, Nos. 7 and 8.

However this may be, these secret societies were not without some influence on the moral culture, and also on the events which have occurred in Europe since the reformation. It was, therefore, to our purpose to notice the influence which this had on their existence. On these have been grafted and modelled some more recent associations, of which the best known is the order of the Illuminati, a general denomination which have served as a mask and a pretext to much knavery. The purpose of the real Illuminati, as I believe, was no other than to propogate knowledge and to realize liberal ideas of the rights of nature, by founding a society of energetic and well meaning men, who might labour with all their united strength against a certain system of obscurantism which tended towards a return to barbarism, and which was efficaciously supported by some courts. The Illuminati, during the short period of their existence, neglected no means to make their intentions triumph, and to subject all the great men of the earth to them. In this view they may be considered as the Jesuits of philosophy, and the apostles of a political sect whose belief is founded on this agreeable dream, that virtue and talents should have precedency and authority among men.

Jesuits, Jansenists, etc.

The sixteenth century saw Luther and Loyola arise almost at the same instant, the one in the north, and the other in the south of Europe: the latter, sprung from Spain, seems to be a natural product of the soil and of the spirit of Saxony. A century earlier, Loyola would probably only have founded an order like many others, a fraternity of worshippers of the Virgin, for whom he had a great veneration. The religious innovations which, at this time, menaced the existence of the Roman church, gave the enthusiasm of the devout and warlike Ignatius, another direction; he conceived the idea of a sort of spiritual crusade against heresy. After some doubts his plan was vigorously adopted at Rome, and they thought seriously of this new society as of a formidable phalanx, which might be opposed to the most violent champions of the reform. It is, therefore, as has been already observed, to the reaction provoked by the latter, that the species of existence which the company of Jesus had, must be attributed. It will, perhaps, be agreeable to see the identical words of Damianus, one of the first historians of the society, who expresses himself thus, in his Synopsis Historiæ Soc. Jes. primo fæculo, printed in 1610.*

"In the same year, 1521, Luther, moved by a consummate malice, declared war openly against the church: wounded in the fortress of Pampeluna, having become better, and, as it were, stronger, from his wound, Ignatius raised the standard in defence of religion.

"Luther attacks the see of St. Peter, with insults and blasphemies: Ignatius, as if to undertake his cause, is miraculously cured by St. Peter.

"Luther, subdued by rage, ambition, and lust. quits a religious life: Ignatius, eagerly obeying the call of God, changes from a profane to a religious life.

"Sacrilegious Luther contracts an incestuous marriage with a holy virgin of God: Ignatius binds himself by a vow of perpetual continency.

"Luther contemns all the authority of his superiors: the first precepts of Ignatius, full of Christian humility, are to submit and obey.

"Luther declaims like a fury against the Holy See: Ignatius everywhere supports it.

"Luther draws as many from it as he can: Ignatius conciliates and brings back as many to it as he can.

"All Luther's studies and enterprises are directed against it: Ignatius, by a special vow, consecrates his labours, with those of his associates, to it.

"Luther detracts from the veneration and worship of the sacred rites of the church: Ignatius maintains all veneration for them.

"The sacrifice of the mass, the eucharist, the mother of God, the tutelary saints, the indulgences of the pontiffs, and the things attacked by Luther with such fury, were objects which the industry of Ignatius and his companions was eagerly and continually employed in seeking new modes of celebrating.

"To this Luther, the disgrace of Germany, the hog of Epicurus, the destroyer of Europe, the accursed portent of the universe, the abomination of God and men, etc.... God, in his eternal wisdom, opposed Ignatius."

In fact, the new order performed the functions, prescribed for it from its cradle, with fidelity. A great number of Catholic associations and fraternities, to which the general unquiet gave rise about that epocha, appeared, and were eclipsed without glory, like those meteors which blaze for an instant in the atmosphere, and leave no trace behind them. The society of Jesus rose above the horizon like a formidable comet which spreads terror through the nations. Scarcely established, it rendered important services to the Holy See during the sitting of the Council of Trent, and powerfully influenced the decrees of that assembly. The ancient orders, and, in particular, the mendicants, were very envious of these new comers, who began with such lustre, and drew all consideration and all favours to themselves. This emulation redoubled the activity of those who were not Jesuits, and particularly of the Dominicans, who exercised the arm of the inquisition, entrusted to their direction, in a more dreadful manner than ever. Nevertheless, the Jesuits eclipsed all their rivals, and acquired the unlimited favour of the pontiffs, and an immense power over all the Catholic world. The missions were, to them and the popes, what colonies are to civil governments, a source of riches and power. At length this militia of the Holy See gradually became formidable to their masters. They were suspected of harbouring a secret design to appropriate to themselves the universal monarchy they were intended to reconquer for the popes. From this arose discussions, in which the society, oftener than once, showed themselves intractable, and made it appear that it knew the value of its services. But let us return to the immediate object of this article, to the influence of the Jesuits on the progress of knowledge.

It has been already said that they were intrusted with the greater part of the public instruction, in the Catholic states. Europe had already tasted of the tree of knowledge; its light had spread into all parts, and had made a rapid progress; it had become impossible to oppose it openly. The safest expedient now was, not to combat the science, but to get possession of it, to prevent it from being injurious; not being able to stop the torrent, it was necessary to dig a channel for it where it might fertilize the soil of the church instead of destroying it. To well informed adversaries, therefore, they determined to oppose men as well informed; the crafty companions of Ignatius were appointed to satisfy the universal desire to acquire knowledge manifested by the age. It was here that the inconceivable talent of the new preceptors of humanity was displayed. Their leading maxim was to cultivate, and bring to the highest possible degree of perfection, every species of knowledge from which no immediate danger could arise to the system of the hierarchical power, and by that means to acquire the estimation and celebrity of being the most able and most learned men of the Christian world. Assisted by this supremacy over opinion, it became easy for them either to paralyze the branches of knowledge which might bear fruit dangerous to the papacy, or to bend, direct, and graft these branches at pleasure. Thus, in inspiring a taste for the liberal sciences, the Greek and Roman classics, profane history, mathematics, they could conveniently stifle that of inquiring into matters of religion and state, the philosophical and investigating spirit. The philosophy taught in their schools was calculated to make this science repulsive and disgusting. It was no other than the scholastic, revised and corrected by them and applied to circumstances, particularly to the polemical controversy with the Reformists, whose arguments, as may readily be supposed, were brought forward in them so as to be destroyed by the artillery of the school. With respect to religion, the study of it was confined to the books of theology composed purposely by members of the society, to Jesuit casuists and moralists. The study of the original books of religion was withdrawn; or if the gospels and other pieces appeared sometimes in their works of devotion (and this was very necessary, since the translations, made by the reformed, were public,) it was with interpretations and even alterations conformable to the principal object of the society. Their grand rallying word was the *utility* of the sciences, and the *lustre* of the belles lettres. As to everything relating to a moral amelioration or the ennobling of mankind, as well as everything connected with the philosophical and theological sciences, the Jesuits strove eagerly, and, in fact succeeded, in making them be totally forgotten; in rendering theology and philosophy barbarous and full of difficulties, and even ridiculous, in the eyes of the bulk of mankind. Who can determine how much this Jesuitic mode of instruction, which became the reigning mode in the Catholic countries, and which differs so widely from the mode of instruction of the Protestants; how much, I say, this procedure, obstinately followed during several successive generations, might have influenced the species of culture and particular turn of mind among the Catholics, so different, in general, from what is seen among the Protestants?

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* "Eodem anno vigesimo-primo, adulta jam nequitia, palam ecclesiæ bellum indixit Lutherus: læsus in Pampelonensi arce Ignatius, alius ex vulnere, fortiorque quasi defendendæ religionis signum sustulit.

"Lutherus Petri sedem probris, convitiisque lacessere aggreditur: Ignatius quasi ad suscipiendam causam, a S. Petro prodigiose curatur.

"Lutherus ira, ambitione, libidine victus, a religiosa vita desciscit: Ignatius Deo vocante impigre obsecutus, a profana ad religiosam transit.

"Lutherus cum sacra Deo vergine incestas nuptias init sacrilegus: perpetuæ continentiæ voto se adstringit Ignatius.

"Lutherus omnem superiorum contemnit aucturitatem: prima Ignatii monita sunt, plena christianæ demissionis, subesse et parere.

"In sedem apostolicam, furentis in morem, declamat Lutherus: illam ubique tuetur Ignatius.

"Ab ea quotquot potest Lutherus avertit: quotquot potest conciliat, reducitque Ignatius.

"Adversus illam nitentur omnia Lutheri studia atque conatus: Ignatius suos, suorumque labores peculiari voto illi consecrat.

"Lutherus sacris ecclesiæ ritibus venerationem, cultumque detraxit: Ignatius omnem illis reverentiam asserit.

"Missæque sacrificio, eucharistiæ, Dei paræ, tutelaribus divis, et illis, tanto Lutheri furore impugnatis, pontificum indulgentiis; in quibus novo semper invento celebrandis Ignatii sociorumque desudat industria.

"Luthero illo Germaniæ probro, Epicuri porco, Europæ exitio, orbis infelici portento, Dei atque hominum odio, etc....æterno consilio Deus opposuit Ignatium."

(Synopsis, etc.—Lib. 1. Diss. VI. p. 18.)

It, however, results from all this (and I believe this consideration is the key to the contradictory judgments formed on the method of the Jesuits, in the culture of the sciences), that this society has rendered immense services to certain parts of literature, on which it has thrown light; but that, on the other hand, it has purposely kept certain other important parts in obscurity; or, it has so scattered the avenues with difficulties, that men were not tempted to engage in them; so that, taken in general, the instruction given in their schools, very brilliant on the one side, remained very dark on the other, was a partial and incomplete instruction, and put the mind in a wrong track; for, as on the one side, all was clear and bright, and, on the other, all was dark and mysterious, the eye naturally turned to that side which alone was luminous, and disdained to rest on the other, of which they were even habituated not to suspect the existence.

To model science according to the interests of the pontifical power, and even to render it ignorant where it was requisite it should be ignorant; to produce certain objects in open day, and to keep others in a profound night; to fertilize the reign of the memory and wit, by rendering that of the mind and the reason barren; to form enlightened, but submissive spirits, ignorant only of that which might lessen their submission, like those valuable slaves of the great men of antiquity, who were grammarians, poets, rhetoricians, skilful dancers, and musicians, knowing everything, but to be free; I do not dread being contradicted by any impartial man, in asserting that such were the tactics of instruction adopted by the Jesuits. They were profound and supremely calculated for their object. They could form illustrious and polished writers, learned men, orators, good Roman Catholics, nay, Jesuits, but not men, in the extensive acceptation of the term; whoever became a man under their regulations, became so, independent of these regulations, and, I shall add, almost in despite of them.*

Besides, if this system of papal infallibility and blind submission to the apostolic see, was incompatible with reason and the progress of knowledge, (which no moderate Catholic makes any difficulty of acknowledging at the present day,) ought we not to consider the existence of a learned society, the sole object of whose labours is to make reason itself and acquired knowledge subservient to the consolidation of a system inimical to reason and knowledge, as the most pernicious thing which can happen? If an ignorant Franciscan proclaimed ultramontane propositions from his pulpit, the danger was not great, and they might be refuted without difficulty; but when the learned and ingenious Jesuits of the college of Clermont proclaimed publicly in Paris, "that the pope was as infallible as Jesus Christ himself;" when they displayed all their knowledge and their talents to inculcate this principle, and to make it an article of faith,* it must be acknowledged, that then the danger became imminent, and that opinion was in danger of being irrevocably sophisticated. As nothing can be more fatal to the liberty of a people than a despotism which can render itself amiable and plausible, neither is anything more capable of vitiating the minds of men radically, than the knowledge of the art of rendering falshood, truth; and irrationality, reasonable.

It may be conceived how much the universal employment and the pretensions of the Jesuits must have excited envy and ill will in all classes. They wished to be the preachers, the theologians, the supporters of the holy see; and they came in collision with the Dominicans, and almost all the other religious orders; they aspired to the direction of consciences, particularly those of princes, and of all those who had any influence on the politics of courts; and they inflamed the hatred of courtiers and ministers; they sought to be masters of all the institutions for education and public instruction; and they irritated against them the ancient universities, the masters and professors of all the schools which they did not succeed in bringing under their domination. Neither is it to be doubted that the powerful rivalry of the Jesuits, the erection of their new schools, their methods, their writings, and still more their silent machinations, were the secret poison which from that time, affected the universities of France, which caused them to languish, decay, and finally fall into a nullity which places them far below those of Protestant countries.

The most formidable enemies which the Jesuits made, and those most capable of opposing them, were the Jansenists. They thought they saw in the pains taken by the latter to spread the principles of St. Augustin on grace, and to render them acceptable, a secret design of ruining their society, whose doctrine did not agree with that of this father of the church. Whatever might have been the secret design of these partisans of Jansenius with respect to the Jesuits, it is not the less true that all this disputation on grace is immediately connected with the religious quarrels produced by the reformation. This terrible shock, which had separated a great part of the western Christians from the Roman church, had shook this church itself to its foundations, and had long left there the leaven and the germs of fermentation. The spirit of inquiry, of chicane, and of controversy, were also awakened in it. The greater number of Catholics would have been pleased with certain reforms in the essence itself of the church, with amendments and regulations in the doctrine and discipline which did not take place, or were not conceived as they wished; there were many discontented Catholics; a great many of the abuses attacked by the Protestants appeared very culpable to these Catholics; and several points of doctrine disputed by the first had given rise to consideration in these last. The Council of Trent had not nearly satisfied any but the ultramontanes. In it, whatever related to the rights of the pope and the hierarchy were carefully determined; but the essential points of doctrine still remained in a painful uncertainty; as, for example, what should be believed on grace, which held so important a place in the doctrine of the Lutherans, and that of the Calvinists. Baius, a theologian and professor at Louvain, who had assisted at the council, raised a discussion on this subject, and occasioned it to be much talked of in his time. After him, Jansenius, professor in the same university of Louvian, followed the same deviations, wrote his book entitled Augustinus, was the friend of the Abbe of St. Cyran, and of some other leaders of this party, which from him, took the name of Jansenist. The number of illustrious defenders of this party is known, and also that Port Royal became its chief place. The war of opinion which broke out between the Jansenists and Jesuits was the most violent that ever agitated the Roman church internally. The Jansenists, who, at the bottom had so many opinions in common with Luther and the other reformers, who with all their heart resisted the pretensions of Rome, and those of the satellite Jesuits of Rome, dreaded above all things the reproach of heresy, which was directed against them. They made it a sort of point of honour to write vigorously against the reformed, to give a signal proof that they were as good Catholics as their adversaries. At the same time they wrote at least as vigorously against the Jesuits, and acquitted themselves of this essential task, con amore, with still greater eloquence than the other. Thus as the Jesuits had entered the lists of science and wit with the Protestants; their adversaries, the Jansenists, were, for the same reason, eager to show themselves superior to the Jesuits in every department in which these shone; they composed grammars, books of education and piety, treatises of logic, morality, history and erudition.[*]

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* This is one of the secrets of the society, for it had secrets; it had its tests, its degrees, its apprentices, and its masters; if it had an open and legal existence, it was because its principles were agreeable to the authority which protected them. From its nature it was in opposition to the society of Free-Masons, to that of the Illuminati, &c. which it strove against with all its power. Formerly, while the Jesuits triumphed with a high hand, the Free-Masons concealed themselves, and assembled by stealth. Now the times are greatly changed; the Free-Masons have scarcely any secrets but what an enlightened public participate with them; their society appears freely and openly; that of the Jesuits, on the contrary, conceals its feeble remains from publicity through almost the whole of Europe, and has really become a secret society of anti-illuminati. Of the two centuries, that in which they showed themselves, and that in which they are concealed, we may decide which had the best spirit.

* See what the celebrated Arnaud wrote on this occasion, under the title of La Nouvelle heresie des Jesuites.

The names of Lancelot, Arnauld, Tillemont, Nicole, Pascal, Sacy, etc. are as immortal as the remembrance of the services they have rendered to the sciences and to our literature.

It was to arrive at this result that I introduced the preceding digression, which may, perhaps, appear to have led me out of my subject. But if it be considered that the society of Jesuits became what it was, only because the popes wished to make it a counterpoise to Protestantism, and a militia capable of perpetually opposing it, and also to re-establish the tottering holy see, it will be acknowledged that the existence of this society, as well as the principal events to which it has given rise, and the oppositions which it has excited, must be considered among the important results of the reformation. No reformation, no Jesuits; and no Jesuits, no Jansenists, nor a Port Royal. Now, it is to the rivalry of the one against the other, and to the activity it gave to their minds, that we are indebted for a multitude of good works which appeared during the 17th century; works, in which our language, and French prose in particular, attained a richness, a flexibility, a perfection, which it was far from having before. The polemical writings bent the language into all the forms of reasoning, and gave it precision, strength and delicacy. I need only name the Provinciales, the Cleanthe of Barbier d'Aucour, and I shall not dread being contradicted. All these literary events, so important to us, depend on the great event of the reformation; it is not a chain which I have arbitrarily formed to attach them to it; it is the natural series of historical facts which I have ingeniously followed.

Until their destruction, the Jesuits constantly continued to perform a principal part in all the disturbances which arose on religious or ecclesiastical, and, not unfrequently, on political subjects. In China and Japan, jealous of the missionaries unconnected with their society; in Europe, enemies of the learned and modest fathers of the Oratory, they provoked both the quarrel of the missions, and the condemnation of Father Quesnel, other troubles, which do not belong to our subject, except as they relate to letters, by the writings which they gave rise to. In this point of view we must also place the disputes among the party of the mystics, towards the close of the seventeenth century, at the head of which appear the Abbe de Rance, Mesdames Bourignon and Guyon, but particularly, the noble and pious Fenelon, who was implicated, by this circumstance, in a very animated controversy with Bossuet. The name of these two illustrious adversaries is sufficient to bring within the number of events which have been of importance to literature, this Quietism, a sect which belongs, perhaps, as much to philosophy as to theology, and which is not foreign either to the troubles of Jansenism, or to those of the church, in general, since the reformation.

Reflection on the Employment of the Ecclesiastical Possessions.

It is very evident, that the financial administration is the object which governments believe most deserving of their whole attention; and the most important employment made of the finances of a state is commonly war; to attack or to defend itself; to restrain its neighbours by a formidable army, always on foot, by fortresses, by arsenals. There is nothing in this but what is very laudable. Nevertheless, war is not the only object of men in society; all war itself has peace for its object, and that of peace, is the furnishing the citizens of each state with the possibility of ennobling and ameliorating their existence, of developing all their powers of morality and industry. Study and knowledge, which direct the efforts of mankind to the perfectioning and ennobling everything which constitutes their nature, are, therefore, as a last result, the final objects of the labours of finance, of war, and of peace. But here, as frequently happens, the means overpower the end. How much is lavished on war! What parsimony is practised on the success of study and the advancement of morals!

In what order of things, in what age, in what country of the earth, could the culture of the sciences be more promoted than in a Catholic country! Without the established government having new charges to defray, without the nation having new burthens, there is an entire cast of rich citizens, whose destination removes them from all the professions of civil life, who are in their essence devoted to a contemplative life, to a leisure which they might render learned and useful. A multitude of benefices, of prebends, of chapels, instead of being bestowed on the indolent, might secure a maintenance to men of activity devoted to the sciences. Each monastery provided with an ample library, instead of pious sluggards, might contain studious recluses, whose labours would belong to the state. If the Spanish nation, for example, had the will, it would be in its power, by the touch of the wand, to transform the whole system of its superstitious clergy, into a corporation of learned men and philosophers. In short, it would be consecrating to the mind what has been so long consecrated to the senses; and God knows what advantage such an order, who would people the chapters and abbeys, who might be excused from matins, but not from labour, or study, or meditation, might in ten years procure to the stock of sciences! This is not altogether a dream. We have seen what could be effected by a congregation of Saint Maur, an oratory, a Port Royal, etc. From what they have done well, and even from what they have done ill, a judgment may be formed of what they might have done had they been actuated by a power having no other object but the progress of knowledge! and how often have our kings recompensed literary merit with bishoprics; how many literary men, assisted by a priory, a benefice, have lived in France, sheltered from want and enabled to apply themselves to labours, which have enlightened and done honour to the nation! Under the modest title of Abbe, which a simple tonsure rendered common to them, they became, in fact, the priests of the temple of science; from Amyot to the author of Anacharsis, how has this title of Abbe been ennobled and dignified! It has been borne by a multitude of worthy and learned men of letters, who probably would have remained obscure and inactive, without that portion of the wealth of the church, which warmed them, and permitted them, free and exempt from cares, to enter upon the career.

With us, the revolution has dried up this beneficent source, which might have been rendered so useful to the progress of knowledge.[*] Several of the reformed states have retained some means of encouragement to letters. In Sweden and in

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[*] It is curious to observe in these books, when they are read attentively by one acquainted with the literary history of the times, how much they are bestrewed (and even those which seem least adapted for that species of controversy, such as grammars and others) with strokes directed against the Jesuits, their classical books, their method of instruction, without their being once named or pointed at openly.

[*] It has done more; it has swallowed up almost all the patrimony of the ancient establishments of instruction, and has thus deprived the new, which they are labouring to establish, of that material and indispensable basis, without which, such establishments can neither subsist solidly, with honour or efficacy. An endowment and a real property, to be managed by a local administration, are absolutely necessary to every school which would prosper; it requires a security, an existence different from what may arise from the casualty of uncertain boarders, or the assistance of government, which having to provide for a multitude of other wants, will, very frequently, be compelled to leave such objects unattended to.

England there are still certain ecclesiastical dignities which the sovereigns commonly give to men eminent for their knowledge. More than one archbishop of Upsal or of York, more than one bishop of Abo or of Chester, etc. hold a distinguished rank in literature. Holland, Switzerland, and Germany have fewer of these honourable and lucrative posts for men of letters. The possessions of the church have been there principally employed in the endowment of universities and other schools; so that the greater part of their writers are professors, very scantily paid, or superiors or inferiors of schools, who, frequently burthened with a numerous family, set a value on the recompense of an author; and whom this stimulus too frequently induces to write quick, that they may write a great deal.

Summary recapitulation of the Results of the Reformation, as they relate to the Progress of Knowledge.

The human mind is freed both from the external constraint imposed upon it by the hierarchical despotism, and from the internal constraint of the apathy in which it was kept by a blind superstition. It is wholly emancipated from guardianship, and begins to make a more free, and, consequently a more energetic, and more proper use of its faculties. The documents of religion, the titles of the hierarchy are subjected to a severe and profound criticism; and as the study of the holy books, that of the fathers, of the councils, of the decretals are connected with that of antiquity, history, the languages, the masterpieces of Greece and Rome, all these great objects of classical learning assume a new aspect, and are illuminated with a new light. The scholastic philosophy, the ally and supporter of the ancient system, finds, in these innovaters, formidable adversaries, who unveil its vices and attack its weak sides. The torch of reason, which the edifice of the scholastics kept in concealment, begins to shine again. The empty science of the casuists vanishes before the morality of the gospel, the reading of which is restored to all Christians. The human mind delivered from the obstacles which stopped its progress during the centuries of the middle age, displays all its activity, probes the foundations of the tottering societies, discusses the rights of the people, those of governments, those of the state and of the church.

This activity makes its happy influence to be felt on every branch of human knowledge; and the scrutinizing disposition impressed on all minds by the reformation, puts philosophical inquiries and the most sublime theories of the sciences and the arts in motion. D'Alembert has sketched this picture with a masterly hand, and at a single stroke. He says, "the middle of the sixteenth century saw a rapid change in the religion and the system of a great part of Europe; the new doctrines of the reformers, supported on the one hand and opposed on the other, with that warmth which the interests of God, well or ill understood, can alone inspire, equally compelled their partisans and their adversaries to seek instruction: the emulation excited by this great motive multiplied knowledge of every kind; and the light produced in the bosom of error and trouble spread itself to those objects also which seemed most foreign to these disputes."[*]

The long, multiplied, and desolating wars which this commotion gave rise to, retarded some of the effects which should have resulted from it. The moral culture of the people which was on the point of taking a new flight, was, for a short period, driven backward. But shortly, their souls, steeped in misfortune, resumed their energy, and the imperishable spirit which had been awakened, displayed all its activity. At first, it wandered among the devious paths of theological controversies, but, at length, it returned more supple and more accustomed to meditation. Nevertheless, the necessity the different parties felt to gain over the multitude of nations, causes them to cultivate the vulgar languages, and multiplies good writings in them; the French, English, and German prose is developed, perfectionated, and enriched, amidst the disputes of sects and the conflicts of religious opinions.

Particular associations arise, or are strengthened on the different sides, either for attack or for defence; some mysterious and persecuted, the others open and privileged. The order of Jesuits, the most important of them all, is placed in opposition to the reform. It requires a preponderance proportionate to the enormous mass it is destined to counterbalance. Dragged forward by the torrent of the universal spirit, this order, which should only have supported the hierarchy and the scholastic philosophy, contributes, by itself, and by its formidable adversaries the Jansenists, to the progress of knowledge. It falls when the time arrives, at which it should give place to institutions more suitable to the new age. Thus by its action, and its reaction, the religious commotion effected by Luther, carries the European nations forward in the career of knowledge and of intellectual culture.

Conclusion.

Such are the principal results which, I am of opinion, originated in the influence exercised on Europe by Luther's reformation. In analyzing the complicated causes of the most considerable events which have occurred during three centuries in the political world, and in the literary world, it is easy to go astray, to mistake some causes, to lose sight of some effects. Amidst the confusion of all these entangled threads of European politics and culture, he who seeks to unravel those immediately connected with the quarrels on religion, however careful he may be, will too often be in danger of erring. Some of them issue from the establishment itself, from the preaching of the alcoran, from chivalry, the crusades, the use of artillery, the discovery of a new world, the renovation of letters, the institutions of Peter I., the succession war, and the other major events. Were it required to determine the influence of some one of these events, perhaps such of the consequences as I have attributed to the reformation might be claimed as belonging to it. Historians who narrate facts, are generally silent on their causes, and frequently also are unacquainted with them. Sometimes they give these which are false and contradictory. The writers of the opposing parties are exclusive, and render the truth uncertain. To whom must credit be given; the Catholics, or the Protestants; to Duperron or Dumoulin; to Platina or Mornay? How shall we decide between Varillas and Maimbourg, on the one side, Sleidan, Bayle, and Seckendorf, on the other; between Pallavicini and Fra Paolo; between Bossuet and Claude? In the work of the reformation, the one sees only an infinite source of errors and calamities; the others see in it only knowledge and benefits to the human race. Among so many different opinions, each must have his own. We are at present better situated than ever to judge of a revolution which broke out three hundred years ago; let us consider what was before it, and what has happened since; let us hear all parties, look around us, see what exists at the present day, and judge.

When after the long sleep of the European nations and of their reason, during the middle age, we turn our attention to the state of the human race in this fine part of the world, in the fifteenth, and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, we shall see it recover from its stupefaction, rise, move unsteadily in all directions, seize instruments for its activity, forge new ones, try them, develope its powers, take possession of the field of science, throw from it the swaddling clothes which embarrass it, and begin a new epocha. How is this interval crowded with decisive occurrences and inventions. The happy employment of the mariner's compass, the telescope, printing, the taking of Constantinople, the new world, the submission of the great vassals to the crown of France, the golden age of poetry and the arts in Italy, the foundation of numerous schools, the books of the ancients revived in it, the establishment of posts, which render all communications rapid, the salutary peace of the empire and the imperial chamber, the extravagant increase of the Austrian power which terrifies Europe, and compels it to arm, Copernicus who reforms the heavens, Luther and Loyola who arose nearly at the same time! The crisis must necessarily have a term, the state of things must change in the order of civil societies, and in that of human knowledge.

"*Better is an enemy to well,*" says a proverb of modern Italy. This ridiculous adage, which ought never to have quitted the language in which it appeared, is the unsophisticated expression of an ultramontane character. Happily it is not in the power of a despised cast, nor of a maxim against nature, thus to fetter the destinies of science and civilization. Men pass them, and give no credit to such reclamations, the reclamations, says Chenier,[*] of those *idle and jealous spirits, whose reason, without stimulus, would paralyse the human mind.* None of the institutions of the middle age were calculated for the new humanity. As lances and shields had been laid aside for fire arms, so must the scholastic philosophy be removed by the new arms of reason; the inextricable circles of Ptolemy, by the simple idea of the motion of the earth; and the false decretals must fall at the first looks of criticism. The exernal form of religion no longer corresponded with the new culture, any more than the representation of mysteries corresponded with the scene on which Moliere and Corneille were about to appear; any more than Gothic architecture with the basilick of St. Peter. It was requisite that everything should change; the new spirit could not subsist in the ancient form; a harmony, an agreement must be established between it and things; and since it had in itself the energy of a new life, the omnipotence of youth, it acted in all directions with strength and efficacy, and was everywhere seconded by enthusiasm.

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[*] Elemens de Philosophie, I.

[*] In his Discours sur le Progres des Connoissances, An. IX. Printed by Didot.

It is therefore under this point of view that the reformation must be considered as a necessary product of a new age, as a manifestation of a new spirit. What Dante and Petrarch were to poetry, Michael Angelo and Raphael to the arts of drawing, Bacon and Descartes to philosophy, Copernicus and Galileo to astronomy, Columbus and Gama to the science of the earth, such was Luther to religion. Organs of the universal mind, these eminent men expressed correctly what was lurking in a great number of their cotemporaries, and at one stroke satisfied the wants of their time. As soon as the spark flashed from their genius, the flame, ready to appear, spread in all directions. What was only a prescience, a vague idea, insulated in a number of heads, acquired a consistence, a fixed direction, appeared externally, was communicated from individual to individual, and a continued chain connected all thinking minds. Such is the natural mode of the tacit conspiration which governs all reformations. Those effected in the dominion of the arts and of the major part of the sciences, being foreign to the passions and to the volcanic commotions of the mass of the people, are generally accompanied by peace, and are accomplished without causing the tears of humanity to flow. It could not be thus with that provoked by Luther. Religion was not then a simple opinion, a simple moral being; it had an immense body, which oppressed all the political bodies which laid claim to all thrones, to all the possessions of the earth. At the first wound it felt, the collossus shuddered, and the world was shaken. Princes and nations flew to arms and engaged in a dreadful struggle, a struggle of opinions and interests, the results of which were so varied and so important.

The Institute has demanded an account of such of these results as have influenced the political situation of the states of Europe, and the progress of knowledge. This task was enormous, and far above my powers. What would it have been if the Institute, besides the political and literary consequences, had required an exposition of the influence of the reformation on the morality of the European nations, on their belief and their religious dispositions? But this new point of view might be the subject of a work, perhaps more extensive and more difficult than mine. I was obliged to confine myself within the prescribed limits, which circumscribe a field of vast extent. It has not been my intention to disguise either the evil or the good produced by the reformation. I have only sought to prove that, everything being balanced, and the definitive account closed, this revolution offers a surplus of good to humanity; and, finally, that it must be ranked in the number of the major events which have contributed most powerfully to the progress of civilization and knowledge, not only in Europe, but in every part of the earth where Europeans have carried their culture.

I have also thought I might express myself with the open freedom of an historian, who, if possible, should not belong to any age or any country; supporting myself with an opinion that prejudice could not find access into the sanctuary of the sciences; and that an illustrious society so philosophical as to choose such a subject, and to ask for the truth respecting it, would, doubtless, be disposed to listen to it.

DOCTOR MACLAINE'S NOTE

ON A RECEIVED CALUMNY AGAINST THE PERSON AND VIEWS OF LUTHER.

From his translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. iv. page 31, Edit. 1803.

Dr. Mosheim has taken no notice of the calumnies invented and propagated by some late authors, in order to make Luther's opposition to the publication of indulgences, appear to be the effect of selfish and ignoble motives. It may not, therefore, be improper to set that in a true light; not that the cause of the reformation (which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is in no ways affected by the views or characters of its instruments) can derive any strength from this inquiry; but as it may tend to vindicate the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion.

Mr. Hume, in his history of the reign of Henry VIII., has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious and ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the "Austin friars had *usually* been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans;[*] that Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, *resenting the affront put upon his order*, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves."[†] It were to be wished that Mr. Hume's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the first place, it is not true that the *Austin friars had been* usually *employed in* Saxony *to preach indulgences*. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the mendicants whether Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the Dominicans;[‡] and in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act by which it appears, that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther, (i. e, from 1450 to 1517.) during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service, if we except a monk named Palzius, who was no more than an underling of the papal questor Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Augustin order were exclusively, or even usually employed in that service.[§] Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of Paul Sarpi, which has been abundantly refuted by De Prierio, Pallavicini and Graweson, the mortal enemies of Luther. But it may be alleged, that, even supposing it was not usual to employ the Augustin friars in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To show the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

Secondly. That in the time of Luther the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission, either for himself, or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses, and in their writings.[‖] Nay, more, the very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of Luther, was offered by Leo to the general of the Franciscans, and was refused both by him and his order,[**] who gave it over entirely to Albert, bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. Is it then to be imagined, that either Luther or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the Dominicans in general, since it was given to Tetzel alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led Luther to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider in the third place, That he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of Luther are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach Luther with those ignoble motives of opposition, now under consideration. I speak not of Erasmus, Sleidan, De Thou, Guicciardini, and others, whose testimony might be, perhaps, suspected of partiality in his favour, but I speak of Cajetan, Hogstrat, De Prierio, Emser, and even the infamous John Tetzel, whom Luther opposed with so much vehemence and bitterness. Even Cochlæus was silent on this head during the life of Luther; though after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices,* that Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other enemies of Luther, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of Luther were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of Luther's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. Bossuet, to Mr. Hume, and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story. Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. Hume's assertion is entirely groundless.

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[*] Hume's history of England, under the house of Tudor, vol. i. p. 119.

[†] Id. ib. p. 120.

[‡] See Weismanni. Memorabilia Historiæ Sacræ N. T. p. 1051, 1115.

[§] See Harpii Dissertat. de Nonnulis Indulgentiarum, Sæc. xiv. et xv. Questoribus, p. 384, 387.

[‖] See Walch opp. Luther, tom xv. p. 114, 283, 312, 349, Seckendorff, Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. i. sect. vi. p. 13.

[**] See Walch. loc. cit. p. 371.

I might add many other considerations to show the unreasonableness of supposing that Luther exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated clergy, to the severity of such a potent, and despotic prince as Charles V., to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind. Whoever is desirous of knowing more on this subject need only consult Historie du Renouvellement l'Evangile, par Gerdes, Tom. I. p. 96, quoted by La Courayer, in his translation of the History of the Reformation, by Sleidan, Tom. I. p. 1; and finally, Letter XI. of L'Enfant's book, entitled, Preservatif contre la reunion avec le siege de Rome, ou apologie de notre separation d'avec ce siege. Amsterdam, 1723, 4 vols. This letter is in the first volume, page 27, and following ones.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Occasional Discourses, including several never before published. By Francis Wayland, President of Brown University. Boston: James Loring. 1833. pp. 376. 12*mo.*

This volume contains Dr. Wayland's celebrated discourse on "The moral dignity of the Missionary Enterprise,"—two discourses on the "Duties of an American Citizen,"—"The Death of the Ex-Presidents,"—"The Certain Triumph of the Redeemer," one of the Murray-street lectures of 1830,—"Encouragements to Religious Effort," delivered before the American Sunday School Union,—"The Moral Efficacy of the Doctrine of the Atonement,"—"Elevated Attainments in Piety essential to a successful Study of the Scriptures," delivered on the ordination of Mr. William R. Williams, at New York,—"The Abuse of the Imagination,"—"Motives to Beneficence," delivered before the Howard Benevolent Society at Boston,—"Objections to the Doctrine of Christ Crucified,"—"A Discourse on Education," delivered before the American Institute of Instruction,—"The Philosophy of Analogy," before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Rhode Island,—"An Address on Temperance, before The Providence Association for the Promotion of Temperance."

Most of these discourses have been for some time before the public, and have received the seal of its approbation. The author has, therefore, done well in collecting them into a neat volume, making thus a valuable addition to our literature. Dr. Wayland is one of our best writers, and hence in this age of the press, as it might with propriety be termed, his pen should not be too long and frequent in its slumbers. If good men do not sow wheat, evil men will sow tares in the field.

Dr. Wayland is not without his faults as a writer. His style is too measured and stately, except when the subject is elevated; common-place ideas, which every writer must use to some extent, are not expressed with the ease, brevity, and directness which is desirable; there is too frequent use of antithesis, and not unfrequently, a scientific mode of approaching truths, which might be arrived at in a much shorter way. We should not, however, have alluded to these things in an ordinary writer, nor in the present case, were it not, that by many, his style is regarded as a model.

We feel inclined to extract from the volume before us the following passages expressive of the views of the author on an important question still under discussion.

"I come then, in the last place, to consider the practical question which arises on this subject. *Is the trade in ardent spirits right?*

"Allow me here to offer two suggestions. First, I stand here to condemn no man, but to set before you all, the truth, so far as I can discover it, upon a question of duty. That many excellent and worthy men are engaged in this trade I do not doubt. Far be it from me to detract in the least from their reputation for excellence. They may never have seriously thought on this subject. They may not have been allowed sufficient time to decide upon a question involving a large portion of their business. What the particular state of any man's mind is, on a subject like this, I pretend not to decide, nor ought any one else to be forward to decide upon it. Yet this is no reason why the moral nature of the act should not be fully and clearly set forth. Upon this subject we have been all of us either in the right or in the wrong. Neither supposition will afford sufficient reason why the nature of our actions should not be examined. A good man may do wrong, but a good man will always listen with candour to any one who will show him how he may do right.

"Secondly. I do not stand up here to inquire into the rectitude of any particular branch of this trade, but into the rectitude of the whole trade itself. I have to do with wholesale as well as retail dealers. If it be wrong to sell a little, it seems to me that it must also be wrong to sell a great deal. If it be wrong to be accessory to the destruction of one neighbourhood, it seems to me that it must be wrong to be accessory to the destruction of a great many neighbourhoods. I reason here as we do about the slave trade. If it be wrong to import one slave, it is wrong to import a cargo.

"I ask then the attention of my fellow-citizens to the following questions:

"First. Can it be right for me to derive my living from that which is spreading disease, and poverty, and premature death throughout my neighbourhood? How would it be in any similar case? Would it be right for me to derive my living from selling poison, or from propagating plague, or leprosy around me?

"Second. Can it be right for me to derive my living from that which is debasing the minds and ruining the souls of my neighbours? How would it be in any other case? Would it be right for me to derive my living from the sale of a drug which produced misery or madness, or from the sale of obscene books which excited the passions, and brutalized the minds, and ruined the souls of my fellow-men?

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* Sleidan. De statu Rel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.

"Third. Can it be right for me to derive my living from that which destroys for ever the happiness of the domestic circle,—which is filling the land with women and children in a condition far more deplorable than that of widows and orphans?

"Fourth. Can it be right for me to derive my living from that which is known to be the cause of nine-tenths of all the crimes which are perpetrated against society?

"Fifth. Can it be right for me to derive my living from that which brings upon society nine-tenths of all the pauperism which exists, and which the rest of the community are obliged to pay for?

"Sixth. Can it be right for me to derive my living from that which accomplishes all these at once, and which does it without ceasing?

"Do you say that you do not know that the liquor which you sell will produce these results? Do you not know that nine hundred and ninty-nine gallons produce these effects for one which is used innocently! I ask then,

"Seventh. Would it be right for me to sell a poison on the ground that there was one chance in a thousand that the purchaser would not die?

"Eighth. Do you say you are not responsible for the acts of your neighbour? Is this clearly so? Is not he who knowingly furnishes a murderer with a weapon, considered an accomplice? Is not he who navigates a slave-ship considered a pirate? On this subject, however, I will take the liberty to introduce an anecdote, which will show at once the awful nature of this trade, and also the manner in which the responsibility which it involves affects the conscience of a child. A deacon of a Christian church was in the habit of selling rum to one of his customers, a man habitually intemperate. The wife of the drunkard besought the deacon, for her own sake and the sake of her children, not to sell liquor to her husband, for that she and her children could not endure his treatment. At last, the husband and father went home drunk one night from the deacon's store, and murdered his wife. One of the deacon's children hearing of this murder and the circumstances, said to his father, 'Father, do you not think that, in the day of judgment, you will have to answer for that murder!' such was the decision of the child. Can any of us gainsay it?

"If these things be so, and that they are so who can dispute, I ask you my respected fellow-citizens, what is to be done? Let me ask, is not this traffic altogether wrong? Why, then, should we not altogether abandon it?"

Memoirs of the Rev. Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews. With an Introductory Essay by Robert Burns, D. D. Paisley, Scotland; and a Preface by Archibald Alexander, D. D. Princeton, Baker & Connelly. Philadelphia: J. Whetham, 1833. pp. 299. 12*mo.*

We are pleased to see this new and neat edition of the Memoirs of Halyburton. The volume is introduced to the public by a warm recommendation from Dr. Miller and Professor Hodge of Princeton, and a Preface of about ten pages, full of rich and seasonable thought, by Dr. Alexander. We have next, Dr. Burns' Introductory Essay on the subject of *experimental religion*; it is judicious, and interesting, but we had much rather the space had been occupied with matter from Dr. Alexander's pen. Then follow the memoirs which have been "carefully revised, and divested of a few obsolete words and phrases, while the utmost care has been taken not only to preserve every idea of the author, but to exhibit it faithfully in his own manner." This volume has long been considered as one of the best specimens of religious biography extant. "We have here" says Dr. Alexander, "the faithful narrative of the views, feelings, conflicts, temptations, victories, and consolations of a man of eminent piety, and uncommon soundness of judgment, made at the period when he was capable of forming an impartial opinion. He has portrayed the unregenerate heart in its deceitfulness and corruption, without disguise. From his own experience, he clearly testifies the inefficacy of a religious education, while unaccompanied by the grace of God. He, in the next place, teaches us, how powerfully the truth of God operates on the natural conscience, and how strongly it restrains even the unregenerate heart, from rushing into all the excesses of wickedness." We have, in truth, in this volume a mine of facts in the philosophy of religion, or rather, of facts of infinite use to the student of that philosophy. We cordially adopt the opinion of Dr. Miller, that it is "worthy of a place in every family," and especially in the libraries of theological students and ministers.

Lectures, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians. Intended chiefly for the use of families. By Manton Eastburn, M. A., Rector of the Church of the Ascension. New York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1833. pp. 217. 8*vo.*

It is a mistaken opinion entertained by some persons, that there are books enough in the world: there are doubtless bad books enough, but an increase of good ones will be desirable for some centuries to come. Perhaps not many new ideas may be brought forward, but what is next in importance, old ones will receive a form that will attract attention. When so great a work as this world's reform is before us, every means adapted to aid in its accomplishment should be put in requisition. It is therefore peculiarly fitting that those who write for the pulpit should occasionally give to their productions a more enduring form, even if they should not circulate beyond the bounds of their own congregations.

Mr. Eastburn has made an acceptable present to his people and the Christian public in the plain, practical, and spiritual Lectures before us. We learn from the preface that they were composed in the winter of 1829–30, and delivered during the same period, on successive Sunday mornings, from the pulpit of Ascension Church. The author justly remarks that "in this age of wild speculation on religious subjects, every attempt to lead the mind to that pure and undefiled fountain of truth, which is contained in the Bible, seems, whatever may be its merits in other respects, to be of itself a commendable endeavour." But Mr. Eastburn's merits are not merely those of good intention; he has performed the task he proposed to himself in an able and judicious manner, and in a spirit entirely free from sectarianism. "He has constantly kept in view those distinguishing features of practical and experimental religion, in which all Christians agree, and has thus rendered his work suitable for general circulation."

A Harmony of the four Gospels. Founded on the arrangement of the Harmonica Evangelica, by the Rev. Edward Greswell. With the Practical Reflections of Dr. Doddridge. Designed for the use of families and schools, and for private edification. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Walton, Herts. Philadelphia: Key & Biddle, 1833. pp. 420. 12*mo.*

A popular Harmony of the Gospels, by which we mean one adapted to the use of English readers and private Christians, has long been a desideratum. In consequence, Christians generally have not that knowledge, that connected knowledge of the history of their Saviour, which it is surely desirable and important to possess. The obstacles hitherto in the way of this are removed by the publication before us. The pious and well known author remarks in his preface, that his object has been "to give such a Harmony of the Gospels as might furnish heads of families with a suitable work for family instruction; schools with a profitable school-book; and Christians in general with a combination of the different accounts given of our Lord by the Evangelists, so that all may have a more distinct and full view of His divine and glorious character.

The text is divided into sections of convenient length, each followed by practical reflections from the pen of the pious and judicious Doddridge. It will no doubt be widely circulated and prove eminently useful.

John Milton: his Life and Times, Religious and Political Opinions: with an Appendix, containing animadversions upon Dr. Johnson's life of Milton, &c. &c. By Joseph Ivermy, author of the "History of the English Baptists," &c. New York: D. Appleton, 1833. pp. 230, 12*mo.*

Mr. Ivermy is a Baptist clergyman of London. Some ten years ago he wrote the "History of the English Baptists," which Robert Hall pronounced to be "a permanent monument to his talent and devotedness to the cause of religious truth and liberty."

In the preface to the work before us, the author remarks; "The former biographers of Milton have exhibited him principally in his character as a *poet*, but have obscured his features as a *patriot*, a *protestant*, and *nonconformist*. The writer has attempted to give an accurate and full length portrait, in all those respects, of this most eminent of our countrymen. For the purpose of accomplishing this design, he has made considerable extracts from the *prose* writings of Milton, by which, in a good degree, he appears as his own biographer."

There may be something of truth in the above remarks; still, we are not sure that a new biography of Milton was a desideratum, or that Mr. Ivermy's book throws any new light on his character. The incidents of his life are not interesting to the great body of general, much less, of religious readers. Those to whom they are so, will seek for them in a more extended history of his times than can be comprised in a single volume.

We were amused with Milton's definition of the Fathers, which we met with for the first time in the work before us. We quote it without expressing any opinion as to its correctness. "Whatsoever either time, or the heedless hand of blind chance has drawn down to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen—these are the Fathers."

The Divine Purpose Displayed in the Works of Providence and Grace; in a series of twenty letters, addressed to an inquiring friend. By the Rev. John Matthews, D. D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Indiana. Fourth Edition. Philadelphia: J. Whetham, 1833. pp. 259, 18*mo.*

The letters composing this volume originally appeared in the "Literary and Evangelical Magazine," edited by the late Dr. Rice of Virginia. A second edition was soon after published, in a book form, at Richmond; a third some time after at Lexington, Kentucky—the fourth is before us, with a brief introductory preface by Dr. Alexander.

The object of the author of this volume is to discuss, in a simple and popular manner, the much controverted doctrine of the "Divine Decrees,"—to present what he conceives to be the truth on this subject, divested of that severe and forbidding aspect which it assumes in the view of many. In pursuing his object, he has given us the results, rather than the process, of profound investigation, and has uniformly preserved a "spirit of meekness and kindness."

Letters to Young Ladies. By a Lady. Hartford: P. Canfield, 1833. pp. 152. 18*mo.*

This volume, we are informed, is from the pen of Mrs. Sigourney. This fact will commend the book to a large class of readers—those who are familiar with the many excellent pieces of poetry which she has of late given to the public. The letters are eight in number, on the following subjects; the "Improvement of Time—Female Employments—Dress, Manners, and Accomplishments—Books—Conversation—Doing Good—Self-Government, and—Motives to Exertion." These topics are treated with ability and judgment, and in a style calculated to secure the attention of those addressed. We know not that any new thoughts are advanced—this was not to be expected. Many excellent books have been written on the same topics. But books, however excellent, in order to be useful, must be read. That writer, therefore, does the community essential service, who presents old, yet valuable ideas, in a form adapted to secure perusal.

The Life of Nicholas Ferrar, M. A., and Fellow of Clare-Hall, Cambridge. Designed particularly for Youth. Philadelphia: French & Perkins. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 1833. pp. 108, 18*mo.*

The external appearance of this little volume is elegant, and its literary execution excellent. The author is well acquainted with the English language, an accomplishment by no means as common or as highly estimated as it should be. The book would be well worth reading were it only on account of the purity of its style. We are told it is particularly designed for youth; the author has, however, attained that happy simplicity which renders it adapted to readers of every age.

Ferrar was born in 1591. His life abounds with interesting incidents. His character "was marked by intelligence, enterprise, firmness, decision, mildness, humility, self-denial, devotion, and love. His youth was amiable and full of promise. His early manhood was spent in adventures which are almost romantic. His public life, though short, was brilliant. His years of maturity and decline were devoted to retired acts of piety. His death was like the serene going down of the summer's sun."

Letters of Euler on Different Subjects in Natural Philosophy. Addressed to a German Princess. With notes, and a Life of Euler, By David Brewster, L. L. D. With additional notes; by John Griscorn, L. L. D. In two volumes. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833.

To those who are not acquainted with these letters we cannot make known their nature in a briefer manner than by adopting the words of M. Condorcet. "The Letters of Euler to a German Princess, have acquired all over Europe a celebrity to which the reputation of the author, the choice and importance of the several subjects, and the clearness of elucidation justly entitle them. They may be studied to advantage without much previous elementary knowledge; they convey accurate ideas respecting a variety of objects, highly interesting in themselves, or calculated to excite a laudable curiosity; they inspire a proper taste for the sciences, and for that sound philosophy which, supported by science, and never losing sight of her cautious, steady, methodical advances, runs no risk of perplexing or misleading the attentive student."

These letters were translated into English by the Rev. Dr. Hunter, of Scotland, and have passed through three editions there—the one before us, is, we believe, the first that has appeared in this country. Every lover of sound knowledge must rejoice to see the writings of such men as Euler thrown into circulation. His mind was of the first order, his acquirements extensive, and his piety, so far as we can judge, consistent and genuine.

HISTORY

OF THE

CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANIZATION OF SOUTH AFRICA,

FROM

ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT BY THE DUTCH, TO THE FINAL SURRENDER OF IT TO THE BRITISH.

INTRODUCTION.

Though the colony of the Cape of Good Hope has now been a considerable time in the British possession, it was only of late, comparatively speaking, that much interest was taken in the history of its civilization. Sparmann was the first to do justice, in some measure, to the Hottentot character and their capability for receiving instruction, and to restore them to the rank of rational agents. He likewise brought to light a part of what Barrow afterwards freely exposed,—the detestable system under which a nation, allowed to be free, was enslaved, tortured, and destroyed, by the unprincipled avarice of the Boors, and the general apathy of the magistracy. His statements were in several instances contradicted by Lichtenstein; but they have now been fully confirmed by the missionaries, whose personal residence among them for such a length of time has given them the best opportunity of informing themselves accurately upon the subject.

The Moravians, who made the earliest attempts to civilize them, have always been more distinguished for acting than for writing; and for a long time their early efforts were but imperfectly known beyond the people in their own connexion. In the following pages will be found a pretty full account of their transactions, drawn chiefly from their own journals, and the description of travellers, who have been quite delighted with the lovely establishment they have formed in the wilderness, where the arts of civilized life are cultivated with a diligence which would do honour to any nation. The cause which has produced such amazing effects, and that in so short a period, and which the travellers so completely misunderstood, was none other than the introduction of the gospel, and entirely overturns the speculations of Dr. Lichtenstein, —that it is first necessary to teach savages to be men, before you undertake to make them Christians. "The elevation of a people," Dr. Philip well remarks, "from a state of barbarism to a high pitch of civilization, supposes a revolution in the habits of that people which it requires much time and the operation of many causes to effect. By the preaching of the gospel, individuals may be suddenly raised to a surprising height in the scale of improvement, and the influence of such on a savage tribe must be great; but those on whom the power of divine truth operates in a direct manner, bear a small proportion to the number who are only the subjects of an indirect or reflected influence. On the mass of the people, who are but slightly affected with divine truth, the missionary must call in every auxiliary to assist him in his work, or he will never have much pleasure or much honour by them."

While the missionary who labours among a savage people has no right to expect much success if he neglects their civilization, it may safely be affirmed, on the other hand, that such as make the attempt without the doctrines of the cross, will soon lay it aside in despair, and leave the work to the slow and uncertain operation of natural or ordinary causes. Suddenly to raise a savage tribe to the comforts of the world in which we live, their minds must be impressed with the reality and importance of the life to come.

The first step towards the civilization of a savage is to rouse the thinking principle. This can only be done by proposing to his mind considerations of sufficient force to overcome his native indolence. These considerations must be addressed to his passions, and suited to his capacity. The desire of hoarding is too weak in the savage to excite enterprise or exertion; although, when he sees the fruits of civilization and industry he may desire them, yet he would rather sleep in his sheep-skin kaross, and depend upon the precarious subsistence of the chase, than submit to the labour of cultivating the ground, or of providing other clothing. Science and literature are above the comprehension of the untutored being; and religion is the only instrument left that can reach his case.

If religion be necessary to awaken the attention,—rouse the thinking principle, and conduct the process of civilization to that point where it may be left to the influence of other causes to conduct it to a successful issue, it is no less necessary to supply the resources, form the combinations, and call forth the instruments required in this work of benevolence. The miseries incident to savage life,—the injuries nomade tribes have received from their contiguity to civilized states, and which, to the shame of America, they are at this day receiving from that republic,—have excited, indeed, much eloquent declamation; but Christian charity alone has furnished the money and the men who have left their homes to reside among barbarians, for the sole end of reclaiming them.

To this principle does the London Missionary Society owe its existence; and the immense and powerful influence which the exertions of their missionaries have had on the moral state of South Africa, is every day becoming better understood, as their settlements are acquiring stability, and extending through that vast country. They are already the seats of industry and improvement of agriculture and the arts, which, but for them, would never have flourished in the wastes where they now bloom. Their exertions will also be found pretty fully detailed in this brief history. They had the honour of being the first who attempted to civilize the rude natives beyond the boundaries of the colony, and to commence a struggle for their civil liberties, which has at length proved successful.

The Wesleyan Methodists have also entered upon the missionary field, which they are cultivating with equal assiduity and success; but their labours had not commenced at the date at which this volume ends.

Edinburgh, April, 1833.

CHAP. I.

THE HOTTENTOTS.

Africa—Its northern countries illustrious in the earliest times——Egypt—Carthage—Knowledge the ancients had of that continent lost—Spirit of discovery in the fifteenth century—Portuguese double the Cape of Good Hope—The Dutch colonize it—The aborigines, "Hottentots"—Derivation of the name—Origin of the people—Their appearance—Dress—Food—Amusements, dances, music, and musical instruments—Arts of Life—Weapons—Chiefs—Religion; worship of the mantis; *conversation of a Missionary and a Hottentot—No idea of a Supreme Being—Their good qualities,—kind, brave honest, and speakers of truth—Their vices,—indolence, gluttony, improvidence, drunkenness, smoking, infanticide, desertion of the sick and aged—Causes of their degradation—Hottentots within the colony—Without—Bosjesmen, or Bushmen, the aborigines, driven from their country by the cruelty of the Boors—Attempts to exterminate them—Noble conduct of two captives—Hunted like wild beasts—Become revengeful outcasts—Their kindness among themselves—Their dwellings, arms, food, general state of society—War—Self-devotion of their warriors—Method of warfare—Their character. by Lichtenstein—Wretchedness of the Hottentots within the colony; in their hordes; in the employment of farmers—Severe punishments—Bastards—Amount of the aboriginal and mixed population.*

Africa, which forms one grand division of the globe, is a peninsula, of vast extent: its figure somewhat resembles an irregular pyramid, whose base stretches from the Nile to the Atlantic, and whose apex is the southernmost point of the Cape of Good Hope. Its northern countries were illustrious in the earlier, the ancient, and the succeeding ages, for their progress in knowledge, and in the useful and ornamental arts,—monuments of which remain in the majestic fragments strewed over those once highly cultivated and flourishing regions. Egypt, on the east, the first powerful monarchy on record, was the cradle of the sciences, and the centre of civilization, at a time when the other nations were scattered in clanships or families over the habitated places of the earth. Carthage, the greatest commercial state of antiquity, and which disputed the sovereignty of the world with Rome herself, stretched along the shores of the Mediterranean, farther to the west, occupying the territories now denominated the states of Barbary, Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca. Under the Roman dominion, these provinces were the granary of Italy and the empire; but the lands which were denominated then the garden of the world, lie now uncultivated, or productive only in a rank and useless vegetation.

What knowledge the ancients had of Central or Southern Africa, can barely be guessed at,—so entirely have the records of mercantile adventure, by which alone they appear to have been explored, perished amid the wreck of ages. But it has been conjectured, with much probability, that the Tyrians, in the days of Solomon, were not unacquainted with the passage from their own land to the Red Sea, round the southern promontory. It seems certain, however, though not undisputed, that Phenician mariners, under the patronage of Necho, king of Egypt, two hundred years before Herodotus, had circumnavigated that continent, setting out from the Red Sea, and returning by the Mediterranean, through the Pillars of Hercules,—the Straits of Gibraltar. What confirms to moderns this report, is the fact which induced the father of history to disbelieve it: the adventurers stated, that in their progress they saw the sun to the north of their course, which he thought impossible, but which must have actually been the case after they passed the equator. Nor is it undeserving of observation, that the time said to have been spent in this extraordinary expedition was three years, exactly the same period as that allotted in Scripture for the voyages of the combined fleets of Israel and of Tyre to the land whence they brought to Judea gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. The mere outline of the coast, however, appears to have been indistinctly traced; and after the fall of the Carthagenian empire, even that was forgotten, during the lapse of above a thousand years.

When the spirit of maritime adventure awoke in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese directed their attention to the south-west coast of Africa: but it was not till near its close (1493) that their admiral, Bartholomew Diaz, discovered its southernmost point, which, from the tempestuous weather he encountered, he called the "Cape of Storms." King John II., who augured better, gave it the name it still bears, the "Cape of Good Hope." Gama followed. He doubled the Cape, but, without landing, continued his adventurous track; and while the Portuguese were rearing their dazzling empire in India, they neglected that rugged promontory which forms the key of the East. Once, indeed, they projected a settlement; but having quarrelled with the natives, and been worsted, they contented themselves with a cowardly and treacherous revenge, nor ever again renewed the attempt. The Dutch perceived the advantage the others had overlooked, and seized it as soon as they had obtained a firm footing in the oriental regions.

At first they merely erected a temporary fort for protection, while their ships waited to take in refreshments; but in 1650 they effected a permanent establishment, under the direction of Van Riebeeck. a surgeon of one of their company's vessels, who had particularly pointed out the importance of the station. During the long casual intercourse these calculating merchants had had with the inhabitants, they had introduced among them a taste for finery, and the more pernicious appetite for tobacco and brandy,—for trifling presents of which, they were easily induced to allow the strangers to settle among them; and the Cape and surrounding country were alleged to have been formally ceded by the natives, when they were taken possession of by the Dutch.

Great encouragement being held out to settlers by the East India Company, the colony was soon increased by emigrants from various nations, many of them men of desperate fortune and depraved character; and the original proprietors of the soil were either forced to move farther back, or reduced to a state of more than West Indian slavery by their new friends.

With usual circumspection, however, the Dutch did not at once, but progressively, encroach on their simple neighbours, who, while they were allowed a sufficient range of pasture for their cattle, did not view with much jealousy the occupation of the lands around the Cape by the rising colony; but the farmers of the new settlement, who coveted the more fertile parts of the country, most iniquitously obtained possession both of the cattle and the pasture ground of the unthinking savages, for some trifling presents of tobacco or strong liquors, under whose influence the latter generally concluded their bargains, and to obtain which they sacrificed their wealth and independence, and were reduced to the situation of keepers of those cattle of which formerly they had been the possessors. Yet it was not without some bloody struggles that they relinquished their paternal inheritance, nor have they even now forgotten that they were fraudulently or forcibly dispossessed. When Mr. Latrobe visited S. Africa in 1815–16, the Moravian settlements had been deprived by the farmers of some portions of ground which their people had brought into cultivation, and Mr. Latrobe endeavoured to reconcile them to the Boors. Among other arguments, he told them, that the government had given the lands which were now left them, to the (Moravian) brethren, and that, had it not been for them, they would not have had even the portion they enjoyed. "The Dutch took from me," said an intelligent chief, "the lands of my forefathers. It was not theirs to bestow."

These people differ entirely from the surrounding nations, and have always been known by the name of "Hottentots," a word to which various derivations have been assigned,—some supposing it a native appellation, others a foreign corruption, a third, perhaps the most probable, that it originated with navigators, who imposed it from the peculiarity in their language, a clicking of the tongue, which seemed to resemble "hot" or "tot." The name, however, which they are said to acknowledge among themselves as national, is Quaiquæ. When first noticed, they were divided into tribes or hordes. Kolben enumerates seventeen who spoke the same language, and had the same customs; but if such were actually the case, the greater number have now disappeared, or merged the smaller in the more powerful.

The origin of this insulated nation has been attributed by Mr. Barrow, to the Egyptians; and if we allow the voyages of the Egyptians round the Cape in the early ages, it is by no means improbable but that either by accident or design they may have left colonies on these shores; yet the division into tribes seems rather to point out a Tartar race.

The customs and manners, too, of these people distinguish them both from the negroes and Caffres, as do their physical characters. How far the country properly called "Hottentotland" should extend, it would be difficult to ascertain, nor is it of much importance.

The manners and customs of the savages have now become almost entirely matter of history, and though comparatively recent, are yet involved in considerable difficulty, by the contradictory statements of the earlier travellers, who, while pointing out the errors of one another, have not sufficiently allowed for the changes which time and the intercourse with strangers naturally produce, or for their own liability to misrepresentation or mistake. The following brief sketch is drawn up from comparing their different statements together, and correcting them from the journals of the missionaries, who, if not always the most scientific, are certainly the most faithful reporters, and have possessed the best opportunity for being well informed.

No where did Europeans obtain admission among wild and heathen nations, in the early ages of discovery, but their footsteps were marked by murder, robbery, and oppression. Africa, in particular, has been doomed to be the scene of their most wanton, long-continued abuse of power and superior intelligence; while, to justify their barbarity, they pictured her inhabitants, particularly the Hottentots, as forming a link between the human race and the inferior creation—a species of ourang-outang, devoid of the understanding, and almost of the features and form of man. These misrepresentations disappeared as information increased; and that race are allowed to possess the good and bad qualities natural to savages,—unfortunately, the latter most dreadfully increased by their intercourse with Europeans.

Their appearance is not prepossessing: their colour is a yellowish brown, inclining to olive; the nose flat; the cheek-bones high; the eyes dark, and long, and narrow in their shape; their mouths of a middle size, with very white teeth, and their hair a sort of frizzled wool in tufts. They are generally low in stature, and not devoid of symmetry. The women, in youth, are described as well shaped, but after child-bearing their figures soon alter materially for the worse. The hands and feet are small and delicate in both sexes. What tends to disgust a stranger is, the practice they have of besmearing their bodies with the fat of animals, mixed with red ochre, or the charcoal of tinder-wood, perfumed with the high scented powder of the *boughou*—plants of different species of the *diosma*—which they think highly ornamental. But, however disgusting, the practice is salutary in hot climates;—the Hottentots are generally free from cutaneous disorders;—and although it tends to generate a very disagreeable population, at least in their clothes, Vaillant asserts that "boughouing" is an excellent preservative against fleas, with myriads of which he was attacked in some particular situations, till he submitted himself to this fashionable anointing.

This ornamental daubing, of which they are so fond, their dress is not intended to conceal. A sheep skin, saturated with grease, the woolly side inmost, which they termed a *kross*, or *caross*, flung over their shoulders, and a short flap to vail what decency requires to be concealed, with occasionally a rude cap, and as rude sandals, form in general the whole habiliments of the man. In fine weather the cloak was allowed to hang loosely, or even thrown aside, but in cold, or during a storm, they are more closely girted, and serve also for blankets and bed-clothes; if the night be chill, they roll themselves together, planting their chins on their knees, and catching hold of the different ends of the covering, they lie as warm as a hedge-hog when coiled within its natural protection.

The women use a similar dress, but their krosses have a hood, in which they carry their infants; and whether the mother goes to work or amusement, she never quits her child; even in dancing it is not unloosed. The head of the little creature only is seen, and is scarcely ever observed to cry, except when the leaping ceases, or when it has occasion to suck: in the latter case, the mother draws it on one side, and conveys her breast to it under her arm, or over her shoulder; when the child is satisfied it ceases crying, and the mother recommences her sport. They, besides, wear aprons in front, which they delight to ornament with buttons, or beads, or shells, and a kind of cap, made of the skins or entrails of animals, above which they place a broad rim, about four fingers deep, of zebra or buffalo hide, with the hair outward, and decked with rows of small shells, or beads when they can procure them. They have necklaces also of the same materials. Formerly, thick leather straps, in the shape of rings were worn by men and women, upon their legs and arms, but now the women use the more fragile European ornaments—beads, preferring, as do sometimes their more civilized sisters, the show to the substance, and rather choose to expose their ankles to be torn by the briars, or bitten by the serpents, than exhibit them unadorned before their countrymen.

Their dwellings, equally rude as their dress, are circular huts, resembling bee-hives in appearance, formed of bent rods or branches of trees, and covered with skins, mats, or reeds, plastered over with clay, sometimes mixed with cow-dung. They are seldom so high as that a man can stand upright; and the only opening to let in air, light, and the inhabitants, is a small hole through which a man must crawl, and which is the only aperture to let out the smoke. The fire-place is in the centre, round which the whole family lie when asleep, or cower when the weather is stormy, without being incommoded by the villanous combination of smells, or the more troublesome little companions which the unctuous coating of the savages and the heat of the climate and the place, tend to produce. "The smoke, stench, vermin, and filth, with which the kennels were filled," says Vaillant, and he is an admirer of the Hottentots, "would have stifled an European who might have had the courage to remain in them two minutes." A kraal, or village, consists of a number of these huts ranged circularly, with their doors placed inwards,—the space in the middle forming a court, within which the cattle are penned during the night, or in times of danger.

Unacquainted with agriculture, they depended on their flocks for subsistence, and knew no riches but the number of cattle. Milk was their favourite beverage, and the flesh of their animals their favourite food; but their herds or flocks were not resorted to till the chase had failed, which was not often in a country abounding in game. Roots were never eaten but in times of the greatest scarcity, although they possess some which Vaillant pronounces both pleasant and nutricious: the *kamero*, (Hott.) which is shaped like a radish, and as large as a melon; *kaa-nap*, (Hott.) a kind of potatoe, exceedingly sweet; and two others of the size of a finger, of the smell of fennel and annise, known by the Dutch names of *anys-wortel*, and *vinkel-wortel*.

Dancing is almost the only amusement to which they are much addicted; but the uncouth movements defy description. Sometimes they are slow and melancholy; sometimes they are violent, irregular, and wild, and are different in different districts. They are generally practised by the light of the moon, when the air is cool, which gave rise to the report that they worshipped that fair luminary. Their music is of akin, monotonous, dull, or loud, but not harmonious, though their voices are flexible and soft, and, when properly taught, execute foreign airs with great sweetness. Their musical instruments are few, and of no great compass; nor would it be easy to convey any distinct idea of them by mere verbal description. One is a very imperfect sort of guitar; another an equally rude flute; and a third somewhat like a bow, to one end of which a quill was attached, and a hollow vessel to the other; but how the musical sounds were produced and regulated, it is rather a difficult matter to say. A drum, formed of part of the trunk of a tree, hollowed and covered with sheep-skin, concludes the enumeration.

Of the arts of life they have little knowledge. The fabrication of their mats, of baskets for holding their milk, and the preparation of the skins for their apparel, is the utmost extent to which their ingenuity reached, if we except the preparation of poisons, and the making of arms. These last consist of the *hassagi*, a kind of javelin, having an iron head, about a foot in length, usually barbed and serrated, fastened to a tapering shaft, with which they were deadly marksmen; and the bow and arrow,—the latter always poisoned. The poison is obtained from roots, poisonous plants, or the most venomous serpents. The slightest scratch is commonly fatal. When an animal is killed with one of these arrows, the flesh is immediately torn away from the wound, and the rest is eaten without danger.

Nor are they much better acquainted with the arts of government. The only authority known among them is that of the chief, or captain, as the Europeans call him, of the kraal. He is voluntarily chosen by universal suffrage; but the power which he possesses beyond what his strength, riches, or eloquence confers, is extremely limited. When he cannot persuade, it is very seldom he is able to coerce, for, upon the least disgust, the community would break up, and the captain be left to strut—"himself his regiment."

With regard to religion, they were still more deficient. They had no idea of a Supreme Being. And Africaner, one of the most dreaded warriors, and intelligent savages, declared after his conversion, that before the arrival of the missionaries, he had no idea of a Spirit, Creator, or Supreme Ruler. But they had a superstitious veneration for an insect known by the name of the *creeping-leaf*, or *mantis*, the soothsayer. Of this genus there are a great variety of species. The general characters are,—the head is unsteady, being but slightly attached to the thorax, which is very long; the mouth is armed with jaws, and has its feelers filiform. The wings are four, membranaceous and convolute,—the under ones plaited or folded. The fore legs are compressed, armed on the underside with teeth like a saw, and terminated by a single claw. The hind legs are smooth, and formed in some of the species rather for moving slowly than for leaping. This is thought to be one of the most curious genera in the whole class of insects, and is found in the warmer parts of Europe, and in South America, as well as in Africa; but the most extraordinary circumstance relative to it is, the general veneration in which it is held among the ignorant and the uncivilized in all these countries.

"I experienced this morning," says one of the missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society, "grief and wonder, in conversing with the driver of our wagon, respecting the ignorance in which his nation was involved before the missionaries came among them. He showed me a small insect, (the *mantis*) called by the farmers the Hottentots' god.' I asked him, 'Did you ever worship this insect?' he answered 'O yes! a thousand times: always, before I came to Bethelsdorp, whenever I saw this little creature, I would fall down on my knees before him, and pray.' 'What did you pray to him for?' 'I asked him to give me a good master, and plenty of thick milk and flesh.' 'Did you pray for nothing else?' No, sir. I did not then know that I wanted anything else.' 'Did you not know that you had an immortal soul?' 'O no! I was as ignorant as these oxen, and knew nothing. Whenever I used to see this little animal, I used sometimes to fall down immediately before it; but if it was in the wagon road, or in a foot path, I used to take it up as gently as I could, to place it behind a bush, for fear a wagon should crush it, or some man or beast should tread it to death.'" If a Hottentot, by some accident, killed or injured this creature, he was supposed to be unlucky all his lifetime after; but if one of these insects happened to alight upon any person, he was considered as highly fortunate. But the most conclusive fact, respecting their natural atheism, is what Dr. Phillip mentions, that neither they nor the Bosjesmen had any word in their language to express a Deity. The only name which the Hottentots have for Him, is *Thuite*, or *Utika*, an appellation of which the derivation and meaning are very uncertain.

The general character of the Hottentots, as described by some of the earliest journalists, was that of a good-natured, brave, honest, and truth-telling people: and that they still are distinguished for these virtues, the missionaries and modern travellers bear witness. Their hospitality and readiness to act kindly, even to the Dutch, by whom they had been so much injured, is evinced in every page of the Journal of Joh. Sterreberg Kupt, a landrost, who, in 1705, travelled among the Gonemaas, Grigriquaas, and Namaqua Hottentots, for the purpose of procuring cattle for the use of Government. At every kraal where he halted, he found that freebooters had been before him, who had robbed the natives of numbers of their best oxen; yet they uniformly treated him hospitably, offered him sheep for his subsistence on the journey, and even,—although they were their families' only support,—allowed themselves to be persuaded to part with a few of the cattle the robbers had left them. Of their bravery they gave undoubted proof in their engagements with the Portuguese, and latterly, when embodied in the "Cape regiments."

Their honesty is the theme of Sparrmann's amazement. "Even when compelled by the most cruel usage to leave their places, it is never known, and is really a subject for wonder, that when one of these poor devils runs away from his service, or more properly bondage, he never takes with him anything that does not belong to him. This (he adds) is an instance of moderation in the savages towards their tyrants, which is universally attested, and at the same time praised and admired by the colonists themselves." The Moravian missionaries observe, in praise of the Hottentots, that they are in general strictly honest. They never touch the property of another, unless driven by severe hunger; "and we are told," say they, "that even then, thieving is very rare. If a Hottentot finds anything lost or mislaid, he brings it carefully to its owner. We have already had some instances of this honest disposition in them."

Here, however, panegyric must cease. They are also an indolent, imprudent, gluttonous, and often unnatural race. Their indolence is such, that, provided they are allowed to sleep, they would willingly fast the whole day rather than be at the trouble of digging roots, or following the chase. Sparrmann could seldom engage any of them for long continued exertion; upon one occasion, when he wanted a driver, he applied at a kraal, and was informed by an old man, that his son, a youth about nineteen, could be very well spared, in case he could persuade him to follow him; but although he offered a cow with calf, knives, brass tinder-boxes, glass beads, and even tobacco, the lad, who had some of the latter article at the time, remained sullen and silent; nor was it till after repeated and urgent interrogations, that he could be prevailed upon to utter the emphatic monosyllable, "No." Barrow complains, that his servants frequently passed days without a morsel, rather than walk a mile for a sheep; and the inherent native indolence of their converts was what the missionaries found it often the most difficult of their vices to overcome.

His physical wants force man in his most savage state to exert himself to procure what will satisfy them; but it does not appear that a feeling of these alone have ever made him provident. Although in times of scarcity the Hottentots can be content with very little, they are gluttonous as long as there are plenty of provisions. Vaillant could never make his people comprehend that it would be prudent to reserve a little for a future day. They would not only eat as much as they could—and a Hottentot is capable of eating ten or twelve pounds of meat in a day—but distributed the remainder to whomsoever they met. They were never disturbed respecting the consequence of their prodigality,—their usual answer when spoken to about it was, "We will hunt, or, we will sleep." This latter alternative they seemed able to command at pleasure, or, if the pangs of hunger were too excruciating to allow it, they would resort to a strange method, similar to what is practised among the wild Esquimaux, and compress their stomachs by a leathern bandage, till they could procure food.

But their besetting sin, when they can procure the means, is drunkenness; and almost every traveller who has carried brandy in his luggage, has had to complain, that to get possession of the delirious draught, the Hottentot forgets his usual honesty. Some of the tribes had a method of procuring an intoxicating liquor from honey, which they manufactured at particular seasons; but with this, as with their meat, they kept no bounds, nor reserved any for another occasion. They likewise indulged immoderately in the use of tobacco, or the hemp plant,—in their tongue, *dagha*,—the leaves of which are still more stupifying than those of the other narcotic weed. For smoking they fabricate pipes of the bamboo reed, with baked earth, or a soft kind of stone, which they cut and scoop out to a considerable depth, as the more capacious they are, they consider them the more valuable.

The most forbidding features of their character, however, are those which they share in common with almost every savage tribe that has yet been discovered,—the destruction of infants, and the desertion of the sick and the aged, which, though not carried to such an extent as among some other barbarians, were yet neither uncommon nor rare occurrences. Much of their degrading vices, however, it must be acknowledged, has either proceeded from, or been encouraged by, their intercourse with Europeans, and the oppressions and spoliations they have suffered from them,—which, by depriving them of every thing that renders life desirable, tearing asunder the dearest ties that unite society together, and reducing them to a state of hopeless subjection, took away every motive to exertion, led them to seek oblivion of misery in intoxication, and to be careless about preserving a life to their relatives which they found so wretched to themselves. The Hottentots are distinguished, as "those within the colony," the Corannas, a pastoral nation inhabiting the banks of the Great Orange River; the "Namaquas," occupying the western coast, with some other roving tribes; and the "Bushmen," or *Bosjesman*. These last are the wretched remnant of those who, driven from their homes and reduced to desperation, have had every species of obloquy heaped upon them, to justify, if possible, the injustice of which they have been the victims.

Kupt's journal, formerly referred to, confirms this as their origin. When he arrived at a kraal consisting of twenty-three huts, and was surprised to find so few cattle, he was informed that a party of colonists had come to their kraal, and, without saying a word, had fired upon them from all sides,—chased away the Hottentots,—burned their huts,—and carried off their cattle, without their knowing any reason for it, since they never offended any of the Dutch. That, in consequence of having lost all their cattle, they were obliged to go to the bordering Dutch to collect some, and to rob their own countrymen; and whenever they could get any, they drove them into the mountains and feasted till all was consumed; then they went to fetch other cattle, and in this they had succeeded several times; but in order to save the few cattle left them, they were obliged to fight daily with elephants, to procure subsistence for their families. And he afterwards repeats a similar tale, accounting at once for the depopulation and the barbarizing of the natives: "I was much vexed to have found, during a journey of twelve days, along such a tedious and troublesome road, no more than two kraals, and which, although mustering ten captains, were so badly provided with cattle. From this I have learned with sorrow, by the late opened free traffic and the misbehaviour of these vagabonds, the whole country has been ruined; for when one kraal was robbed by the Dutch, the sufferers were driven to rob others, and these again their neighbours. With the plunder they retired into the mountains, and feasted till it was consumed, when they went again in search of other booty. And thus, from a people living in peace and happiness, divided into kraals under chiefs, and subsisting quietly by the breeding of cattle, they are become almost all of them huntsmen, *Bosjesmen*, and robbers, and are dispersed everywhere among the barren and rugged mountains."

Harassed and plundered on every side, they divided among themselves, and those who preferred famine to slavery, retired to the mountains or most uninviting parts of the deserts.—while those who remained in the fertile territory, sunk into a state of servitude, as herdsmen or domestics to the Boors; the former, obtained the name of Bosjesmen, the latter, were still denominated Hottentots. For a period of seventy years, the same system continued, till the increase of the colonists requiring an increase of servants, they followed the Bushmen into the deserts and mountains, to murder the men whose imperishable love of freedom they could not eradicate, and seize the women and children to reduce them to slavery, on the lands their husbands and fathers had occupied as rightful and independent proprietors. Turning in despair on their pursuers, the Bushmen often inflicted a merited revenge, when the Boors formed the horrible project,—surpassing even that conduct which has doomed the Spanish name in the West to execration,—of enslaving or extirpating all that remained of the original inhabitants.

By the most vilifying representations, they prevailed upon the colonial government, which now shared in the produce, and sympathised in the iniquities of the farmers, in 1774, to order the whole race of Bushmen to be extirpated, reserving the women and children, with the cattle, to be divided among the destroyers. To accomplish this infernal plan, three *commandoes*, or military parties, were formed, with instructions to proceed against these unfortunate men, and, if possible, to take them by surprise. Imperfect records of these bloody exhibitions remain, to stamp with infamy forever the avaricious wretches, and rescue the insulted character of their victims from their aspersions. One of these bands of legalized robbers, after having surrounded a kraal, fired upon it, and either killed or made captive the whole.

Two spies were sent out about the same time with two Bushmen, whose conduct on the occasion might have illustrated with no secondary splendour the brightest page in the annals of ancient or modern patriotism. They promised to show where some of their countrymen were concealed; but, instead of conducting them right, they led them to a different quarter. A few days after, they were sent out again, and seven spies with them, assured that, in case of a second failure, they should certainly be put to death, but if they pointed out their comrades, they should as certainly be spared. Resolved, however, not to betray their friends, they proceeded for an hour, then fell flat on the ground, and lay as if they had been dead. When commanded to rise, they lay still—threats, promises, blows, were in vain—they remained inflexible; and the brutal wretches who accompanied them, incapable of appreciating the magnanimity of their self-devotion, murdered them on the spot.

It is impossible to ascertain the extent of the massacres committed upon the Bushmen by the commandoes; but the murders committed by the farmers equalled, perhaps exceeded, these. Hostilities never ceased for a day; the Boors considered the murder of a few Bushmen, wherever found, and in whatever circumstances, a meritorious action, and the capture of their wives and children, lawful prey. In their parties for hunting or pleasure, they followed and killed these proscribed wretches as they would have done any other species of game; and so universal was the passion, that Vaillant mentions a young woman not twenty, who was admired for her heroism because she was accustomed to accompany her father on horseback, and pursue and shoot the Bushmen without mercy. "A Boor from Graaf-Reinet being asked in the Secretary's Office, a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road? replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed with his own hands near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches."

Such a system rendered the Bushmen the very thieves and assassins the farmers had represented them: from peaceable happy neighbours they were transformed into ferocious and vindictive enemies. "One of them," says the same writer, "represented to us the condition of his countrymen as truly deplorable: that for several months in the year, when the frost and snow prevented them from making their excursions against the farmers, their sufferings from cold and want of food were indescribable: that they frequently beheld their wives and children perishing with hunger, without being able to give them any relief. The good season even brought little alleviation to their misery. They knew themselves to be hated by all mankind, and that every nation around them was an enemy planning their destruction. Not a breath of wind rustled through the leaves, not a bird screamed, that were not supposed to announce danger. Hunted thus like beasts of prey, and ill treated in the service of the farmers, he said they considered themselves driven to desperation. The burden of their song was—Vengeance against the Dutch!"

Exasperated by their long continued sufferings, the Bushmen know no sweeter pleasure than revenge, and this they extend, not only to the farmers, but to the Hottentots employed by them; and should they seize one guarding his master's cattle, not content with putting him to death, they torture him by every means of cruelty their invention can frame,—drawing out his bowels, tearing off his nails, scalping, or other acts equally cruel. Yet they exercise among themselves a union and benevolence which, the missionaries at Zak River remark, would shame not only nominal but real Christians. After about a twelvemonths' residence among them, they say they had never perceived a quarrel; and when they gave them a little tobacco, it was always equally divided among all present; and when one or two were invited to the mission-house, and meat presented them, they would not eat it by themselves, but carried it off, to share it with their friends.

Their huts are the most miserable that can be conceived. In the cliffs of the rock they dig a round den about three feet deep, which they cover with a few reeds, seldom sufficient to defend them from the rain, in which they lie with their whole family. Their dress is similar to the other Hottentots, as is their custom of besmearing themselves; only, the women do not cover the whole body with colour, but vary the painting, by laying it on in stripes of red and black. Their arms are the small bow and the poisoned arrow, which will fly a distance of two hundred paces, and hit with tolerable accuracy at half length. They generally conceal themselves, and take aim from behind a bush; and if the object be within sixty paces, the shot is deadly.

When hunting or foraging among the farmers fails, they feed on wild roots, berries, and plants, or on the larvæ of insects, white-ants, grasshoppers, snakes, and reptiles; and as they are often exposed to hunger, their figures are in general stunted and shrivelled, yet not deformed; and they are wonderfully agile. They practise bigamy; but conjugal affection is little known; and often in a quarrel between the wives, the defeated party wreaks her revenge on the child of the conqueror. Nor do the men hesitate to kill their children when ill shaped, in want of food, or when obliged to flee from the farmers, in which case they will strangle them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. In the dreadful depression caused by their extreme poverty, even natural affection is almost extinguished. The children in general cease to be objects of their mother's care, as soon as they are able to crawl. As the females alone gather roots or berries, they go out in the morning, and leave their infants till they return in the evening, when an old sheep skin for a bed, a little milk, or a small portion of such food as they may have, is all the attention they receive. In removing from place to place, they frequently forsake their aged relatives, leaving with them a piece of meat, and an ostrich egg-shell full of water.

But excepting the misery which results from polygamy, the frequency of the other crimes was certainly the result of the monstrous cruelty to which these poor wretches were exposed from the Dutch farmers. The natural consequence of extreme long-continued poverty in civilized life, is to steel the heart against all the finer affections, nor is it to be expected that it should be different among savages, although the effects may be more horribly evident. When at all free from the immediate pressure of their terrible calamities, the Bushmen are a sprightly and a cheerful people, and, like their ancestors, amazingly fond of dancing.

War, which, amid all its cruelties and desolations, has in Europe occasionally called into action some of the highest faculties and noblest dispositions of man, produces often the same effects among those wild and hitherto despised outcasts. When a horde is surrounded by farmers, and little chance is perceived by them of effecting an escape, they will fight it out most furiously, so long as a man shall be left alive. It frequently happens on such occasions, that a party will volunteer the forlorn hope, by throwing themselves in the midst of the colonists, in order to create confusion, and to give to their countrymen, concealed among the rocks, or in the long grass, at the expense of their own lives, an opportunity of exercising more effectually their mortal weapons upon their enemies, and at the same time to facilitate the escape of their wives and children. Their plundering expeditions are conducted not without system. They never venture on an attack without having first well reconnoitered their ground, and having come to a proper understanding with each other upon the signals to be made in every possible case that can occur. In managing these, they have attained to such perfection, that they will make themselves understood at the distance of many miles, particularly in the night. By means of fires on the summits of the mountains, they will indicate to each other the numbers of a herd or flock they mean to plunder, with the means of defence that the people possess who are guarding them. And their sight is rendered so acute by spying constantly around them, that they perceive objects clearly, at a distance which no European with the best eyes could see, without the assistance of glasses. If in carrying off their booty they chance to be pursued, they always divide, one party to drive off the cattle, the others to annoy and harass the pursuers; and when the Boors are too many for them, they stab or maim the whole herd. Should the farmers continue the pursuit after the depredators, they take refuge in the steep mountains, which they climb with the agility of baboons. From thence they roll down stones on any that is imprudent enough to approach, and, sheltered themselves behind some jutting piece of the rock, laugh at their assailants. The language is the same with that of the Hottentots, only the clicking is more rapid, which renders their speaking more unintelligible.

Influenced most probably by the representations of the colonists, Lichtenstein appears to have adopted the common prejudices against the Bushmen; yet, notwithstanding his general view of their character, which, by the way, is not altogether consistent with itself, agrees, in some of its material points, with the descriptions of the missionaries. "There is not," he says, "perhaps any class of savages upon the face of the earth that lead lives so near those of the brutes as the Bosjesmen; none, perhaps, who are sunk so low—who are so unimportant in the scale of existence—whose wants, whose cares, and whose joys, are so low in their nature,—and who are consequently so little capable of cultivation. Certainly, no other tribe of savages has yet been found in whom so high a degree of brutal ferocity is united with so much craft and so many proofs of real power of mind. To sleep, to eat, and to drink, are the only wants, smoking tobacco and drinking brandy the only joys, that the Bushman knows; yet these wants—these joys, he can forego longer than any other mortal. The very same person who, with five of his fellow-countrymen, will eat a fat sheep in an hour, or a quagga in half a night, will be able to fast for three or four days together, even without this abstinence having been preceded by such a feast. Mere sloth is sometimes the principal motive of this forbearance: he would sooner resist the cravings of his stomach, and endeavour to sleep them away, than make any bodily exertion to satisfy them. He will live for months together upon a few little bulbs, which at certain times of the year are to be found in the low parts of the country, and never leave the spot till the whole harvest has been consumed."

An uncommon degree of perseverance is distinguishable in everything he undertakes. He will sometimes spend a whole day together in low places, scratching up the ground to find water, and if once convinced that there is any to be found, will dig even to the depth of six feet to come at it. The whole recompense for this toil is, perhaps, a handful of water for each person concerned in the achievement, which they take in rotation,—each being obliged to wait the replenishment of the little well, after the former has had his quantum. If they perceive the track of any wild animal, they never cease following it till the animal itself is taken. On the naked barren plains, where dexterity and artifice must supply the defect of his weapons, he will conceal himself from the shy antelope and the quick-sighted ostrich, by crawling along the earth on his belly, and strewing his body or garments over with dust, that the colour may not betray him; and if the animal chance to look his way, he will remain immovable for hours, till at last he approaches so near that he is sure of his mark. No difficulties deter them from pursuing any undertaking on which they are at once resolved. To the first step alone do they ever show any reluctance; but if once their propensity to indolence is so far subdued as to begin, the object is pursued with boldness, with cunning, and with pertinacity, till it is obtained.

Wretched and miserable as was the situation of the Bushmen, the state of the aborigines who remained within the colonies was yet worse. They were driven from one fertile spot to another, and harassed on every side; till worn out, they resigned themselves to what seemed their inevitable destiny,—like "the unwary sailor" left upon a sand bank, and surrounded by the flowing tide, who first gives up one dry spot, when he sees the waters approaching,—then another, and another, where he vainly thought he might be safe; till at length he lays him down to rest in some distant corner, far off as he supposes from danger, to wait the receding tide, and is only awakened to the horror of his situation by the dashing of the billow that cuts off every hope of escape, then, listless and careless, submits to his fate.

The numerous free villages with which the country once abounded, one by one disappeared; and the few paltry and miserable hordes who had established themselves in some of the districts, had no longer the power of choosing their own chiefs. To this office none were appointed but by the governor of the settlement; and to mark his dependence, he had the honour, upon repairing to Cape-Town, to receive a large cane with a copper head, and a gorget of the same metal to put round his neck. From that moment his melancholy horde, which for a long time had lost its natural name, assumed that of its new chief, who became to the governor a new spy and a new slave, and to his people a new tyrant,—for the governor himself never being personally acquainted with those whom he appoints, the planter nearest the horde usually procures the nomination of one of his own creatures, who he knew would have all his vassals ready at his service, whenever he chose to require it: and, thus, without any preliminary information, and even without any regard to justice, these helpless and feeble hordes were obliged to receive the law from a man often incapable of commanding them, and to pass into real servitude, while mocked with the empty name of freedom.

Those dispersed among the farmers, as servants, were still more miserable: having no protector, and his master no superior at hand to check his excesses, the unfortunate bondsman was urged to incessant toil, by the infliction of the most cruel and revolting punishments. Though nominally a free man, blows and stripes could be heaped upon him at the caprice of his master; and as the latter lost nothing by his mutilation or death, these were not unfrequently the result of his hasty or deliberate vengeance. Of the treatment to which they are subjected, Barrow gives several instances. "We had scarcely parted from these people when stopping at a house to find our horses, we by accident observed a young Hottentot woman, with a child in her arms, lying stretched on the ground in a most deplorable condition. She had been cut from head to foot with one of those infernal whips made from the hide of a rhinoceros, or sea-cow, known by the name of *samboes*, in such a barbarous and unmerciful manner that there was scarcely a spot in her whole body free from stripes. Nor had the sides of the little infant, in clinging to its mother, escaped the strokes of the brutal monster. The only crime alleged against her was, the attempt to follow her husband, who was among the number of those of his countrymen that had determined to throw themselves upon the protection of the English. The next house we halted at upon the road presented us with a still more horrid instance of brutality. We observed a fine Hottentot boy, about eight years of age, sitting at the corner of the house, with a pair of iron rings clenched upon his legs, of the weight of ten or twelve pounds; and they had remained in one situation for such a length of time, that they appeared to be sunk into the leg,—the muscles being tumefied both above and below the rings.

The poor creature was so benumbed and oppressed with the weight, that being unable to walk with ease, he crawled on the ground. It appeared they had been riveted to his legs more than ten months ago. The charges against the poor child were, that he had slept when he ought to have watched the cattle; that he had lost him some sheep; and that he was a worthless boy. Another ruffian, not far from one of the missionary settlements, chopped off one of a Hottentot's hands with an axe, and said, when quarrelled for his cruelty, that the fellow had always been idle and good for nothing before, but that since he had lost his hand he had become one of his most attentive and valuable herdsmen.

Nor were they at liberty to choose their employment or their masters. Any Dutch peasant was allowed to claim as his property any child of any Hottentot in his service, till the age of twenty-five, to whom he had given a morsel of bread. Should a Hottentot, therefore, who had perhaps engaged himself only for a year, wish to depart at the expiration of his time, his master might permit him; but his children, who had been tempted to enter the Boor's door and taste a morsel of food, were detained; or, if the master wished to detain the person himself, he would give him a piece of tobacco or a glass of brandy, or say that he had suffered an ox to stray, and muster up an account which his servant was detained to work out; but this he seldom accomplished till age and infirmity came upon him, and then he was a free man, and turned to shift for himself as he might.

Degradation of character was the necessary consequences of such treatment. A deep and settled gloom, and a habitual depression of spirits, took place of that hilarity which had formerly distinguished them; their indolence increased to a degree hardly credible, and they became more and more addicted to gluttony and drunkenness; their numbers began gradually to decline, the very structure of their bodies was said to have shrunk, and to have lost its force and its agility, and the whole race seemed rapidly wasting away, nor could aught, but the disinterested exertions of Christian missionaries, have saved them from entire annihilation.*

Besides the various tribes of Hottentots within the colony or on the frontiers, there are increasing and important classes of natives scattered over the country, who have sprung from the connexion of white men with Hottentot women, and of Hottentot women with negroes, both known by the generic of "Bastard Hottentots," but differing exceedingly in the features and dispositions. The former are robust and well made; their skin is of a clearer yellow than that of the Hottentots, and has the colour of a dried lemon-peel; their hair is black, much longer, and less frizzled. The intermixture of Europeans with females produces a species still whiter; till, in the third generation there is little perceptible difference between them and the Europeans, except the distinguishing prominence of the cheek bones. They are courageous, active, impetuous, and enterprizing; but being treated with contempt by the whites, they form a distinct and separate part of the community. The others are in general taller and better made, and their colour, a medium between the black of the father and the olive tint of the mother, is more agreeable to the sight. They are capable of great labour, and to much activity, without turbulence, they join a fidelity which never betrays. But they are not so numerous as the former; both are estimated as equal to one-sixth of all the Hottentots within the colony. And some of them have raised themselves to opulence, while others, as leaders of bands, have rendered themselves formidable to the colonists, by whom, if they are not much more esteemed than the Hottentots, they are much more dreaded. All were, however, upon a level as to religious instruction. To speak to any of them upon the subject, was deemed by the farmers little less than sacrilege; and, latterly, the aversion of the Boors to their instruction was such, that in some of the churches in the interior, boards were affixed upon their doors, on which was inscribed, "No Hottentots or dogs admitted." The whole number of the Hottentots remaining within the boundaries of the colony, were lately estimated at nearly twenty thousand; the Bastards about four; in all, perhaps, not more than twenty-five thousand.

CHAP. II.

Dutch attempts to convert the Hottentots—Given up in despair—Hottentots declared incapable of receiving instruction—Attention of the Moravians directed to South Africa—George Schmidt sent out on a mission—Arrives at the Cape of Good Hope—Received favourably—Commences his labours near the River Sunder Eynd—Encouraging prospects—Obliged to remove—Settles near Sergeant's River—His success in educating the children—Several of the natives baptized—Their cheering progress—Mission obliged to be given up—Congregation scattered—Mission renewed—Settlement of Bavian's Kloof—Old Helena—Hottentots flock to the settlement—Farmers hostile to the instruction of the Hottentots—Government friendly—Calumniated—Commence their school—A Hottentot funeral—The Brethren's plan of instruction—Eager attention of the Hottentots—Prosperous state of the mission—Persecution—Mr. Clude visits them—Their distresses—Awakening among the people—their enemies disappointed—The Boors rise in arms, and threaten the Moravians—Distracted state of the colony and of the mission—Afflicting departure of the Hottentots from Bavian's Kloof—Resolutions of "the Nationals" force the missionaries to quit the settlement—They go to Cape-Town—Return joyfully.

Along with the commercial oppressions, the Dutch commonly made some endeavours to impart a knowledge of Christianity in their foreign colonies; but while generally successful in their mercantile speculations, they were by no means equally happy in their missionary efforts. We are told that many learned and pious men were sent by them to the Cape, who underwent numberless dangers and fatigues, and took the greatest pains to make proselytes among the Hottentots, but without effect: neither the force of their reasonings, nor the charms of their address, made any impression, and they were compelled to abandon their generous design, without leaving the least trace of it on the minds of the savages. "And I'll venture to prophecy," adds Kolben, after mentioning the fact, "that for this age, at least, it will not be attended with better success."

In support of his opinion, he quotes Boeving, who says—"These infidels," meaning the Hottentots, "show the utmost reluctance when they are called to reason on matters of religion. How often have I admonished them to adore *Gounja Gounja*, as they call Almighty God, and give Him thanks for the benefits they daily receive at his hands! They neglected not among themselves to return one present or kind office for another, and bowed their bodies when they received a gift from a parent, friend, or stranger;—how, therefore, I asked them, could they neglect to pay the gratitude that was due to God the father of all mercies, and giver of every good thing? They replied, they did thank *Gounja Gounja*. But how? demanded I; pray, let me have the particulars. But they, not being able or willing to proceed, I went on and endeavoured to instruct them after what manner they ought to pay their acknowledgments to the God of gods, and to make them sensible of the homage and veneration that was due to Him who is the faithful rewarder of all who diligently seek him: but, alas! they grew uneasy before I had entered far into these matters; and at length, losing all patience, retired, some frowning, and others laughing: so that I could not so much as pave a way towards instructing them in the great points of Christianity."

This method of conversion having proved ineffectual, the historian of the Cape relates, with great *naiveté*, his own attempts in the way of Christianizing the same infidels. "Many a time," says he, "have I allured them, in small companies, with tobacco, wine, brandy, and other things, to places of retirement, in order to eradicate their nonsensical whimseys, and instruct them in the pure worship of God. As long as my store lasted, I had my company, who seemed to attend with a desire to learn; but when that was spent, they called out for more, and, without it, would not stay to hear another word."

That such attempts to enlighten the heathen should have failed, is no great matter of surprise, nor is it wonderful that the colonists, who thought it their interest that the poor natives were kept in bondage and ignorance, should have industriously propagated a belief that they were incapable of receiving instruction. It was reserved for that highly honoured people, the Moravians, practically to demonstrate the folly of these modes of conversion, and the falsity of the conclusions drawn from them. Their attention was called to this despised nation, by an application from Messrs. Von Alphen and Domine de Bruin, of Amsterdam, 7th February, 1736, to the congregation at Herrnhuth, wishing to know, whether it would be practicable for them to send one of the brethren to endeavour to lead them to the knowledge of our Saviour? These devoted men immediately took the subject into their serious consideration, and called their brother, George Schmidt, to the service, who, on the 14th of the same month, left for Amsterdam,—so ready was this servant of God to undertake a long voyage to preach the gospel to a people, reported the most degraded of the human race; but he had been trained in a good school, and had already suffered imprisonment for the sake of the gospel, from 1728 to 1734, under the hands of the Papists, in the dungeons of Bohemia.

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* Philip's Researches in S. Africa, vol. i. pp. 55—57

When he arrived at Amsterdam, March 9, many difficulties were to be encountered; and he was obliged to wait a year, before he could obtain permission from the East India Company to go to the Settlement. In the month of September, when the general court of directors met at Middleburg, in Zeeland, he presented a petition to the court, stating, "That from love to God our Saviour, and the poor heathen, he wished to go to the Cape, to preach the gospel to the Hottentots; praying that leave might be granted to take his passage on board one of their ships." His petition being admitted, some clergymen were appointed to examine him. These reverend gentlemen first examined him on several points of faith, with which being satisfied, they mentioned to him the difficulty of attaining a knowledge of the Hottentot language, and of being among a people who had no other food than wild roots. To which he answered, that with God all things were possible; and as he was convinced of its being the Lord's will that he should preach the gospel to them, he trusted confidently in Him for help to carry him through every circumstance, however discouraging. At first this language appeared rather strange to his examinators, but at length they agreed, that God, to whom indeed all things are possible, would not despise his good intentions; and his views being sincere and laudable in themselves, they wished him the blessing of the Lord.

His petition being now granted, he was informed that he might take his passage on board one of their ships—had a passport given him—and one of the directors kindly gave letters of recommendation to the two governors at the Cape, M. de La Fontaine and M. Von Kerbel. On the 11th March 1737, he left Holland in the Reynsburg frigate, Captain John de Bruin,—the text of Scripture for the day being, "The way of the righteous is made plain," Prov. xv. 19. Contrary winds drove the vessel into Saldanha bay, where they remained at anchor for a fortnight; and there he first saw some Hottentots, with whom he held a little conversation in the Dutch language; "and my very heart," he observes, "rejoiced at the sight of them." July 9th, they arrived at Cape Town; and he immediately waited upon the governor, by whom he was received with great kindness.

A few days after, Captain Rhenius offered him board and lodging at his house, which he gladly accepted; and he was treated by all the authorities with much civility. During his stay, he made frequent excursions into the country, to see the natives; and finally left the town on September 4th, to pursue the object of his mission, in company with a Dutch corporal, sent to procure provisions, and two Hottentots, captains Africo and Kibbodo. On the 13th September, they arrived at the river Sunder Eynd, about seventy miles distant, where was a Dutch post, and where Africo resided, who, with his people, welcomed him after their manner,—with music: and he, in return, addressed them on their more important concerns, in Dutch. Africo then took him and showed him the country; after surveying which, he resolved to settle among the Hottentots in that quarter,—the corporal very kindly offering him the use of his tent, till he could build a hut. The text for the day, when he first pitched his tent among them, was remarkable—"Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not; lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes," Isa. liv. 2.

Having brought seeds with him, he instantly commenced digging a garden, and framing a hut. Every evening, the Hottentots came to see him; and he endeavoured to learn their language. But, that no time might be lost, he, through the medium of Africo, as his interpreter, began to attempt communicating to them the things of God. He asked if they knew that a great Spirit dwelt above, who had given them their cattle and all they had? to which they readily answered, "Yes!" on which he added—"This good Spirit is He who alone can save you; and I am come hither with no other view than to make you acquainted with Him." They replied, "We are glad to hear this!"

After labouring at the Hottentot language till the end of October, he found it inadequate to convey the knowledge of the gospel, and therefore began to teach the Hottentots Dutch. Africo's family were his first scholars. He was, about the same time, cheered with the company of the corporal at the post, to whom, having spoken freely of the love of the Saviour, it pleased God to open his heart to receive the word in faith, and he loved him as his Redeemer. "This man," he adds in his journal, "remained my firm friend, till the Lord took him home to himself." Nor were his ministrations without effect among the Hottentots. But just when his situation was beginning to be pleasant and comfortable, he received notice that it was too near the Company's post,—probably some of the inhabitants envying him the spot that he had cultivated.

He, in consequence, left his dwelling on the 23d of April, 1738, and removed with eighteen Hottentots, who loved him, and relished his doctrine, to a desert place on Sergeant's river, twelve miles from the post; where he built a new hut, and planted another garden, and at the same time taught his Hottentots to dig, build, and plant. Meanwhile his school proceeded prosperously. They met every evening; and one of his scholars, named Willem, he took into his hut. Of him he says, "He truly loved the crucified Jesus, and had found the remission of sins in his blood. He afterwards became my assistant, and told his countrymen, in their own language, that he knew by experience that what I said of God our Saviour was true."

By degrees, a pretty large number came to attend, and sent their children to learn to speak and read Dutch; and to enable him to board them, they gave him a couple of milch cows, that they might have a sufficiency of milk, besides the roots they gathered. The scholars now amounted, generally, to upwards of thirty, and were sometimes so high as fifty. Africo and Kibbodo, to his great joy, declared for the Saviour; they confessed that they had been vile slaves of sin, but had now found that Jesus' blood had power to deliver them from the dominion of evil. The Dutch likewise began to visit this little settlement, and some of them spoke well of it; but, although not explicitly stated, it seems highly probable that others began to oppose and secretly to raise those hinderances which eventually forced the good man to leave the colony. Nevertheless, the work of God went on, and a circumstance took place of no little importance, in 1740: Schmidt's friend the corporal died, and was succeeded by Daniel Christopher Martinson, who was a man of superior abilities, and, being converted by the ministration of Schmidt, preached most powerfully to the Hottentots of the atonement made by the blood of the Lamb.

According to the practice of the brethren among the heathen, he was in no hurry to administer the ordinance of baptism, nor was it till 1742, that Willem, Africo, and Kibbodo received this initiating rite; but as soon as it became known in Cape Town that he had baptized Hottentots, the people were astonished, and some of them were highly displeased; and when two of them happened to be in the town, the clergyman sent for and examined them respecting their creed. The answer of the baptized was simple: "We believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," with which they appeared satisfied; and asked if they could read? when, a New Testament being produced, they read the third chapter of the Gospel according to John. The clergymen then exhorted them to remain obedient to their teacher, and dismissed them in peace.

Several others having been admitted to partake of the same holy ordinance, he began, 1743, to have meetings with the baptized alone, preparatory to forming them into a church; but he met with so many impediments and difficulties, that he was advised to come to Europe, in order to get them removed. Accordingly, making over his hut and garden to Africo, he delivered a farewell discourse to his beloved Hottentots, October 30th, 1743, and took leave. They wept much at parting. He then set out for the Cape, where he remained till 4th of March, 1744; when, having obtained testimonials of his good conduct in the country, and permission to leave it, he set sail for Holland, and arrived in the Texel, June 17th. All his endeavours, and those of his brethren, to procure leave to return, were in vain; and thus terminated this first most interesting mission to the Hottentots. The number of his congregation settled at his station, (afterwards better known as Bavian's Kloof, *i. e.* "baboon's cliff," or mountain,) amounted in all to forty-seven persons, when their teacher left them.

By succeeding accounts, they remained together waiting for his return: how long is uncertain. In 1747, John Martin Schwaebler went thither to take care of the forsaken Hottentots, but no further accounts were heard of him. Information was, however, received of a remnant of the work, in the year 1760. Though this congregation, however, was dispersed, it is more than probable that by this means,—though the facts be unknown,—was silently spread through the country that desire for Christian instruction which afterwards, by the blessing of God, under the care of succeeding missionaries, and in happier times, has had such astonishing effects. The attempt itself was vilified and traduced among the Boors for years after; and the hatred they expressed, and the obliquy they poured on the memory of the venerable Schmidt, evidently pointed out the causes which led to the breaking up of this society of Christian Hottentots.

When Sparrmann was near the spot in 1775, he was told that the doctrines of Christianity had been formerly preached there to the Hottentots, and received by them with great avidity and zeal, and that it was still within the memory of several of the inhabitants, that one of the converts, an old female Hottentot, was living, and used to perform her devotions every morning on her bare knees, by the side of a spring situated near this spot, who had a German (Dutch) Bible, which she often read, and treated with the greatest veneration, and that her behaviour throughout life was decent and quiet; but the doctor's informers added, that the missionary who had converted her, had been banished out of the country, for having illegally made himself a chief among the Hottentots in these parts, in order to enrich himself by their labour, and the presents they made him of cattle.

Some of the Moravian brethren who were at the Cape, on their passage from the East Indies, in 1780, saw a Hottentot woman who had been baptized by Schmidt, and who expressed a great desire for the renewal of the mission. She had a Dutch Bible he had given her, which she valued above all things. These accounts of the remaining sparks of that fire of the Lord which once began to kindle among the dispersed Hottentots, excited among the friends of the cause a strong desire to revive the mission; and the synod of the brethren which met at Herrnhuth in 1789, renewed their applications to the Dutch East India Company for leave to send missionaries to the Cape of Good Hope.

This being granted, three brethren, Henry Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn, and John Chr. Kuehnel, accepted the call to proclaim the Gospel to the Hottentots; and in 1792, sailed for their destination, to renew the mission, under circumstances most unexpectedly favourable. They arrived at Cape-Town in November, where they remained a month. A revival of religion having taken place here, a society was formed of about sixty, who met twice a week for mutual edification; and being invited to attend, they found, to their great encouragement, that many prejudices which had been raised against the brethren, by false accusations, had entirely vanished; and these, their fellow-Christians, were ready to bid them God speed,—expressing great joy that God had again opened a door for the Gospel among the Hottentots. They experienced much friendship from the governor, commissioners, and Col. Gordon, who advised them to wait the arrival of Mr. (or *Baas*, *i. e.* the master) Teunis, inspector of a large district, to whom they would give proper directions to take them with him, and lend them every proper assistance.

While waiting, they had an opportunity of learning the opinions the Boors entertained concerning them; some of whom considered them as a species of monsters, while others did not hesitate to say, "If these Moravians come here to convert the Hottentots, they ought instantly to be put to death." But none of these things moved them: they committed themselves and their cause to their God and Saviour, convinced that nothing could happen either, but what was according to his good pleasure. When Mr. Teunis arrived, it was the general opinion of the governor, commissioners, and the inspector, that the missionaries should attempt their first settlement at Bavian's Kloof, where their late brother Schmidt had resided; to which they assented, especially on being assured that more Hottentots resided there than in any other part of the country: and on the 20th December set out with their guide, the inspector, who engaged to provide them with provisions on the journey.

They had often been surprised on seeing farmers arrive at Cape-Town with twelve oxen yoked to a wagon, which two could easily have drawn; but when they came to ascend some of the stupendous and almost perpendicular hills on their route, they found that double the number was not superfluous. They travelled by night, and rested all day, during which the oxen were turned loose, to seek their food on the luxuriant herbage,—the heat being too fatiguing to proceed. Early on the 22d, they crossed the river Sunder Eynd, and arrived at Mr. Teunis's house, which he desired them to consider their home till otherwise provided.

The 24th, the day appointed to determine their future habitation, before entering upon so important an undertaking, they devoutly implored their Saviour's grace and help, and entreated Him, on the eve of the memorial day of his nativity, to bless and sanctify them in soul and body, as his redeemed ones, for his service; and commended themselves especially to his gracious guidance, in fixing on a spot for their residence. At 6 o'clock in the morning, they set out, and at 10 arrived at Bavian's Kloof. On inquiry at a Hottentot kraal, whether any of the inhabitants knew the place where George Schmidt's house had stood? a man immediately went with them, and showed them the very spot, where they found a large piece of the wall still standing, and several fruit trees in the garden. There were three other trees, an almond, apricot, and pear-tree, at some distance, which they declared they were certain Schmidt had also planted. Some ruins of cottages, which the Hottentots had built round their teacher's dwelling, also remained.

They found, too, at no great distance, an old woman whom George Schmidt had baptized, but now so feeble, that she was unable to walk. She told them her name was Helena; and that she was now the only one remaining alive of those he had baptized. When asked, whether she remembered anything of the doctrine she had been taught, she confessed she had forgot all. "But," said the missionaries, "have you forgotten that he told you of Jesus, who, though God from heaven, became a man, and died on the cross to save us from our sins?" she replied, "That I remember." They then told her they were George Schmidt's brethren; and if the Hottentots desired to be saved, they would point out the way unto them, as he had done,—when she exclaimed, "Thanks be to God!" "Which word," say the missionaries, "filled our hearts with joy." She then showed them a Dutch New Testament which had been given her by Schmidt, which she kept carefully enclosed in a leathern bag, wrapped round with two sheep-skins. She could formerly read, but was now blind. Another woman, however, about 30 years old, who had been taught to read by one of Schmidt's scholars, read to her; and when desired to let the missionaries hear her, read with considerable propriety the 2d chapter of Matthew, containing the history of our Saviour's birth; but when asked if she knew who the child Jesus was? could give no answer.

Having fixed upon this spot for a settlement, they marked the site of a house, 36 feet long, 15 wide, and 7 from the floor to the roof, to contain a sitting-room, a sleeping-chamber, and a kitchen, about 15 yards from the ruins of Schmidt's dwelling. While thus engaged, nine Hottentot men and ten women assembled to bid them welcome. To them they immediately began to preach Jesus as the Saviour of sinners, standing under the shade of the great pear-tree planted by their venerable predecessor. At length they had the pleasure, January 5, 1793, of laying the foundation-stone of their habitation. It was formed of wood and sun-burnt bricks, which the Hottentots prepared in the following manner:—One of them ploughed a piece of land with six oxen; and having made it pretty even with a harrow, he drove the cattle backwards and forwards upon it till the clods were properly trodden. A large bull's hide being then spread out and filled with the clay, it was dragged by the oxen to the building, where it was formed by the workmen into bricks, and the wall raised about a foot high on all sides. In this situation it stood one day to dry; and a similar process was continued till the walls were finished.

One of the brethren, in turn, superintended the building, which the indolence of the Hottentots, and the difficulty of providing food for them and their families, who came to reside near while the work was proceeding, rendered both a teazing and a tedious business.

News of what was going forward spread speedily in all directions, and numbers of Hottentots came to offer their assistance in building, or to settle on the premises. The Boors, too, came to see the rising settlement, which they viewed with the utmost jealousy and suspicion; and although they behaved to the missionaries in a friendly manner in their presence, behind their backs they gave vent to all their malignity. What tended to increase this hatred was—government had decidedly declared in their favour, and sent to the landrost of Schwellendam, to Teunis, and to themselves, an official order, declaring that they, the missionaries, were permitted to settle at Bavian's Kloof,—a place where at present no Christian congregation dwells,—for the purpose of instructing the Hottentots in the Christian religion, and forming them into Christian communities: that they should in nowise be molested. And the landrost of the colony, Stellenbosch, was directed to give orders to the officer of that district, to see that no injury should be done them, either in their persons or property, or in their daily avocations; but that every one should endeavour to promote their safety, and give them all due assistance.

This declaration seemed almost the signal for insurrection; and even the inferior officers of government were afraid to second their good intentions. A field-corporal, who had been ordered to ride to the settlement, to inquire whether the missionaries had any complaints, eluded obedience, and gave as his reason,—"I must live with the Boors, and be on good terms with them." These wretches endeavoured also to prevent the Hottentots from going to the brethren, by the most unfounded aspersions. "They will treat you very kindly at first," say they; "but if you listen to them, more of them will come, and then they will seize on you, and send you as slaves to Batavia." "Only wait a little," said one of their myrmidons, "and you 'll be well thwack'd by them: I have heard that they beat their scholars most cruelly, and have brought a whole chest of bamboos with them to beat you." Yet nothing would prevent their coming; and the missionaries remarked, with admiring gratitude, that there was an amazing eagerness in the Hottentots to be instructed.

Their house being finished, the brethren appointed 3d March solemnly to celebrate their entrance into their new dwelling; and, accordingly, dedicated their house with prayer and supplication unto the Lord, entreating him to grant that his Spirit might dwell and reign in it; to give them every gift and grace needful for his service; and to impart power and blessing to their weak testimony of his cross and death for the redemption of the world, and that many heathen might hear it as the message of God for their salvation. They then had a meeting with all the adult Hottentots, and informed them, that next day they should begin their school, when the names of sixty adults and children were written down, and each got a spelling-book. Many more sent notice that they intended to come, so soon as they could provide themselves with victuals. Some supposed they should have had food given them for their attendance. The brethren told them they were unable to do this, but they would take nothing for their teaching.

One of these scholars having lost a child, requested their presence at the funeral, and towards evening, himself brought them to the place. All the men and women of the village were also invited; and when the missionaries arrived, they found them seated on the ground smoking tobacco. The corpse was then brought out of the cottage, wrapped in a sheep skin. The procession to the grave, which was about two hundred yards from the cottage, was in the following order: first, a man representing a priest or clerk, next the bearer of the corpse, followed by the father, and after him the rest of the men, several of whom carried shovels. The grave was about four feet deep, and larger than would have been necessary for a grown person. A hole being made in one side of it, resembling a vault, the corpse was put in it, and the opening shut up with pieces of wood and faggots. Afterwards, each of the company threw a shovelful of earth into the grave, till it was not only filled, but a very considerable hillock raised above it, upon which they set a plant called the Hottentot fig, which grows remarkably fast, and bears a fruit in taste not unlike a fig, and which is eaten in times of scarcity. The grave and hillock were at last covered with stones, to prevent the wolves from getting at the body. The ceremony being ended, the first man thanked the company for their attendance, and the procession returned. The women remained all the while sitting and smoking, and viewing the funeral at a distance. A goat was then killed, and all the company partook of the repast.

The scholars attended with great punctuality, and old Helena and her friend were always among them. The latter assisted in teaching the others, and their progress was so rapid, that in about a fortnight, their teachers expressed their surprise at their proficiency,—most of them having learned to know all the letters perfectly, and some of them having begun to spell. The peasants, however, opposed most violently, beating some, and threatening others who wished to join the settlement, and even detaining infants, to prevent their mothers from going thither, ; yet a few farmers in the neighbourhood were friendly, and Mr. Teunis on every occasion showed them kindness. Mr. Marsveld having some business to transact for the brethren, he carried him to the Cape in his own wagon, and brought him back with what necessaries he required. The true missionary devotedness of this brother is marked by the following passage, which occurs in his diary of that journey: "Being arrived near the foot of the hill, I went aside, and sat down to rest in a cave. Here I turned with many tears unto the Lord, praying him to bless and support my brethren at Bavian's Kloof, and to give them all the grace they require for the beginning of their labour among the Hottentots. I felt myself truly unworthy of such honour as that of serving our Saviour in his kingdom, and could not help being astonished that he should choose such a poor helpless creature as I am, to be engaged in so important a work as the proclamation of his love towards the poor human race. I called to mind how I was disposed when I first joined the brethren's congregation: my highest wish was then, that I might live unobserved, earn my bread by the work of my hands, and even in poverty and want, enjoy the fellowship of the children of God; and now I am called to his service among the heathen! I broke out into this ejaculation, 'Blessed Saviour! thou hast indeed chosen a weak instrument to do thy work!' I felt at this moment the presence and peace of our Saviour in so powerful a manner, that I left the cave rejoicing."

When he returned, the brethren arranged their plan of future procedure thus:—They began school at eight o'clock in the morning, first with the men, and then with the children; and at two in the afternoon, first with the children, and then with the women. After the women's school, the evening meeting commenced, in which, a lesson out of the Bible was read and explained. On the evening of the day on which this arrangement was made, the twenty-third chapter of Luke (treating of the crucifixion of our Saviour) was read and expounded.—"We wish," say the missionaries, "our brethren and friends in Europe could see such an assembly, and be witnesses of the reverence with which the Hottentots hear our testimony, that Jesus loved them even unto death. They look as if they would eat the words as they proceed from our lips, and many are so much moved that they shed tears. On the 31st, being Easter Sunday, at ten o'clock, we had a meeting with all our people, at which we spoke of the glorious resurrection of our Saviour from the dead. Forty-four Hottentots attended with such reverential silence and devotion, as is scarcely met with among Christians. We are already in great want of room, and hear daily of others who intend to come to hear the gospel. When we arrived here there was not one building on the spot; now there are thirteen Hottentot cottages inhabited."

The report had now spread far and near, and it became a common saying among the Hottentots, that God had sent them men to teach the way of salvation, and that whoever refused to hear and believe, would expose themselves to the punishment of God.

Early in 1794, a Hottentot came three days' journey, to inform the missionaries that he and his family purposed to remove from the east to the settlement; and his account of the disposition of the natives in his neighbourhood was such, that the brethren, Marsveld and Kuchnel, set out to visit them; and everywhere on their journey they were informed of numbers who were preparing to come to them: nor did these turn out false reports. At the end of the year, the population of Bavian's Kloof had so much increased, that frequently two hundred were present at public worship: the men's class contained thirty scholars, the women's seventy, and the children's seventy.

Such prosperity could not be expected to continue undisturbed—nor did it. The machinations of their enemies, the farmers, induced the officers of government, who dreaded their turbulence and their power, to concur for a time in some of their vexatious proposals. They forbade the missionaries to erect any new buildings, not even so much as a shed for their goats. They then, under pretence that the brethren harboured runaways, ordered all the Hottentots to quit the premises. The falsehood of this charge being easily proved, the order was revoked; but another, hardly less cruel, followed. Teunis, who had acted so friendly a part to them at first, having been seduced by the farmers, or desirous of obtaining the mission property, of part of which his son had already taken possession, bribed a Hottentot captain, Stoffel, with two shillings and a bottle of wine, to report that the Hottentots of Bavian's Kloof had so many cattle, that the farmer's cattle would be all driven away by them; and therefore this harsh mandate was issued, that they who had herds should return with them to the places whence they came, though it was a palpable fact, that the farmers possessed almost every inch of fertile land in the country. But the Hottentots who had felt the power of Christianity, declared that nothing should induce them to comply. "We must live in a place where we may daily hear and profit by the word of God—we cannot return to our old ways," was the language of some. Others said, "We cannot forsake the Christian congregation, let the consequences be what they will. This appears to us as if we should deny the Lord Jesus; and we know that the sufferings of this time are but short, and will be followed by everlasting happiness." And one of them even sold part of his cattle, and determined to sell the rest, rather than leave the place where the name of the Lord was known. Baas Teunis again repeated his orders for the Hottentots to quit; and rumours were spread, that the landrost of Stillenbosch would come in a few days with an order for breaking up the establishment, and banishing the missionaries. The grief and distraction of the poor people in the midst of these troubles were indescribable, while their affection for their teachers was most wonderfully displayed. "The Boors may do with us what they please," said they, weeping, "if they would only not hurt our teachers." Nor would they be comforted by the missionaries. "But, indeed," these good men complained, that "while they endeavoured to comfort them, they wanted comfort themselves!"

In the midst of this distress, their anxiety was augmented by the appearance of a wagon with eight horses and two horsemen, which halted at a little distance; and a gentleman alighting from it, the three advanced on foot to the settlement. Their fears now suggested evil tidings in every stranger, and they dreaded the meeting; but they were happily disappointed: they proved to be Mr. Clude, proprietor of Constantia, who had been a pupil of Schmidt, accompanied by a Mr. Hofman, late a privy counsellor, and Andrew Otto, a field-corporal, resident about fifteen English miles distant. Mr. C.'s object was to inquire minutely into the state of the settlement, and ascertain upon the spot, the truth or falsity of the reports spread against the mission. He found that the grossest falsehoods had been circulated. The numerous herds they had been represented to possess, amounted to precisely five oxen, five cows, two calves, two sheep, one horse, and one hundred goats; while the ground between the house and the river was sufficient to maintain one hundred oxen.* Having taken a survey of the land, and likewise of some Teunis's son had begun to take possession of, they took leave.

Besides the other disadvantages under which the mission laboured, they had nowhere to lay up their winter's provisions; for, not being allowed to build a church, they were under the necessity of using their kitchen and sitting-room as schoolhouse and chapel, and both were too small; nor were they permitted even to add an out-house to their dwelling; and their goats were reduced by disease to thirty-six. But in noticing all their trouble, they add: "We cannot but observe with great pleasure, that just at this time, when our external affairs wear such a gloomy appearance, there is a peculiar awakening among the people. Hardly a day passes, but one, and sometimes many Hottentots come to us, chiefly new people, to ask what they shall do to be saved, accompanying their words with many tears." Shortly after, they received a letter from their ancient friend Teunis, in a style more cordial than they had lately been accustomed to; and when they were rejoicing in this apparent renewal of his friendship, they received accounts from the Cape, which explained the change. Mr. Clude had represented to government the falsehood of the representations made respecting Bavian's Kloof, and obtained a revocation of all the distressing orders for the removal of the Hottentots and their cattle. He had also made a purchase of the ground himself, on purpose to ensure the safety of the mission.

Disappointed in these attempts to scatter the congregation, the farmers resolved to obtain by force what they had not been able to procure by fraud. The revolutions in Holland had rendered the government of the colonies precarious and inefficient; and the Boors had such an overweening idea of their own consequence, that they openly bade defiance to their rulers: upwards of a hundred rose in arms to demand a redress of grievances; and, assuming the name of "Nationals," advanced in a menacing attitude towards the capital, but breathing out threatenings especially against the Moravians, whose settlement they declared their intention of laying in ruins, by way of preliminary.

Threatened with a visit from the insurgents, on the 13th June, the report of signal cannon summoned all the Hottentots capable of bearing arms, to Cape-Town. The congregation declared their aversion to comply; but the missionaries representing that it was a Christian duty for subjects in all things to obey the magistrate, they set out next morning. One of them, however, before marching, asked—if ordered to go against an enemy, whether he should kill him? His teachers replied, they could say nothing more than that he should be obedient to his superiors. Rumours of the most alarming and contradictory nature were now spread on every hand; but in general those which reached Bavian's Kloof were pregnant with threatenings of vengeance from the Boors. One of them asked a Hottentot, if he went to school? when he answering, "Yes," the ruffian replied, "What! are the Hottentots to be made wise, when so many Christian children run about, and learn nothing? Only wait a little, and your place shall be destroyed, for I would have you to know that we are now the governors." The arrival of the British made the Cape Government extremely anxious to come to an accommodation with the insurgents; but this only increased their insolence; and while they were offered any terms, if they would only assist against the common enemy, they appeared anxious about nothing but the destruction of the Moravians. The missionaries were in the greatest perplexity: the terrors of their Hottentots increased, and it was evident that they remained at the settlement merely because they could not think of leaving their teachers; they therefore, at the evening meeting, told them that they would not take it unkind if any of them should fly to a place of safety, and requested them to act without the least restraint.

But a more trying scene succeeded. Brother Kuehnel having gone to Baas Teunis to ask his advice, was told, nothing would satisfy the "Nationals," except sending back the whole of the Hottentots who had come from Schwellendam, a distance of upwards of 150 miles; that he, Baas Teunis, was detaining fifty from the same quarter, who wished to settle at Bavian's Kloof, and whom he could not persuade to return; and if the missionaries would use their influence with them also,—on these terms he thought he might promise them safety. After much deliberation and prayer, they thought they could not act otherwise than consult their own and their people's preservation. Yet to tell persons in whom they thought they perceived such a powerful work of the Spirit of God, who declared they would rather suffer all things than forsake a place where they were taught the way of salvation, was to them most heast-rending; but it seemed necessary for the present. They also resolved to close the school for a time.

In the evening most of the women and children fled to the mountains, and hid themselves among the rocks, fearing to be surprised during the night. Early in the morning, when they came from their hiding-places, the brethren called them together, and intimated to them their decision. "We cannot describe," say they, "the effect it had upon the poor creatures: they broke out into loud weeping and lamentations, and, in about an hour after, came in a body to take leave of us. The women and children wept incessantly; and a heart of stone would have melted at the sight of the poor children, tied naked on the backs of their weeping mothers, going to traverse a wild country, in which rivers and brooks were swollen and impassable by the continual rain. About thirty set out to-day, and we were so overcome with grief, that we could hardly bear to notice them any more. In the evening, we fell on our knees, and with hearts filled with sorrow, called upon the Lord to have mercy upon these poor people,—to send his Spirit to be their comforter and teacher,—and to preserve in them that ardent desire to hear his words.

Shortly after, Teunis sent to inform them, that a troop of the "Nationals" were at no great distance; and if they wished to know what they had determined respecting the school, they should go thither. Brother Kuehnel accordingly went, and learned from these friends of freedom, whose watchwords were, "*Liberty and Equality*," that some of the articles in the memorial to be presented by them to the government, were—"*We* will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots; for as there are many Christians who receive no instruction, it is not proper that the Hottentots should be made wiser than the Christians; but they must remain what they were formerly. Those Hottentots who are born on a farmer's estate, must live there, and serve the farmer till they are twenty-five years old, before they receive wages. The Hottentots must live among the farmers, and not assemble at Bavian's Kloof. All Bushmen, or wild Hottentots, caught by us must remain slaves for life. *Item.*—The Moravians were never meant to be employed among the Hottentots of this country, but among the Bushmen." And these, Kuchnel was informed were the most favourable of their resolutions.

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* This appears to have been the property of the missionaries; that of the Hottentots is not mentioned, at least not distinctly, but they could not be many.

A troop of twenty-five of these *liberals*, who were actually on their march to destroy the school, were met by a deputy, with offers from government, upon which they returned to consult with their comrades, threatening, however, soon to come back, and put their design into execution. A few days after, an order was brought them from the commandant, Pissani, to quit the place within three days, and to go either to Cape-Town or some other part of the country, inhabited by Dutch citizens, on pain of being treated severely in case of refusal. As resistance would have been useless, they immediately prepared to obey: their goods they sent off to Teunis, as to a place of safety, and proceeded themselves to the Cape. The parting with their beloved flock was not without many tears; yet they indulged the secret hope of soon again seeing them. A great number followed them during the night, and on the morning, they had another sorrowful farewell. On reaching Cape-Town they waited on the governor, who expressed his surprise at Pissani's presumption, but commended their prudence in obeying, as some outrage might otherwise have been committed. Within a few days, he gave them permission to return, and a letter of safe-guard. That very afternoon, a signal-gun was fired, and, soon after, four more, to announce that there had been an engagement, between the British and the Dutch, and that the Dutch had been worsted. The drums immediately beat to arms,—the bloody flag was hoisted, and the women returned to the country; they also left the scene of tumult and confusion, for the peaceful village, and were welcomed back with tears of joy by the inhabitants they had so lately left, who could scarcely believe the truth of their return.

CHAP. III.

British capture the Cape—Protect the Moravians—Prosperous state of the Mission—Discontent of the Boors—Conspiracy against it discovered and frustrated—Progress in the arts of life—Barrow's description of the Settlement—Numerous parties visit it—The inn—Chapel enlarged—Contributions of the natives—Their increasing improvement in building, planting, and sowing—Envy of the neighbouring farmers—They seize the Hottentots' cultivated grounds—New missionaries arrive—Old Helena—Religious character of the natives—Other missionaries arrive—Contagious distemper—Fatigues of the missionaries—Their consolations—Revival of religion among the baptized—The burial-ground—Trials from a neighbouring military station—Scarcity—Enmity of the Boors—Instances—Kindness of the British Governor—The Cape reverts to the Dutch.

WITHOUT much resistance, the Cape surrendered to the British forces, under General Craig, about the middle of August, 1795; and the Hottentots were allowed to return home,—not a man of them having been hurt. Uncertain as to the disposition of the British general, and experiencing the most determined opposition from Baas Teunis, who disturbed the settlement, and prevented the Hottentots from attending, Brother Marsveld waited upon General Craig, to whom the mission had been previously recommended by the Dutch governor, who readily gave them assurances of his favour and protection, and promised, that if any Hottentots wishing to join the settlement were kept back in future, he should take effectual steps for their relief. He likewise granted the brethren permission to build a chapel, and afterwards sent a written order, allowing them to cut as much timber as they might require for the work. The foundation stone was laid on the 14th of December.

About the end of the year, the main object of the mission flourished exceedingly, and in a manner hitherto unexperienced: the poor Hottentots came not singly, but in companies, to speak about the way of salvation; and not in the day only, but also in the night. On Christmas they had their solemn meeting under the shade of the trees, and counted upwards of five hundred Hottentot hearers. Thus, this year of sore trial and multiplied sorrows, was crowned with goodness!

Under the British, the Moravians enjoyed a more effective protection; for they being free from any dread of the Boors, did not hesitate to act in a manner in which the former government dared not venture. Of this the farmers were sensible, and, upon a rumour of the French coming to attack the Cape, told the missionaries—"While the British are here, you have been masters; but now that the French are come, we shall be masters." As the French, however, did not appear, about one hundred of these fellows conspired to carry their former plans against Bavian's Kloof into execution, and Baas Teunis' house was the head quarters of the conspirators, where they were already met, when the British General hearing of the plot, sent a message to Teunis, threatening, that if any such outrage was committed, the perpetrators should be brought to condign punishment; and they found it necessary to quit their leaders, and disperse.

Exempt now from the harassing fear of the farmers, the progress of the settlement in the arts of life was rapid: a smithy was erected, and a cutlery commenced; a corn mill was erected, and a vineyard planted. It is true, every obstacle which the unabated malignity of the farmers could devise, had been put in practice. They agreed never to purchase an article they might make; and tried to starve them during the erection of their mill, when a number of hands were employed: but there soon was a greater demand for knives than brother Kuchnel, with an apprentice could supply; and though corn was withheld for a while, yet afterward some of their greatest enemies came and sold what they wanted, cheaper than they could have bought it at the regular market.

Instead of being looked upon with jealousy, Bavian's Kloof was visited and admired by the British, and among the rest, by Mr. Barrow, who has borne this honourable testimony in favour of the settlement.—"Proceeding up the valley, through which the endless river [the Sonderend] meanders, we halted late in the evening at a plain called Bavian's Kloof, where there is a small establishment of Moravian Missionaries. Early next morning, I was awakened by some of the finest voices I had ever heard, and on looking out, saw a group of female Hottentots sitting on the ground. It was Sunday, and they had assembled thus to chaunt the morning hymn. They were all neatly dressed in printed cotton gowns. A sight so very different from what we had hitherto been in the habit of observing with regard to this unhappy class of beings, could not fail of proving grateful, and, at the same time, it excited a degree of curiosity as to the nature of the establishment. The good fathers, who were three in number, were well disposed to satisfy every question put to them. They were men of the middle age, plain and decent in their dress, cleanly in their persons, of modest manners, meek and humble in their deportment, but intelligent and lively in conversation, zealous in the cause of their mission, yet free from bigotry or enthusiasm. Everything in the place partook of that neatness and simplicity which were the strongest features in the outline of their character. The church they had constructed was a plain neat building; their mill for grinding corn was superior to any in the colony; their garden was in high order, and produced abundance of vegetables for the use of the table: almost everything that had been was done by the labour of their own hands. Agreeably to the rules of the society of which they are members, each of them had learned some useful profession: one was skilled in every branch of smith-work, the second was a shoemaker, and the third a tailor.

"These missionaries have succeeded in bringing together into one society upwards of six hundred Hottentots, and their numbers are daily increasing. These live in small huts, dispersed over the valley, to each of which was a piece of ground for raising vegetables; and their houses and gardens were very neat and comfortable,—numbers of the poor in England not so good, and few better. Those Hottentots who chose to learn the respective trades of the missionaries, were paid for their labour, as soon as they could earn wages. Some hired themselves out by the week, month, or year, to the neighbouring peasantry, and some made mats and brooms for sale; some bred poultry, and others found means to subsist by their cattle, sheep, and horses. Many of the women and children of soldiers belonging to the Hottentot corps, reside at Bavian's Kloof, where they are much more likely to acquire industrious habits than by remaining in the camp.

"On Sundays they all regularly attend the performance of divine service; and it is astonishing how ambitious they are to appear at church neat and clean. Of about three hundred that composed the congregation, about half were dressed in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in the ancient sheep-skin dresses; and it appeared, on inquiry, that the former were the first who had been brought within the pale of the Church,—a proof that their external circumstances, at least, had suffered nothing from their change of life. Persuasion and example had convinced them that cleanliness in their persons, not only added much to the comforts in life, but was one of the greatest preservatives of health; and that the little trifle of money they had to spare, was much better applied in procuring decent covering for the body, than in the purchase of spirits and tobacco,—articles so far from being necessaries, that they might justly be considered the most pernicious evils.

"The deportment of the Hottentot congregation during divine service was truly devout. The discourse delivered by one of the fathers was short, but full of good sense,—pathetic, and well suited to the occasion. Tears flowed abundantly from the eyes of those to whom it was particularly addressed. The females sung in a style that was plaintive and affecting; and their voices were, in general, sweet and harmonious."

This state of the settlement in 1797-8, continued, to attract such a number of visitors, that the brethren found they had not the means of treating all with that hospitality which they could have wished, and which is common in South Africa, where the farmers, having such a superabundance of cattle, were wont to receive all strangers with rough liberality. Some of those Boors were now become friendly; and when they condescended to call at Bavian's Kloof, planted themselves without ceremony in the mission-house, as they would have done in any of their neighbours', and never thought of making any remuneration. The number of British military travellers at the posts was very considerable; and especially during the Christmas holidays, the settlement was crowded with white people. A public inn was therefore suggested to the missionaries; and as it was absolutely necessary that their avocations should not be interrupted, they consented that a friend, Mr. Negrini, should open one for the accommodation of strangers, which relieved them from the embarrassment of contriving how to lodge and feed so many guests.

The inhabitants of the settlement continuing to increase, and numbers of Hottentots arriving from a great distance to hear, as they expressed it, "the sweet words of their Father in Heaven," they built a new and larger chapel,—for which the British General furnished them with wood. As they had laboured with their own hands in its erection, the missionaries told their own Hottentots that they expected their assistance in maintaining its establishment. The first thing necessary being lights for their evening services, *their people* at once, with the greatest cheerfulness, came forward, and in about three days collected among themselves seventy-four fine candles and fourteen rix-dollars in money, which, considering the poverty of the people, was exceedingly encouraging.

From this poverty, however, they were gradually emerging;—instead of wretched huts, their cottages now consisted of two apartments, in one of which they cooked and slept, and in the other stored up their corn and garden-fruits, of which, at the close of the eighteenth century, they began to have abundant crops. They had now learned of the missionaries, to sow corn and to plant fruit-trees, which formed a considerable addition to their means of livelihood. The more diligent raised pumpkins, beans, carrots, and potatoes. In the modest computation of the brethren, these improvements had not followed each other very rapidly; but an indolent nation is not soon trained to habits of industry, and great patience and persevering labour were required on the part of the missionaries; and to those who saw the change, but had not been watching the painful progress, or partaking of the toil, the period of eight years was forgotten, and the whole seemed like the work of enchantment. The uniform language of these men, "greatly beloved," on reviewing their success, was: "What shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits? We are not worthy of the least of all his mercies and of all his truth. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory. But when we ask ourselves, Have we always been obedient to thy directions? always walked uprightly before thee? Was thy will always our will, and thy service our heart's delight? Have we never neglected or hurt any part of thy works by slothfulness or inattention? Alas! we stand ashamed before thee! We call upon thee as our merciful and gracious Lord and Saviour, abundant in goodness and truth: pardon all our mistakes, known and unknown to us; blot out all our transgressions by thy atoning blood; grant to us a renewed assurance that we are thine, and that thou art and wilt remain our constant help and refuge, yea, our everlasting portion!"

Amid their anxious unremitting exertions, while the brethren were borne up by the evident blessing of God, which they saw accompanied them, they were sorely tried by the conduct of the neighbouring Boors. These men, who, while they reproached the Hottentots with indolence, never themselves descended to any other exertion than that of the chase, and would have considered putting their hands to any agricultural employment as a degradation, when they saw the face of the country assuming a new aspect, under the well directed industry of the despised natives, they looked with an envious eye upon the cultivated lands which were springing up around them; and being accustomed to seize without ceremony whatever property of the Hottentots lay within their grasp, took forcible possession of the fields they had sown and planted with great care; and, in some instances, after long and vexatious litigation, the owners were obliged to allow the spots they had so diligently improved, to remain in the hands of the rapacious colonist.

As their success increased, so did their fatigue; and the brethren who had often applied for further assistance, were gladdened by the arrival of a married brother, J. Philip Kohrlammer, and his wife. The female missionary was peculiarly acceptable to speak with inquirers of her own sex; and the baptized, or communicants, were highly gratified to have one whom they could consult in their difficulties, and who could visit them in their sickness, and perform a number of little kind offices, for which a man was not competent. Considerable sickness prevailing at the time of their arrival, they instantly commenced their visits of mercy. The situation of sick Hottentots, carefully attended and kept clean, was now very different from what it had been formerly; yet still to Europeans it appeared very miserable—the distressed patient on the floor, lying naked on the hairy side of a cow's hide, and covered by a sheep-skin; but these feelings were soon forgotten, when the poor invalid, with his eyes intensely fixed upon the missionary, inquired what he must do to be saved?—to become a child of God, and an heir of everlasting life?—or, if firm in the faith, he expressed, in energetic language, the desires of his soul; recalling to mind the covenant he had made with God in baptism, and his deliverance, by the merits of Christ's blood-shedding and death, from the power of sin and Satan;—while the little children, who ran about naked, would hang around the visitors, and gazing upon them with their dark eyes, and speaking countenances, appeared to listen attentively to every word that fell from their lips.

None received Mrs. Kohrlammer with greater delight than old Helena. She had been confined by extreme old age and feebleness to her hut for some time; but when she was told she would soon see a sister from Europe, she appeared to revive, and said, "I wish much to go home to our Saviour, but now I pray him to let me live long enough in this world to see this sister arrive, and then I will gladly depart." Her petition was granted. And when told that brother and sister Kohrlammer had arrived, she wept for joy, and begged of some of her friends to carry her to the mission-house, to bid them welcome. "We shall not," say the missionaries in their diary, "easily forget what we felt at that meeting." Having been so long without the advantage of teachers, her mind had become stagnant, and she had forgot all but the foundation on which she rested. After the first brethren, however, arrived, her mind appeared to awake from a slumber; her memory returned; and she surprised them after a short time with the distinctness of her recollection. She expressed the most fervent gratitude to God for having again sent teachers to her nation. When unable at last to come to the chapel, it was a pleasure to visit her; and for some years, when confined to her hut, she was inquired after by many persons of consequence in the country, who knew and respected her, and also by many English officers, who had heard of her character, and called to see and leave her some gift. To all she testified her faith in and love to her Saviour; and not a few departed greatly affected. She remained patiently waiting for the coming of her Lord, till her frame being totally exhausted, the silver cord was loosened, and her spirit freed from its prison-house of clay.

Worldly ends will always produce hypocritical professors in a Christian community; and it is no wonder that, where the advantages were so evident as at the Moravian settlement, numbers of the poor Hottentots should have acted from no higher motive. Among many who came to speak with the missionaries about their souls' concerns, there were some who, having lived among the white people, had learned to talk religiously, and were so expert in the art of dissimulation, that it was difficult to discover their real character; but the others, who had never been so far "civilized," although they would express their meaning in stranger language, yet gave evidence, which could not be mistaken, of their sincerity. The care which the missionaries took to prevent imposition in admitting members to church-fellowship will best appear from their own words:—"Perhaps our brethren may think that we are rather too ready to receive and baptize the new people; but if they could hear and see what we do,—how the Spirit of God teaches so many of them most earnestly to seek and know their Saviour, and how they are led, with weeping and supplication, and daily repeat their earnest request to be added to the Christian Church, they would perceive that we proceed very gradually, and with as much caution as poor short-sighted human creatures are capable of. Nor do we ever take the baptism of any of the candidates, or the admission of the baptized to the Lord's-supper, into consideration, without most fervent prayer unto the Lord to direct us, that we may not collect merely a host of baptized infidels, but a company of true believers, who grow in the love and knowledge of our Saviour, and honour his gospel by their works." The inhabitants of the settlement at this period amounted to above thirteen hundred.

An addition of another married brother and his wife was made to their number this year, 1800, and most opportunely, when an epidemic was carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants. The amount of sick was so great, that having divided the settlement into quarters, and appointed the different missionaries to different posts, each missionary, with his wife, had daily fifty or sixty patients to attend,—to administer to their temporal and spiritual assistance,—both a fatiguing and perilous service, as their rounds were about four or five English miles, and the fever was very infectious, frequently returning to the same person, and carrying off at a fourth those whom three previous attacks had spared. But they had much pleasure mingled with their grief; a majority of those whom it pleased the Lord to remove by this visitation being such as had given evidence that they were in a state of reconciliation with himself; many, with their last breath, declaring their firm belief in the merits of his sufferings and death, and their confidence that he would receive them in mercy into his everlasting kingdom, and thanking him with fervour and tears, for having sent them teachers to bring them the precious Gospel, and for having washed them from their sins in his own blood.

This visitation was the means of awakening among all the people a great earnestness. Many who before were cold or indifferent, now exclaimed: "Ah! who knows whether I shall still be alive to-morrow? What will then become of me? Where will my poor soul go?" This was particularly the case among the new people and children. Scarcely had the missionaries left their beds in the morning when their doors were beset by anxious inquiries after advice and instruction; and this often lasted from morning till night. In the church, which was generally crowded, all attended with silent devotion. The effects were great and permanent. Not long after, the missionaries observed, with pleasure, that the newly baptized, the candidates for baptism, and the communicants, began to take evening walks in the mountains,—to converse together upon what they had heard at church,—communicate their experience to each other,—and join in hymns of praise to the Saviour. It was like the first days of the brethren's church, and evidenced the sweet breathing of the Holy Spirit on their souls. One of the missionaries asked of one of these parties, whither they were going? They answered, they were walking towards the mountain, with a view to be alone, and converse together. And when questioned what they were conversing about, "We are talking," they replied, "about the great mercy God has shown us in making us acquainted with his love, and in sending teachers even to such wretched creatures as we are, to tell us what HE hath done for us. And we were speaking of those dark times when we knew nothing of God, and our Saviour, and his word, and that we are not worthy to experience such grace and favour as is now bestowed upon us, especially as we are still so disobedient and ungrateful." It is here also deserving of particular notice, that the conduct and simple remarks of the believing Hottentots was blessed as the means of leading more than one of the farmers to serious consideration; but it was those who did not live in the immediate vicinity of the settlement.

The baptized Hottentots being now buried in a Christian manner, brother Rose undertook to put their cemetery in order; for looking forward to the grave as a place of rest, the brethren wished that their last lodging should present nothing unpleasant to the eye. Having measured a square of a hundred and eighty feet, he divided it into nine compartments, with paths between them; and as there was no stone near fit for grave-stones, each grave was marked with a short post, upon which a board was fixed, with a number painted upon it, referring to a ground plan, which exhibits a catalogue of the deceased. A broad path was formed, leading through the garden and the burying-ground,—brother Schmidt's large pear-tree in the centre, preserved in memory of the venerable saint. The broad path he enclosed by rows of trees, and surrounded the burying-ground with a hedge of roses.

Trials of a different, perhaps more severe kind, followed. A military station in the neighbourhood was the cause of much sorrow; for although the men were kept under strict discipline, and were not guilty of any outrageous behaviour, some of them succeeding in seducing one or two unbaptized young women, of whom the brethren had entertained good hopes; and, about the middle of this year, two women were sent away from the settlement, one of whom, a member of the congregation, had been led astray by a person of notoriously bad character. He had remained some time in the settlement, and, on the last day that he was suffered to abide, had contrived to introduce a keg of wine, and invited some of his relations to partake. Several of them got drunk,—a scuffle ensued,—and a youth was severely hurt. Among the company were four of the congregation, who, after being sharply reproved, were excluded the meetings of the classes to which they belonged. Not long after, one of the inhabitants, returning from Cape-Town, brought a keg of brandy, which he disposed of among his neighbours, some of whom drank to excess; on which the missionaries reminded their people of the standing rule of the settlement, that neither wine nor spirituous liquors were permitted to be sold there, and that whoever should in future transgress should leave the place; and it does not appear that, from this date, any attempt of the kind was made. This time, besides, was a season of severe scarcity; the wild almonds and fruits which had occasionally supplied the wants of the Hottentots failed; and even those who wrought with the farmers found difficulty in obtaining food. Yet the missionaries were enabled, by great exertions, and at considerable expense, to prevent the horrors of famine within their bounds. And they obtained afterwards an honourable testimony from the fiscal, in presence of General Dundas,—that though upwards of one thousand Hottentots resided there, he never had a complaint against any one of them, so orderly was their behaviour; while at other places, if three hundred were collected, they required the presence of a justice of peace, and generally afforded him sufficient employment; and that, during the years of contagion and famine, no relief had ever been required, the missionaries alone supporting the burden of the poor, sick, and famishing people.

To persons who have never actually engaged in missionary labours, it is perhaps impossible to convey a distinct idea of the feelings, the cares, and the anxiety of a missionary. If he have joys into which we who tarry at home cannot fully enter, he has pains and griefs, the extent of which we cannot feel. The misconduct of those connected with their establishments, although not members, and not in communion, occasions such a flood of obloquy, misrepresentation, and reproach, to be poured out upon the good cause in which they are engaged, and the honest inmates of their community, that the missionary's heart is often ready to faint, and his patience to give up the ghost, in circumstances so peculiarly trying to the natural temper, and so calculated to rouse the passions of anger and disdain. On many such occasions, the Christian spirit of the Moravian brethren was put to the test; and about this time, one was particularly trying. They had been most unwarrantably accused by the Boors, who had robbed the poor Hottentots of their lands, their cattle, their liberty, their all,—of encouraging the Hottentots in idleness and bad practices,—of giving them instruction, in order that they might be better able to cheat the farmers. And while these reports were current, a farmer came and charged one of their people with stealing a sheep. The fact was proved against a man who was an inhabitant of Bavian's Kloof, but he was neither baptized, nor a candidate for baptism, and he was instantly dismissed. The farmer, though not a friend, declared himself satisfied with the plain downright dealing of the brethren; yet this could not cure the grief they felt that one who had lodged in their premises should have been guilty of such conduct.

An incident of a diametrically opposite description gave them scarcely less trouble. A herdsman of Bavian's Kloof found a strange horse straying in the fields, and brought it home with him. The missionaries immediately delivered it into the care of a trusty Hottentot to keep till its owner should be found, and at the same time, informed the landrost of Stellenbosch, that such an animal was in their possession. Soon after, they received a letter from the owner of the horse, accusing, in most violent language, the Hottentot of having stolen his horse. They mildly answered, he might come and fetch his horse, and they would inform him of the particulars. He came accordingly, and having proved the property, his horse was delivered up; but he was required to recall his false accusation against the herdsman, and give a certificate of his honesty. This he refused contemptuously: "He! he's only a Hottentot: he's no Christian!" The missionaries would not, however, allow one of their people to lie under an imputation of dishonesty, and the fellow at last agreed to give a written declaration that the Hottentot who had recovered and restored his horse, was an honest man! Yet it was not without long altercation, much uneasiness, and much trouble, that the good men could obtain for their calumniated brother, this tardy act of justice. It was some consolation, however, that they enjoyed the approbation and confidence of the constituted British authorities; and when General Dundas wished servants on whom he could depend, he sent to the missionary settlement for them.

Among the General's last acts, was an equitable adjustment of differences respecting some disputed property which the farmers had seized from the Christian Hottentots, after they had reclaimed it from the wilderness. It was adjudged to be restored to the Hottentots; but for a part the farmers were suffered to retain, an indemnification was allowed in other lands, which, as they were low lying, a sum of money was also given, to enable them to drain and bring them into cultivation. Commissioners were at the same time appointed to settle finally the respective boundaries, and set up land-marks. In noticing this transaction, the brethren express themselves in terms of the greatest gratitude towards the British Governor, the Secretary, and all concerned, for the justice, wisdom, and decision which distinguished all their proceedings in this troublesome affair. Indeed, upon every occasion, the British authorities, both civil and military, displayed not only a sense of justice towards the Moravians and their congregation, but a kindness and a readiness to serve them to the utmost extent of their power, nor did they ever take any of the Hottentot's labour, without sufficiently rewarding them for their trouble.

Intelligence now having been received of the Peace of Amiens, and the transfer of the Cape of Good Hope to its old masters, the colony began to be agitated in no common degree. But the settlement of the brethren continued to prosper, and was blessed with peace and rest, as if they had been only observing the troubles of this earth from amid the calm serenity of heaven. The Cape was delivered up to the Dutch in the latter end of 1802.

CHAP. IV.

BOSJESMEN, OR BUSHMEN.

British mission to Africa—Dr. Vanderkemp at its head—Arrives at the Cape—Find three Bushmen at Cape-Town—Cause of their visit—Two missionaries consent to proceed to their country—Joined by a native of the Cape, Mr. Kramer—Arrive at Mr. Fischer's, the last farm in the colony—He accompanies them to Zak River—Pitch on a spot for a station, and name it Happy Prospect Fountain—Sensations of the Missionaries on being left by their friends—Bushmen arrive—Their employments—Changeable tempers—Interpreters procured—Preaching begins to take effect—Attempts to excite to industry—Mr. Kicherer visits Cape-Town with some Bushmen—Incidents during the visit—Savage chief's attempt upon the settlement—Providential deliverance—Conversion of Bastard John—His son Cornelius—Remarkable escape of the people from the vengeance of a runaway slave—of Mr. Kicherer from assassination—Extraordinary character, Stephanos—Wants of the settlement remarkably supplied.

STIMULATED by the success of the Moravian brethren, the London Missionary Society had their attention directed to South Africa, when the capture of the Cape of Good Hope by the British appeared to afford a favourable opening in Providence for making an effort in that quarter. Instruments peculiarly adapted for this great object soon presented themselves. At their head was Dr. Vanderkemp, a man not more distinguished for natural ability than acquired knowledge, of high literary attainments, and great personal intrepidity. He had studied at the universities of Leyden and Edinburgh, and beside the learned languages, which he perfectly understood, he could speak readily most of the fashionable European tongues; and during his residence in our city, he added the Gaelic to the number.

Having chosen the military profession, he obtained the rank of captain of horse, and lieutenant of the dragoon guards in the Dutch service, and had every prospect of rising to the most elevated station, when a quarrel with the Prince of Orange induced him to quit the army. He then devoted himself to medicine, and taking a degree at Edinburgh, he settled as a physician at Middleburg. His talents and reputation procured him the first practice; but he would never undertake more than he thought he could properly attend, and limited the number of his patients to twelve at one time. Ten years after, when his wife, his only child, and himself, were upon a pleasure excursion, the boat upset—they were drowned—and he saved with the utmost difficulty. At college he had imbibed the fashionable infidelity of the day; but in the hour of trial, he found it incapable of yielding support or consolation, and was led to seek comfort, and obtained peace in the hope of the gospel. For some time after, he acted as director and superintendent of an hospital near Rotterdam, till the breaking out of the Revolution, when he quitted the service, and lived in retirement, devoting himself to the study of the Scriptures. An address from the London Missionary Society falling into his hands, he immediately wrote to the directors, offering himself as a missionary to the heathen. Inquiry being made concerning him, the result was satisfactory, and he was invited to London. His personal intercourse confirmed every favourable impression, and he was deemed the fittest person, to conduct a mission to Africa.

Returning to Holland, he effected the formation of two societies, one at Rotterdam, and another at Friesland, and brought over with him to England a worthy associate, Mr. Kicherer, an ordained minister of the Dutch Church; who, being joined by two Englishmen, Mr. Edmond and Mr. Edwards, embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, on the 23d of December, 1798, where they landed 31st March 1799. They took their passage in a convict ship going to New South Wales, and commenced their labours among a class of outcasts, perhaps more hopeless than even the heathen. But the Lord was pleased to smile on their endeavours; and before they reached the Cape, they enjoyed the sublime pleasure of hearing the sounds of imprecation exchanged for the breathings of prayer. Immediately upon their arrival, through the Doctor's zealous exertions, *The South African Missionary Society* was formed.

All the missionaries had intended to proceed to Caffraria; but a few days previous to their arrival, three Bushmen chiefs had come thither from Zak river, between four and five hundred miles N. E. of the Cape, for the purpose of soliciting Government to send teachers into their country; and, in consequence, they judged it proper to divide,—Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Edmond to pursue their original plan, Mr. Kicherer and Mr. Edwards to proceed with the savage leaders. The cause of this uncommon embassy was—The farmers in the back settlements, who had suffered severely from the incursions of the Bushmen, finding the plan of hunting them down not altogether successful, had agreed to purchase a peace. At the ratification of this treaty, one of the colonists, field-cornet Florus Fischer, who was piously inclined, offered up a prayer. The savages, who had never witnessed anything of the kind before, were desirous of knowing what it meant: and on being informed that it was to implore the blessings of the Almighty God, the source of every good,—ignorance and neglect of whom was the cause of their comparative wretchedness,—they expressed an earnest desire that proper persons might come and reside amongst them, who would instruct them, and enable them to become rich and happy. The farmers directed them to apply to the Government at the Cape, and they were now there upon that errand.

From the Government the missionaries received the most marked favour, and from their Christian friends the most affectionate attention; but were detained at Cape-Town till the 7th of June, waiting for the wagon which the Government had promised. During this detention they were joined by a young Dutchman, named Kramer, who, after much consideration, had determined to devote himself to the service of the heathen. At Rodezand, where Mr. Voss was minister, they were kept waiting some time, but spent it pleasantly in preaching the gospel in the neighbourhood, and in an excursion to Bavian's Kloof. Their next stage was to Florus Fischer's, who possessed the last farm in the Karoo,—a vast tract of country, many days' journey in extent, which, for a considerable part of the year, is so dry that not a blade of grass appears till after the rainy season, when, the ground being saturated with moisture, vegetation proceeds with such amazing rapidity that, in a short time, the arid waste is transformed into a rich meadow, enamelled with flowers of the liveliest hue. When Mr. Kicherer and his companions passed, it was in full bloom, and afforded sufficient pasture for the cattle, and for those of the surrounding inhabitants, who, hearing of their journey, came from all parts to hear the gospel.

Mr. Fischer received them with great cordiality, and they passed three weeks with him, preparing for their further progress, during which they enjoyed many a crowded and happy meeting with the neighbouring farmers, particularly on the Sabbaths, when once twenty-two wagons full of people, besides many on horseback, some of whom came four, and others eight days' journey, arrived to hear the gospel, and to partake of the Lord's-supper. Here they were strongly solicited to prolong their visit; but, anxious to commence their proper work, as soon as their preparations were finished, they set out, accompanied by their generous host and several other farmers, with servants, amounting to about fifty. Six wagons full of provisions followed in their train, eleven oxen, seven cows, and a calf, and near two hundred sheep,—presents they had received from the friendly colonists. The road lay through a desert country, abounding in wild horses, and ostriches, whose eggs afforded them an agreeable repast. Their nights were disturbed by the lions and panthers, who approached their encampment, and were only deterred from entering by the large fires which they kindled around.

On the 6th of August, they fixed on a spot, where they agreed to settle, and gave it the name of "Happy Prospect Fountain," near Zak river.* It possessed the advantage of two fine springs of water, and a considerable quantity of ground for cultivation, but the surrounding country was barren, and the inhabitants few. Here they fell down on their knees, and devoted the place, as well as themselves, to the service of the Lord, supplicating his continual presence to be with them, while they dwelt in the wilderness, and imploring his blessing on their future labours. Immediately, they began to prepare a plot for a garden, and to build a hut of reeds,—the only materials they could readily procure, there being no trees within their reach. Mr. Fischer and their other kind friends returned home on the 12th September. Alone, amidst the rudest savages in this dreary land, the sensations of the moment were acutely painful. "I felt," says Kicherer, in his narrative, "inexpressibly dejected at first, but the Lord comforted me." And the urgent business in which they instantly and heartily engaged, allowed them no time to waste in gloomy reflection. About twenty Bushmen had arrived, and having a woman who partially understood both the Dutch and Bushman languages, they were enabled to communicate to them at the first the important message they were commissioned to proclaim.

Their days were spent in the following manner: At sunrise they met for prayer; read a portion of Scripture, and sung a hymn; after which, the business of the school commenced, when the young people were taught to spell and read Dutch, till breakfast. From that time till noon they occupied themselves in manual labour, digging, planting, or building; about noon they dined, then re-commenced their labours, and continued till the evening. The evening they spent in endeavouring to communicate religious knowledge; and concluded the day, as they began, by singing, reading, and prayer. At this most trying period of their labours, they found the great need and importance of *prayer*. "I was enabled," says Mr. Kicherer, "often to bend my knees, jointly with my little flock, before Him who had promised that he would take the heathen for his inheritance. Prostrate at his feet, I was peculiarly assisted in wrestling earnestly for the blessing, and a felt happy freedom in pleading Christ's own words in this case, and in relying upon his faithfulness to fulfil them. I shall never forget this remarkable season; it was admirable to me to observe, that frequently the more dark and gloomy my prospect was, the more abundantly the spirit of prayer was given unto me, so that I was enabled to shelter myself in Jesus,—to lay fast hold on him by faith,—and to commend these savages to his free love and grace."

The Bushmen had no idea whatever of a Supreme Being; like the other Hottentots, they had a superstitious reverence for the *mantis*, coupled with some notion of an evil spirit, which they imagined to produce mischief and inflict diseases; and the only symptom they discovered of any approach to religious observance, was employing a species of conjurors to make a kind of humming noise over the sick, to counteract the supposed injurious influence. When they heard of a God, and of the resurrection of the dead, they were amazed; nor could they sufficiently express their astonishment that they should have lived so long without ever having thought of a Divine Being. But often, when the missionaries were rejoicing over the apparent impression as deep and indelible, the promising objects of their solicitude and hope would, with the natural inconstancy of savages, revert to all their former grossness and insensibility, and put the patience and prudence of their instructors to the severest test. Some, however, now began to pray: "O Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast made the sun, the moon, the hills, the rivers, the bushes; thou hast power also to change my heart—O be pleased to make it entirely new!" Others told the missionaries they had not been able to sleep on account of their sorrow for sin, and had been forced to rise to pray, or, in their hunting excursions, had felt a sudden impulse to prostrate themselves before the Lord, and entreat for a renewed heart. The missionaries were grateful for these appearances, but thought it their duty to be cautious, lest they should prove like the morning cloud and the early dew; and what materially contributed to their uncertainty, and added to the difficulties with which they had to struggle, was the want of a good interpreter.

Providentially, just at the very nick of time, a Bastard Hottentot, married to a Bushman woman, came to live with them, both able to speak fluently the Dutch language and that of the wild natives. He was, besides, well acquainted with gardening, and she could undertake the management of their household affairs; so that now the missionaries were not only materially assisted in their communication with the savages, but relieved of a great part of the secular drudgery of the infant establishment.

About this time, Mr. Edwards, wishing to teach the Hottentots English, rather than Dutch, removed with a few Hottentots to a short distance from the settlement; but soon after, on a call from Dr. Vanderkemp, joined that missionary in Caffraria.

At the commencement of their labours the missionaries endeavoured to convince their hearers by arguments addressed to their understandings, but found that the savages were very expert in raising difficulties. They then resorted to the simple declaration of the Gospel of the cross of Christ, insisting on his dying love and all-sufficiency to save lost and helpless sinners,—affectionately inviting them to come to him that they might be saved. The blessing of the Lord accompanied this method of preaching; and those who were before impenetrable, now came to them with tears in their eyes, and acknowledging the truth, and confessing it to be the power of God to their salvation. Totally unaccustomed to any employment, except robbery and the chase, and averse to vegetables, except in cases of necessity, the missionaries found it almost impossible to excite a spirit of industry among the people. Mr. Kicherer's garden began now to assume a flourishing appearance; but so far were they from following his example, that they would not even eat of its produce, unless it was carried to their huts ready cooked! and it was only by giving little presents, that any of them could be induced to attempt manual labour.

In January, 1800, Mr. Kicherer having occasion to make a journey to Cape-Town, several Bushmen, who had never been in the place, accompanied him,—an instance of confidence with which he was the more pleased, as, besides being naturally suspicious of white men, attempts had been made to inspire them with particular distrust of the missionaries. Among the first objects that met their view, and struck them with terror and alarm on their arrival, were the bodies of several malefactors hung in chains; and their fears were increased by beholding the execution of another, a few days after. Mr. Kicherer seized the opportunity of explaining to them the European system of justice, as an ordinance of God, who had appointed civil rulers as a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well. They were pacified by the explanation, allowed its propriety, and earnestly wished that a similar institution could be established in their wilderness. Being called upon to preach in the Calvinistic Church, he carried his Bushmen with him. They were wonderfully amazed at the great number of well-dressed people assembled together, which, in their simplicity, they compared to a nest of ants,—the humming of the organ they at first mistook for the swarming of a bee-hive. Mr. K. also embraced every opportunity of introducing them into Christian company and religious meetings, from which they derived much advantage. They ascertained that the doctrine he taught was the common belief of Christians; and that Christians, in general, were much happier than Bosjesmens. They were likewise presented to the governor, General Dundas, who received them with much affability. They "in their way" thanked him for having permitted missionaries to come and teach them.—no man before having cared for their souls; and his excellency promised that he would continue to afford them every protection and assistance. Nor were these merely words of course: the government encouraged every plan for the civilization of these hitherto dreaded and irreclaimable savages, and promoted a yearly subscription on their behalf. During this visit, Mr. Kicherer received nearly two thousand guilders in money, besides many gifts of necessary and useful articles, as farming utensils, culinary vessels, and cloths. From this journey, during which they experienced much kindness, they returned in March with one hundred and thirty-six sheep, and four cows, which their Christian friends had given them.

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* The Zak river, in summer, is a small stream that flows into Fish river;—both abound in fish, but the Hottentots are not fond of fish if they can procure flesh.

While Mr. Kicherer was absent, Vigilant, a captain of the Bushmen, came to seize a sheep as his due, which Mr. Kramer opposing, he first stabbed the animal, and then aimed a thrust at him. Providentially, a girl interposed, and warded off the blow with her kaross, when Kramer, seizing the assassin, had him carried to Mr. Fischer's for the purpose of being conveyed to Cape-Town. Having, however, escaped from his confinement, he came to the settlement soon after Mr. Kicherer's return, foaming with rage, and calling upon his numerous horde to assist him in revenging the affront. The situation of the brethren was now extremely critical; but that very night, Mr. Scholtz, a new assistant from Cape-Town, arrived with a farmer and his servant, and the infuriated chief fled from the neighbourhood. Soon after this, Mr. Kramer left Prospect Fountain for Hex river, and Kicherer, accompanied by Mr. Scholtz, removed with all their Bushmen to the Zak. Here they were joined by many "tame" Hottentots, so called in contradistinction to the wild Bushmen; but though they increased in numbers, they did not for some time appear to increase in grace; and their fickleness often occasioned their teachers great heaviness of heart.

Just at this time, Mr. Kicherer received an invitation to be minister at the Paarl, a rich village not far from Cape-Town, which occasioned him much perplexity, as he knew not whether to consider it as a temptation to divert his attention from the heathen, or a call from the Lord to a more useful station. In this emergency he most earnestly committed his way to the Lord, entreating that he would direct his steps. His mind became composed; and a providential hinderance soon made his way clear. From that time many whose hearts had been hard as their native rocks began to cry out, What must we do to be saved? And frequently the very hills, in a literal sense, resounded with their loud complaints.

One of the first converts was an old Bastard Hottentot, John. He had for some time felt a strong inclination to hear the word of God, but some of the rude farmers in the neighbourhood endeavoured to dissuade him, by insinuating that the missionary would either sell or kill him; but he could not resist the internal monitor. He came and heard, and had not sat many days under the sound of the gospel, till he began to cry aloud under a painful sense of his sins; and he had indeed been an atrocious offender. He compared them for number to the sands of the desert; and for some time mourned bitterly on account of them. At length the love of Christ became his darling theme; and so entirely was his heart filled with the things of God, that he could scarcely speak of anything else, while his eyes streamed with love and gratitude. When worldly business was introduced, he would say, "Oh! I have spoken too much about the world, let me now speak of Christ,"—and his walk and conversation was such as became his profession. After a short but lively course of five or six months, he was laid upon a sick-bed, from which he never rose, but he insisted upon being carried to the place of worship, saying, "as long as he could hear, he would endeavour to catch some of the words of life." Two days before his death he was troubled by doubts about his acceptance with Christ; but on the day of his departure, when Mr. Kicherer called, he joyfully burst out,—"O sir! I now see that the Lord Jesus loves me with an everlasting love; that he has accepted of me,—that he will be my portion for ever; and now, though the vilest sinner on earth, I will die and go to Christ, and there I will wait for you."

His eldest son, Cornelius, who was servant to a farmer at some distance, and had entered just at that moment, exclaimed with tears: "Ah, my father die so happy in Jesus, and I have no opportunity to hear about him!" Moved by his sorrow, Mr. Kicherer went to his master, requesting him to allow Cornelius to reside at the station. The farmer replied, that though he would not on any other account have parted with his best servant, yet, for the sake of the gospel, he would give him leave to go. Accordingly, Cornelius joined them, and the Lord was pleased to bless the word of reconciliation to his soul also. Having obtained peace through the Redeemer, he felt a strong impulse to proclaim his mercy and grace to those who knew him not; and thought himself called to leave wife and children, and go to distant tribes to preach Jesus to them. For half a year he struggled against this impulse, while his body wasted in the secret conflict, for he carefully concealed what passed within his bosom; till at length, unable longer to sustain the burden, he suddenly flung his knapsack over his shoulder, and marched into the wilderness. Here he betook himself to prayer, when the words came powerfully into his mind,—"Thou didst well that it was in thine heart;" and the calm which this produced was followed by a conviction that it was his first duty to try to bring his own near to the Lord. On which he returned home,—turned his attention to his kindred, and commended the gospel to those around him by his pious and prudent conduct.

Deadly revenge has ever been a prominent feature in the African character; and their intimate knowledge of poisons affords them too often a facility for gratifying it. About this time the missionaries had a narrow escape. Several farmers having assembled with them to partake of the Lord's supper, a runaway slave made his appearance, and they talked of sending him back to his master, agreeably to an order of government. The fellow, learning their intention, determined to be revenged; and while they were engaged in worship at the church, poisoned their well with a sort of moss, resembling human hair, which acts violently upon the stomach, contracting the bowels, and producing convulsions. Providentially, a little girl watched him, and gave information, else they must all have inevitably perished. Upon examining the slave, they found part of the poison about him. He was sent to Cape-Town to stand trial for the atrocious act; and they returned thanks to the Lord for their deliverance. Another singular escape from assassination is mentioned in Mr. Kicherer's narrative. On the evening of a day which had been uncommonly sultry, he was sitting near an open window, when a party of Bushmen approached secretly, and were about to discharge a volley of poisoned arrows at him; but the same girl who saved Mr. Kramer's life, gave the alarm, and they fled with precipitation.

Not less remarkable was the following. A base impostor, a Greek by birth, who had been condemned to death at Cape-Town for coining, but made his escape, came to the settlement under the fictitious name of Stephanos. The brethren Kramer and Scholtz, were absent among the distant Bushmen, endeavouring to persuade them to come and hear. Mr. Kicherer viewed the stranger with distrust; but his conversation was so religious, and his professions that he came to assist them in building their chapel so plausible, that Mr. Kicherer blamed himself for entertaining any suspicion, and permitted him to sleep in a room next to his own. It turned out, however, that he had devised a scheme for murdering the missionary, that he might seize on his wagon and goods, and then depart to some distant horde; and he had actually approached his bed to perpetrate the deed, when Mr. Kicherer started from his slumbers in a fit of terror, and cried out, as if aware of his bloody design. Disconcerted at this unexpected exposure, the villain stammered out an apology for disturbing him, and spoke of a pain in his bowels, and went away. In the morning it was found out he had gone off, taking with him Mr. Kicherer's gun, and several of the Bushmen, whom he had seduced, by pretending that the whites were coming to take vengeance upon them. The Hottentots immediately pursued and overtook them in the desert; compelled Stephanos to return the gun, dismiss the Bushmen, and follow his route alone. Unfortunately, he was met by Messrs. Kramer and Scholtz, who brought him back to Zak River, which occasioned great perplexity, as Mr. Kicherer had now ascertained that he was the malefactor who had escaped from justice; but, unwilling to have any hand in his death, he gave him his best advice, some provisions, and a Bible, and suffered him to depart in the night,—a lenity for which he afterwards suffered severely.

The subsistence of the missionaries in this desert, at so great a distance from habitations of civilized life, was also wonderfully provided for, in such a manner as evidently showed the hand of their Heavenly Father. Often, when in want of some necessary article of food, and asking each other, How shall the Lord now send relief? ere the day closed, relief came; nor was ever their confidence put to shame. Sometimes the hearts of people of whom they knew nothing, were moved to send them the very things they were in need of, and that at the very moment when their own stores were completely exhausted. Once, when they had nothing left except a few sheep, and they knew not where to look but to Heaven, they perceived some loaded oxen approaching, bearing the gift of a friend at a distance,—a measure and a half of meal, and a half measure of salt, and accompanied by thirty sheep,—twenty from himself, and ten as an offering from his Hottentots, two of whom esteemed it a high privilege to be allowed to conduct the present, that they might have an opportunity of hearing of the Lord Jesus.

CHAP. V.

THE CORANNAS.

Settlement at Zak River attracts the attention of the surrounding heathen—The CORANNAS—*Brief notice of that tribe—Request missionaries—Seconded by the* BASTARD HOTTENTOTS—*Account of their settlement at Orange River—Mr. Anderson undertakes the mission—Dangers of the journey*—AFRICANER—*His cruelties—Mr. Kicherer proceeds to Orange River—Interesting notice of Cornelius Koopman—Riet Fountain—Are joined by the Namaquas—Excitation among the Savages—Temporary station—Escapes from lions—Stephanos re-appears in the character of a prophet—His exposure and subsequent adventures—Mr. Kicherer leaves Orange River—His escapes in the wilderness from robbers, poison, thirst—His strong desire for bread—Reaches Zak River—Again visits the Cape—Refuses a living—Incites his people to exertion by threatening to leave them—Their affection—Description of the new Settlements—Work of God—Baptism—Mr. Kicherer leaves for England.*

A MISSIONARY station in a heathen land is like a city set upon a hill—it cannot be hid—it attracts the attention of the surrounding people, and sends forth among them the truths of the Gospel, the principles of civilization, and the practice of industry. The station at the Zak River attracted the attention of the Corannas, who frequently visited them; and one of these people was among the most striking instances of the power of grace to elevate the human character: her name was Tray. When she first came to the settlement, her appearance was scarcely human: her kaross was filthy beyond description; and her whole behaviour denoted brutality in the extreme,—so much so, that the missionary often said to himself, "Surely it is impossible that such a being can be converted." But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. Soon her penitential tears began to flow: for more than a year she mourned over her sins, till the Lord spoke peace to her soul. She then was baptized by the name of Esther, and became one of the most active, industrious, and useful members of the congregation.

This tribe of aborigines, divided into several families or clanships, are numerous. Living beyond the limits of the colony, near the great or Orange River, they have their principal residence on the banks of the Narb and Vaal Rivers, south of the Beetzuan country, and still retain the manners and customs of their forefathers, whom they likewise resemble in the mildness of their temper, the indolence of their dispositions, and their roving habits. They are more attentive to their cattle than the other Hottentots, or even the colonists; and are celebrated for training, riding, and draught oxen. These animals go at a good trot or gallop, and clear a great deal of ground in a very short time. There is no occasion ever to be harsh with them—it is sufficient to touch them with a thin osier. The bridle is fastened to a wooden pin, stuck through the nose, and a sheep or goat-skin serves for a saddle. On this the rider has so firm a seat, that there is no danger of being thrown by even the wildest animal. When they wish to move, the staves and mats of their huts are easily struck, and, together with all their effects, packed up and laid on the back of the patient ox: and thus a whole village is ready to march in a few minutes. The want of food for their cattle was the cause of their frequent removals; for, being totally unacquainted with agriculture, when they had eaten up one pasture, they were under the necessity of seeking out another,—a wandering mode of life which presented the most formidable obstacles to any attempt to instruct or civilize them; but a great desire to hear the gospel having been manifested by them, and a fit opportunity offering, a mission was commenced among them early in the year 1801.

Four new labourers, Messrs. Tromp and Vanderlingen, Dutchmen, and Messrs. Anderson and Reed, Englishmen, having arrived at the Cape about the latter end of 1800, Mr. Anderson joined himself to Kicherer and Kramer, when they resolved to comply with the pressing invitations of that tribe, especially as a colony of Bastard Hottentots, in the same quarter, had joined in the request. This colony had settled on the Orange River about the year 1780. They consisted of only four families, old Adam Kok, and three brothers, Berends. The district abounding in game, their families increased rapidly, and were joined by others; but the accession of numbers brought division; and having no government, their contention became so violent, that they separated.—Cornelius Kok, the son of Adam Kok, forming one kraal, and the Berends forming another. The latter were the people who joined in inviting a missionary. Mr. Anderson set out first, (March 24, 1801,) accompanied by a number of Bastards. The journey, dangerous at all times on account of the wild Bushmen, was now peculiarly so. A wretch, known by the name of "Africaner," notorious for his murders and robberies, kept the whole country through which they were to pass, in a state of subjection and terror. He was a Bastard Hottentot, of the most fearless, determined, cruel, and relentless description. He had been servant to Mr. Pienaar, a person of undaunted courage, and excellent practical ability, "whom no danger could shake, and no obstacle turn,—the more arduous the task, the more determined was he in accomplishing it." This gentleman had constructed a road over a wild, and supposed impracticable hills, and accomplished a great work, of most essential benefit to the colony. Whether in constructing this road, or from what other cause of disgust, is uncertain, it so happened that Africaner, with his band, fell upon the man, his benefactor; and when Pienaar went out alone, and unarmed, to remonstrate with him, and try to induce him to return to habits of quiet industry, he fell upon him, and murdered him. Africaner immediately fled to the district of Orange River; and, hopeless of pardon, became the most desperate of all the savages that haunted that region. Wilder than the beasts of the forest, not a sense of want, but a delight in blood, led him on to destroy. Nor did he appear more pleased with ending the lives, than with prolonging the tortures of his victims. One instance may suffice: he had robbed the Corannas of almost the whole of their cattle; and when they humbly entreated that he would only restore as many of their cows as might, by their milk, keep them from starvation; he, with apparent kindness, told them he would leave the animals they wanted on the other side of the river, and they might come and fetch them. Relying upon his assurances, the unsuspecting people went to bring them away; but the robber was lying in wait: some he shot, some he maimed, and others he seized,—cut out their tongues, and tied them to trees,—leaving them faint with the loss of blood, or to die by slower consuming hunger. From this destroyer, the travellers were happily preserved. They were, besides, delivered from the hands of other rude Bushmen. One evening these "thieves of the desert" surrounded them, and a little boy heard the chiefs deliberating whether they should not murder the missionaries; but it so happened that the missionaries had that day shot two wild horses, which enabled them to give a hearty meal to their wild visitants, who departed highly gratified with their entertainment.

Rivers in Africa, like rivers in Scotland, after rains, often come down impetuous, deep, and broad. The river which Mr. Anderson had crossed was now speated. He succeeded, however, in crossing, by means of floats, and waited till his brethren could join him. Meanwhile, Mr. Kicherer having consulted with his people, they all agreed to change their habitation. The country along the banks of the river is the most pleasant in South Africa; the grass is abundant; the trees of large size; and the river never empty, continues full for nearly the one half of the year. But what was a more important consideration, the country was far more populous than where they were. The huts upon Zak river were therefore struck in May, 1801. On their journey, they were joined by Cornelius Koopman, whose haughty demeanour gave the brethren a very unfavourable opinion of him; but he had scarcely been in their company a single day, when conviction seized upon his soul, while Mr. Kicherer was praying. Divine grace appeared to touch his heart, and he became as distinguished for humility as he had been for pride. "Ah!" he would say, "I would rather starve here, where Jesus is preached, than return to serve those Christians who never told me of God, or of Christ, or the way of salvation." Surrendering himself entirely to the Lord, he became a pattern of godliness to all around him. Four or five times a day would he walk alone to the wilderness for prayer. And many a time, Mr. Kicherer, who followed him unperceived, and watched him at a distance, and heard his fervency of supplication, confesses that he was put to shame by marking his importunity in wrestling with God. He would talk to his children in his retirement, and weep, and pray, and, folding them in his bosom, beneath the shadow of a rock, or beside a bush, would commend them to his God and Saviour.

About July, they reached the great river, which, although in the dry season not broader than the Thames at London Bridge, was now impassable: they were therefore obliged to wait for its fall. As soon as the waters had a little subsided, though the rolling of the dark brown torrent was yet dangerous, some of their friends ventured to swim over; and, constructing rafts, carried, though not without difficulty, the missionaries to the other side. They pitched their tents at the Reed (or Riet) Fountain. Here they were joined by wanderers from another tribe of the aborigines,—the Namaquas. This nation, horde, or tribe, formerly proprietors of the Nieumeveld, the Bokkeveld, and the Roggeveld, now inhabits the western coast, from the boundary of the colony to the desert, stretching from Kamiesburg to the bay of Angra Pequina. There it might have been thought they would have been allowed to remain unmolested; but mercantile cupidity is a stranger alike to mercy or repose. Their herds were too powerful allurements; they were followed by—so named *civilized* Christians—miscreants; and when the European ruffians had roused them to vengeance, the sufferers were branded with epithets which of right belonged to their oppressors—barbarians, savages, murderers, and thieves.

The missionaries were received with the greatest expressions of regard; and soon found themselves surrounded by crowds of the different people, with their numerous flocks and herds. An universal desire of instruction appeared among their visitors: and the effects of their preaching were visible and strong. Persons emerging from a savage state are like children; they can neither suppress nor control their passions, when strongly excited; and, like them, they must give full vent to the expression of their feelings, in whatever company. Here the poor untutored Hottentots did so, and were often so powerfully affected with the wonderful tidings they heard for the first time, that some actually fainted under their convictions, whilst the tears which were shed were innumerable.

At this place they built a long shed of timber, reeds, and clay,—the roof reaching to the ground. The middle part was their church, with a room at each end, for the accommodation of the missionaries. Another small building was erected, in which the Corannas, Namaquas, and such strangers as did not understand Dutch, assembled, who were addressed through the medium of interpreters. A large garden was likewise enclosed and planted.

Twice, while here, Mr. Kicherer was preserved from the paws of the lion. Once when sleeping by the side of a cart, among a number of natives, when the animal was approaching silently, a little dog gave notice of the danger. And another time, when returning home on horseback, attended by one Hottentot only, he was obliged to sleep in the open field. About midnight they were awakened by the unruliness of their horses. The Hottentot, who was much alarmed, wished to conceal from Mr. Kicherer that it was a lion; but being closely interrogated, acknowledged that he had seen one at no great distance; and Mr. Kicherer himself soon perceived a pair of eyes shining like candles. Having set the grass in a blaze, the Hottentot fired, and the lion made off. They saw the huge animal, with his mane erect, in the very act of springing upon them, when the Hottentot fired, and he made off. This appeared the more extraordinary, as they next morning traced his bloody footsteps on the ground,—a proof of his having been wounded; and in such a case a lion seldom, if ever, retreats till he has avenged his blood.

An afflicting circumstance occurred about this time—Stephanos, after leaving the Zak river, had found refuge in Cornelias Kok's Bastard Hottentot's kraal, where he announced himself as a prophet, and had gained such an influence over the superstitious inhabitants, that he practised the most atrocious crimes with impunity: and whoever ventured to say a word against him was beaten unmercifully. He had erected a sort of temple, and an altar on which sacrifices were offered, and had a select number of disciples who, like himself, pretended to dream dreams and see visions, during which the angel Gabriel brought them messages from God himself. If the impostor wished to gratify his lust, his covetousness, or revenge, an answer from heaven authorized him to effect his purpose; and should any lukewarmness appear among his followers, he thundered out against them the judgments of the Almighty, as he did also against the missionaries.

As the chief, who possessed vast property, was completely devoted to the will of this wretch, the missionaries began to fear, lest, under such a protector, his doctrine, like that of Mahomet, might widely diffuse its baneful influences. Mr. Kicherer therefore, after mature deliberation and consultation with his brethren, determined to attempt stopping his diabolical proceedings, and, aware of the danger, took all his men armed with him. Stephanos, apprized of their design, called a meeting of his followers, and told them that this was the important moment in which they were called upon to demonstrate their attachment to God and his prophet; but if they proved unfaithful, fire from heaven would come down to destroy them. When Mr. Kicherer and his people approached the kraal, he saw the other party standing, their eyes sparkling with rage. Stephanos stepped forward, and offered his hand, which he refused to take; but desired him to walk with him under a tree, where they would decide the matter. The followers of both accompanied them to the spot, where Mr. Kicherer, with his Bible in his hand, disputed with him for the space of four hours. He insisted chiefly from Joel and the Revelations, that in the latter days there should be dreams and visions. Mr. Kicherer proved from the Scriptures, they could not be such as he laid claim to; and his own people declared themselves highly satisfied. Stephanos rolled his eyes madly, and spoke with incessant volubility; and his followers seemed waiting to proceed to violence, when Mr. Kicherer ordered his men to seize the prophet, as a malefactor already under sentence of death, and have him conveyed to the Cape for punishment. The order was promptly obeyed, and he was made prisoner in his own temple.

Instantly his crest fell, and he humbly besought Mr. Kicherer in French,—a language the people did not understand,—to set him at liberty, and he would leave the country. Mr. Kicherer replied, if he felt due contrition for his crimes, and evinced it by a frank confession of his guilt, perhaps he would let him go. The fallen wretch immediately, in a whining tone, addressed the people, acknowledging that he had imposed upon them—that if they went on in his ways they would certainly go to hell—and that they ought to thank God, who had sent them teachers of the truth.

Whenever the multitude perceived that he was effectually humbled, they thronged round Mr. Kicherer, and thanked him for what he had done, expressing boundless joy at deliverance from the shackles of this tyrannical impostor; and with a hatred proportioned to the feigned submission they had been forced to show, wished to send him away naked into the desert; but Mr. Kicherer interfered, and procured him provisions and a guide to take him to the coast, where he might, perhaps, find a vessel to carry him out of the country. On his journey, however, he was recognized by a farmer, Mr. Englebrecht, an officer of militia, who attempted to seize him, but in the scuffle unfortunately fell. Stephanos took advantage of his situation, and cut his throat from ear to ear with a razor he had concealed; after which, he fled and joined Africaner.

Leaving Mr. Anderson and Mr. Kramer settled at John Kok's kraal, Mr. Kicherer and Mr. Scholtz, after having continued ten months, resolved to return to Zak river, as the land was insufficient for the support of all their numerous cattle, and the frequent removals were inconvenient. Taking advantage of the river being low, they crossed it in the month of March; but as the desert was impassable, they erected temporary booths with branches, on the opposite bank, to wait till the rains should have enabled them to proceed; but some of the savage Bushmen having sent them false intelligence that a considerable quantity of rain had fallen in the wilderness, they determined to proceed. They travelled, however, till the third day without finding a drop; and at length, when they discovered a small pool containing sufficient to satisfy their own thirst, but not that of their distressed cattle, they perceived, to their grief that it was poisoned, by a number of serpent's heads swimming in it. Water thus poisoned causes a person who drinks of it to become soon so giddy that he cannot walk upright, and if an antidote be not immediately procured, he will certainly expire in a few hours.

Greatly distressed, the missionaries knew not what to do, and deliberated whether they should not have a public prayer meeting to implore of God a supply of rain; but at last they resolved to beseech the Saviour in secret, and they earnestly entreated his help in their time of need. The Lord graciously heard and answered their supplications, by sending in the course of a few hours a plentiful shower. Here they rested two days to recruit their cattle: but on the very morning fixed for their departure, one of their cows came home with an arrow sticking in her flank,—a token that the Bushmen had driven away part of their herd. Some armed Hottentots were therefore despatched in the track of the robbers, while the rest of the company pursued their journey; they were fortunate in recovering seventy-three out of eighty oxen that had been carried off.

Mr. Kicherer, who had not tasted bread for half a year, being seized with extreme longing for a morsal, left the care of the company to Mr. Scholtz, and passed forward to a farmer's, along with three of his people, whose conversation was so spiritual, that he declared the hours spent with them were amongst the happiest of his life. At length he arrived at the farmer's house; on entering which, his first request was for a piece of bread. This he ate with the keenest appetite, and observes: "It is difficult to conceive of the gratification I enjoyed when tasting once more this long missed article of food."

Shortly after he had returned to Zak river, he wished to form his people into a regular settlement, for which many necessary articles were wanted. A favourable opportunity presenting itself for going to the Cape, where these things only could be procured, he embraced it. When he arrived at Cape-Town, he received from the governor a hundred pounds sterling for services which he had rendered the colony. This he laid out in clothes and utensils for the poor Bushmen at Zak river;—for whose sake he also declined, at this time, the parish church at Rodezand, which had been kindly offered him. As soon as he had despatched his business at the Cape, he hastened back to his station in the wilderness. He informed his people that he had again refused the church of Rodezand, and if they would only be diligent and industrious he would never leave them, but if they relapsed into their indolent habits, he would assuredly take the next offer. The people promised everything he could desire, and assured him he should never have cause to complain more. He immediately commenced building a more commodious church, and procured a carpenter and a mason to assist. His Hottentots began with spirit; but their natural indolence returned upon them and they grew tired. He then repeated his former declarations, adding he would assuredly leave them in eight days if they did not amend. "A scene ensued," says he in his narrative, "which I cannot recollect without much emotion. They began to weep, and entreat me so fervently, that my heart melted within me. I gave them my word that I would not desert them. The joy occasioned by this promise was excessive: many of them clasped me round the neck, and I was convinced that they loved me better than I had imagined."

The settlement was situated in an elevated valley, surrounded by barren mountains, without a tree to enliven the prospect: it was susceptible of cultivation, but not remarkable for fertility. Besides the church, which was capable of containing eight hundred people, there was erected a good mission-house, consisting of several rooms on one floor, built of stone. Before the house was an excellent spring, which supplied them with water. On the one side, a kitchen garden, and on the other, a cattle-yard. Around, the baptised built comfortable houses in the farmer's style, and, behind, the heathen lived in small huts. The river flowed about three quarters of a mile distant from the house, and on its northern banks were the cornfields. But the climate is not very favourable; the heat during the day being very great, and the cold during night piercing. In winter there are sharp dry frosts, which prove very destructive to vegetables. In the summer months the rains are heavy—frequently attended with thunder and lightning, sometimes destructive both to men and beasts. The grass is scanty, but the cattle crop the tops of the bushes.

The difficulties attending the formation of a settlement on such an unprofitable spot were not few; but the missionaries had not always the choice of a situation. They had, however, the satisfaction to find the work of the Lord prosper in their hands. Mr. Kicherer, about the end of the year, baptized, at different times, thirty adults and twenty-four children; and these occasions, he remarks, were peculiarly affecting. On the day preceding, they were strictly examined as to their faith, and their determination to follow the Lord wholly; and the missionary being satisfied, on the next, usually the Lord's-day, they were admitted into the church. After the forenoon service, consisting of singing, reading the scriptures, prayer, and a sermon, the ordinance was administered by sprinkling; then the apostolic benediction was pronounced over the baptised individually; and the minister went round, and shook hands with each of them, welcoming them in the name of Jesus into His Church, as dearly beloved friends. All the Christians present joined in congratulatory expressions, full of tender affection,—the women embracing their sisters, and crying out. "God is performing wonders in this dry desert. How great is the Lord's loving kindness, who reveals himself to such poor blind creatures!"

"As to my own feelings," says Mr. Kicherer, "I cannot express them: I could do nothing but weep or speak broken words of love and praise, when I considered what the Lord had done among these people, and how my eyes now beheld that happy day for which I had longed so much,—for which I had so repeatedly and fervently prayed. Things that once seemed next to impossible, were now realized. I was overwhelmed while we were singing that verse of the 72nd Psalm:

'They in the wilderness that dwell,
Bow down before Him must.'

And I could not help exclaiming, 'Yes! thou art God of truth, this thou hast shown to us, and art still showing to us!'"—Service over, they had all a love-feast together, and in the evening of the same day partook of the Lord's-supper.

Ill health, and other important circumstances, now determined Mr. Kicherer to visit Europe; and on the 1st of January, 1803, he took leave of his beloved flock. The parting was affecting: the poor people wept bitterly—held him by the hands—and would scarcely let him go. They said they would pray to God to bring him back soon; for they thought they should die if he did not quickly return. He gave them the assurance, that, if possible, he would be among them again in little more than a year; and left them,—the settlement consisting of eighty-three baptized heathen, and upwards of five hundred desirous of instruction,—under the charge of Mr. Bosman, a native who had been a farmer, but who had relinquished all to preach the gospel.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CAFFRES.

Caffraria—Introductory remarks—Appearance of the Caffres—Tatooing—Ornaments—Clothing—Marriage—Huts—Villages—Granaries and grain—Gardens—Tobacco—Mode of smoking—Food—Diseases—Magic—Medicine, treatment of desperate cases—Selfishness the cause of their cruelty—Murder—Adultery—Defilement—Purification—Small estimation of human life—Mutual intercourse—Government—Warriors—Arms—War—Arts—Superstition—Language—History—Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Edmund penetrate into Caffraria—Dr. Vanderkemp left alone—Remarkable deliverance from murder—Night Adventure—Commences building a house and planting a garden—Wolves—Ordered to march along with the king—Various incidents—Forced to withdraw from the country.

CAFFRARIA is the first eastern land beyond the bounds of the colony, and differing in its inhabitants from the Hottentots, to which the benevolent efforts of the European Christians were directed. Some of the natives had visited the Moravian settlements, and some of the Moravian missionaries had visited them; but it was not till Dr. Vanderkemp went to Africa, that any serious attempt was made to bring them within the pale of civilized society. The Doctor's earliest attachment and views were directed to these people; and from him we have derived the most accurate account of them, as they existed in their savage state,—that is, in their state at the time of their discovery to the Europeans. Without supposing Vaillant guilty of any intentional falsehood, it is perfectly evident that, in his circumstances, he was wonderfully exposed to mistake; and he seems indeed to have been fairly hoaxed by the natives, in some instances of a rather ludicrous description. The ladies, in particular, appear to have diverted themselves with the vanity of the traveller. Yet subsequent travellers, who smile at him, have not always themselves been free from error in what they have related of the manners and customs, the morals and religion, of this people.

The name *Caffre*, said to be derived from an Arabic word signifying *an infidel*, which the Mahomedans applied to all the inhabitants of South Africa, has been by European writers confined to one tribe, the Koosas, and the land which they inhabit has been alone called Caffraria. To this extensive tribe, estimated at upwards of thirty-five thousand souls, the subsequent description and narrative refers.

The land which they inhabit is mountainous, and rich in water; the soil argillaceous, composed of fine sand, and very fertile. The whole surface, even the tops of the mountains, is covered with woods, shrubs, grass and other vegetables,—never naked or parched, except in uncommonly dry seasons. Winter, which extends from April or May to August, and is the wettest season at the Cape, is the driest in Caffraria. The rains descend in the latter country chiefly in the summer months, and are generally accompanied by thunder storms. These are more frequent and tremendous than in Europe, and exhibit also uncommon phenomena: the flash of the lightning diffuses not such a bright blaze through the air, dazzling the eye, and evanishing in a moment; but appears in continued streams of distinct sparks, elicited by the earth from the clouds,—or by one cloud from another; and these streams, double or treble, sometimes last two, or two seconds and a half. To the plentiful rains are attributed the superior fertility of Caffraria, and to its elevated situation its superior healthiness, as its height above the level of the sea renders it more cool than might have been expected from its nearness to the tropic. There is little difference, with respect to the cold, between summer and winter; and if the leaves of the trees, in the latter season, look not quite so lively, this is owing more to the want of moisture than the want of heat.

The presence of the Caffres is commanding: they are tall and athletic,—their features are in many instances noble,—and their colour a deep brown, approaching to black; but this is frequently not very discernible, as they often paint their face and body with the dust of a red chalk or iron stone. Instead of puncturing themselves, as was the custom of the South Sea Islanders, they form a kind of bass-relief, by thrusting a pointed iron through the skin, and pulling it forcibly up so as to remain prominent through the surface of the body. Men and women, especially the latter, thus adorn their arms, backs, and breasts, with cicatrices of the size of grains of wheat, placed in regular rows, which are commonly double, treble, and somewhat quadruple.

They never put on clothes for the sake of decency, but of ornament; and if the cold do not compel them to use a covering, they go naked. Their heads are always bare, but adorned with a chain of hemispherical brass or copper grains, of about one quarter of an inch diameter, in the form of a diadem, or with a ribbon of an inch broad, composed of small beads, of two or three different colours, put close together. From their ears they suspend chains of beads, buttons, and metal wire, as their fancy prompts. Rings of various metals are their most favourite jewellery; and with these in great profusion they encircle their limbs, and necks, and loins; but a singular decoration of the man is five or six teeth of a tiger standing upright, tied together, and fixed on the right arm, just above the elbow. To protect them against cold, they have a cloak, generally of cow's skin, prepared so as to be remarkably soft; the captains, by way of pre-eminence, wear tiger's.

The women wear a long pyramidical cap, from the point of which are suspended strings of beads; from the lower part four bands of some inches wide hang down, which, when tied, fix the cap in its position. The cloak is fastened to the body by a girdle round the middle. In young women the upper part flows loose; but if a woman have a child, she places the child in the flap, and secures it with a string. Both women and children wear aprons. The women go barefoot. The men carry a sort of sandals in their hands, or upon the end of a stick, which they tie on their feet when the road turns rough.

Marriage is not the mutual contract of two parties. The husband buys his wife from her parents, for some cattle; but he is not permitted to sell her to another. Polygamy is practised. The commoners, however, usually content themselves with one or two; but the captains take four or five, besides concubines; and this not so much as a matter of pleasure as of utility,—the most laborious part of their occupations being performed by the women: they build the houses, till the ground, cut the wood, do all the drudgery in the formation of a kraal, and, in addition, make the agricultural and domestic utensils, and whatever of ornament or utility is connected with their dress. The men's only employments are to fight, hunt, and milk the cows. Circumcision is performed upon boys about twelve or fourteen years old, and is accompanied with ceremonies representing a total renewal of the person. He is painted all white, then driven into a river, and there washed clean, and all his old habiliments taken away, and new ones given him.

Their huts are formed more substantially, but in a manner similar to the Hottentots, of a hemi-spheroidal shape, longer, and supported by stronger poles, the dome thatched with straw, and plastered inside with clay. Their villages are better protected; and the right of private property, as in all other countries approaching to the agricultural state, better understood. The large circular area in the centre of the kraal, where the animals are kept, are fortified by trees, cut down, and laid in the manner of abattis; and hither all the cattle belonging to the village are driven at evening, and milked; and in the morning, after milking again, are led into the field, and watched by a few of their young people.

In the middle of this large court, each family has its individual granery,—a pit digged pretty deep, in which their corn is stowed. It is laid on the bare ground, and covered with its own straw; and then the whole earth that had been previously dug from the pit, is heaped upon it: here it will remain for a long while, till needed, perfectly dry. Every one knows his own pit, although no mark be upon it; and when it is opened for the first time, the proprietor gives a basketful of it to every person in the kraal, and a larger one to the captain. The Caffre corn is a kind of millet, but grows from seven to ten feet high: the stalks are about an inch thick, and when chewed, have a saccharine taste. The corn itself is eaten boiled, or bruised between two stones, and made into unleavened bread. They likewise make a fermented liquor from it. No plough, nor spade, nor manure, is employed in the cultivation of this grain; the seed is merely thrown on the grass, and the grass afterwards shaken, and beaten with a wooden instrument; and from underneath this half dried half rotten grass, the corn springs up. They have another kind, which they call *bona*, known in Holland by the name of "Turkish corn," the grains of which are very large in this country, not much inferior in size to peas.

Every village has a common garden, and many families private ones. They are fenced nearly as the cattle court of the kraal, but only more wood is used, and that is renewed yearly, the old serving for fuel. In these they sow pumpkins, and a peculiar kind of watermelons; they, besides, have roots and fruits unknown in Europe, of which last, Dr. Vanderkemp mentions one called *ingonja*, a large tree bearing a kind of olive of a delicious flavour, like sugar acidulated with lemon-juice, of an oval form, about two inches in length. The Caffres also cultivate large quantities of tobacco, which they use with refined eastern luxury; they draw the smoke from a wooden pipe, which is inserted in a cow's horn, half filled with water; and by this simple, yet ingenious process, it is as effectually cooled as by passing through tubes of greater length and varied convolutions.

They subsist chiefly upon their herds and the produce of the chase. They have no flocks either of sheep or goats, nor do they raise poultry. If a man be poor, and has no cattle, he applies to the king and to the captains, who always give him more than a sufficient quantity for a supply, for which they have ready recourse to the fields of the Boers, and never hesitate, in case of necessity, to drive off a few hundreds, which usually gives rise to forays, not very dissimilar to those so frequent in former times upon our own Borders. Their agriculture is a secondary consideration. Fish they never eat, except some very poor kraals, who are despised on that account. When they kill cattle, the breast is appropriated to the king, and sent to him from the most distant part of the district, although it is often quite putrid before it reaches him.

Diseases are but little known among them; the reasons assigned for which are, their temperate mode of living—their moderate exercise—and the care with which they select the situations of their villages, at a distance from marshes or waters. Dr. Vanderkemp, during the time he remained in the country, had never met with any instances of intermitting fevers, consumptions, scorbutic, or hydropic complaints. There was, however, sometimes a great mortality among the people, occasioned by putrid typhi, arising from their diet in dry seasons, when milk was scarce, and from the close confinement of their huts. Their medical practice was chiefly magical, and consisted in the deceptions of their conjurers, who pretended to extract stones, serpents, bones, and even pieces of wood, out of the body of the patient. Sometimes cattle were ordered to be slain, cut in pieces, and laid in a river, as an expiatory offering. Or, if the devil was supposed to have possessed the sufferer, then the conjurer, by a number of fantastic tricks, had first to cast him out, and then catch hold of him and kill him; but this last was an arduous task: the doctor being commonly obliged to pursue his antagonist over mountains and through valleys with an assagai in his hand. In the chase, the evil spirit sometimes showed superior metal, and escaped; at others he was not so lucky, and his conqueror returned in triumph, with the blood of the demon on his spear. In some inflammatory cases, however, they had a more rational method of cure, by cupping the patient, and in others by the use of simples; but even then the effects were attributed to the power of the magician.

If a sick person's case was considered desperate, he was carried to the field, and left to be devoured by the wolves. Should he have been able to return home, he was carried out again a second or third time; and then, should he still have had as much strength left as to return, he was locked up in his house, with a little meat and drink, and the whole kraal broke up, and left him to die. When dead, he was thrown, without farther ceremony, to the wolves—burial was the exclusive privilege of the king and queen.

"It was long," says the Doctor, "before I could trace the real motives of this cruel practice; but since I am a little more acquainted with the character of this people, I think it proceeds from love to self-preservation. They fancy that if they suffer the disease to progress, it will bring on the whole society some great calamity. To prevent this, they know of no other remedy than to destroy the subject of the distemper. Perfectly analogous with this heartless selfishness is their conduct when they see a person in danger of being drowned: instead of attempting to help him, they flee from him, and would rather assist in helping to destroy, than to save. Murder is hardly considered a crime; and, if not revenged by the relatives, is generally commuted by a pecuniary mulct. Cattle are the currency, and part goes to the king, part to the relatives. Adultery is equally slightly thought of, and equally easily compensated; but to commit a nuisance in the water of a river, or in a cattle-court, is a crime always punished by death. Defilement is the most serious offence; and whether accidentally or intentionally contracted, subjects its objects to grievous inconvenience. When a husband or a wife dies, the survivor, considered unclean, must remain in seclusion,—the male for one, the female two months; and their clothes must be destroyed, and even their abodes, before they can again be admitted to society. The times of seclusion, the ablutions and ceremonies necessary for purification in child-birth, and several other instances, bear a striking resemblance to those of the Jewish ritual; but when one has killed a man, he is merely obliged to dress his meat on a fire by himself, made of a bitter wood, and afterwards rub his face with the ashes, which frees him from the pollution of blood; and the small estimation in which human life is held, forms in this, as in every other heathen code, a striking contrast to the law of God. He only who formed man knows the value of his mortal existence."

In their mutual intercourse they observe a peculiar decency in their manners; and, though extremely savage, abstain from whatever might offend delicacy. Dr. Vanderkemp mentions that a little boy, who had inadvertently trespassed in his presence, was immediately turned out of doors. They use no salutations in meeting, except when they come into the king's presence, they prefix the word "*An*," to his name,—an expression of respect, of which he has not told us the signification. When they wish to honour a person whom they esteem, they give him a new name;—the Doctor himself had three, and was quickly known by them throughout the country.

The government is monarchical; and the king has the right of nominating his successor, who is generally, though not always, of his own family. His power is arbitrary, but he derives all his strength from the good-will and affection of his people. Their attachment to the royal person is very great; they consider him almost as a deity, and swear by no other name than his, or some of his predecessors. He kills or robs any of his subjects, alters their laws and rights according to his pleasure, and they bear all with filial submission. He has, however, his counsellors, *pagati*, who inform him of the sentiments of the people; and his captains admonish him with great freedom, when he abuses his authority. If the admonition be treated with contempt, the different kraals break up, and remove to distant parts of the country, but seldom rise in insurrection, or appear in arms against him. Their emigrations generally bring him to reason.

Every kraal has a captain. These differ in power, according to the number of people under their direction. Sometimes the people who acknowledge one captain divide into two or three kraals, and then he has a representative in each. This dignity is hereditary; and when the chieftain has no child or heir, another is chosen by the people, or at least confirmed by their approbation. The king does not appoint these rulers, but he sometimes takes vacant kraals under his own protection, and occasionally displaces an obnoxious person. The grand check upon the royal power is the want of a mercenary army! while every Caffre able to bear arms is a voluntary warrior. His revenue consists in contributions or exactions of cattle, with a quantity of corn, all elephants' teeth, panthers' skins, and cranes' feathers. When he travels he is accompanied by his counsellors, and a train of followers; his wives are also followed by a train of women of the lower rank. Wherever he stops, an ox is immediately killed for his entertainment; but neither he nor any of his attendants drink any milk upon their journeys, excepting from their own cows, which they always carry with them.

The wars of the Caffres are either with the colonists, the Bushmen, or the neighbouring tribes; and each chief, attended by his vassals, obeys the summons of his king, who leads them to battle in person, and fights in the centre. Their arms are the assagai formerly described, and the *kirri*, a short formidable bludgeon. They defend their bodies by a shield of cow's-hide. They are described as a people who formerly disdained to make use of any stratagem in war, but challenged their enemies to meet them openly, and fought them fairly in the open field, relying on their courage, discipline, and strength alone for victory; but the treachery and cruelty which they so frequently experienced from the Boors, have destroyed their chivalrous spirit, and they have learned from their enemies to reckon all advantages honourable in war.

With the arts they are little acquainted, but they have learned to forge arms and other instruments. The fire is lighted by the friction of two pieces of wood. The one is flat, with a cavity in the middle, the other, a round pointed stick, is placed in this cavity and turned rapidly round and pressed down, by which means some powder is rubbed off the two sticks, which gradually grows hot, and at last catches fire. For keeping liquors, and even cooking, they make pots of clay, which are hardened in the sun. Some are very large in their form. They resemble bottles with wide necks. Their works with rushes are exceedingly ingenious, and their baskets for holding milk are remarkably beautiful and tight. The numerals in their language are few; but they contrive by some species of occult arithmetic, peculiarly their own, to keep an exact account of their herds, even when they amount to several hundreds.

As a nation, they have no idea of the existence of a God, nor has their language a word to express a Supreme Being, though there are many individuals who have some indistinct notions, which they have received from their intercourse with other people,—but they are abundantly superstitious. Near the mouth of the river Kieskamma there lies an old anchor, which had belonged to a vessel wrecked on the coast. A king, who governed the country about the year 1786, ordered a piece of this anchor to be cut off. The person who was employed in the work died soon after; and this accident was sufficient to impress the people with the idea, that the anchor had the power of punishing every one who should treat it with disrespect, and also that it had some power over the sea. In order to reconcile it, it has been honoured with a peculiar name, and no Caffre passes without saluting it. They formerly believed too, that within late years, during great thunder-storms, a man dressed in green, and always leaning against the stump of a tree, with his eyes fixed on the ground, makes his appearance in their kraals; when they offer him corn, meat, or milk, or invite him to come into their houses. He never accepts the invitation, and seldom speaks. Once, in a tremendous storm, he was heard to say, "Do not be afraid, I only play with your country." When this personage, whom they called *Pezoulo*,—"the chief from above,"—is seen in a kraal, the people immediately retire from it, leaving everything behind,—slay some beasts,—and put on new garments. Their belief in the existence of malevolent beings, and of the communication of their sorcerers with them, occasions effects similar to what the belief of witchcraft among our own forefathers occasioned scarcely two centuries ago. When any person of distinction is seized with any unaccountable trouble, a sorceress—for they are generally women—is sent for, and the person who is pointed out by her is immediately put to death. If he be absent, the king sends executioners to the kraal where he lives; and though this be known by the whole inhabitants, the object of this fatal sentence remains entirely ignorant of it till the time of execution, as no one, not even the wife of his bosom, will attempt to warn him of his danger; and the mode of his death is often the most dreadful,—ants being employed, who gradually consume the flesh off the miserable sufferer. The king's mother, when Dr. Vanderkemp was in Caffraria, stood at the head of the magicians; and during his reign, the richest of the subjects were sometimes accused, but they always effected a commutation of their punishment for a fine of so many cattle. Once, the king, when five persons were accused, and he was cited to murder them in order to procure his recovery, replied, with a degree of magnanimity that would have done honour to any monarch,—"If my life can only be saved at the expense of so many of my subjects, let it perish!" But they also pretended to procure rain when wanted, by their sorcery; and Gika, who ranked Dr. Vanderkemp among the "wise men," after a long drought, sent him a present of cattle to procure rain. The Doctor returned the presents, with a message that *he* could not procure rain, but he would pray to the Lord Jesus, who, if he saw it proper, could send it. A plentiful rain fell the next and two succeeding days, accompanied with a violent thunder-storm;—when the king sent another embassage, to request him, "that the next time he brought them rain, he would thank him to keep away the thunder!" It was somewhat observable, that in Caffraria, as in other countries where the gospel is introduced, the native sorcerers always confess that the power of their enchantments fail them in presence of the Christians. Here the queen-mother declared, that she could never command rain, for the hole was shut up whence it used to come.

The language is totally different from that of the Hottentots—it has none of its clicking noise, and is represented as energetic, yet soft,—wanting some of the rougher sounds of the European, particularly the *r*. It is easier of attainment.

For the history of this people we are indebted to Vanderkemp, from whom Lichterstein, who copies and amplifies what we mean to abridge, has the most material of his information, though he wishes, ungratefully, to depreciate the missionary, to whose labour he is so deeply indebted. The traditions of the Caffres reach only back to six kings,—Togou, Quonde, Tzio, Tquáreka, Khanta, Gika, Palo, mentioned by Vaillant as king, was only protector under Tquáreka, his brother, against whom he rebelled, but was subdued, pardoned, and restored to office. Khanta, who was his nephew, transferred the royal power to Gika, a great grandson of Palo, in preference to his own sons. Gika, being a child when his benefactor died, was educated by his uncle Tzlambi, who acted as regent. When Gika came of age, he claimed the sovereignty; but his uncle refused to surrender his power, and, joined by eight of his brothers, who were chiefs, and the children of Khanta, raised the standard of rebellion.

A series of engagements ensued, in which Gika was victorious; and in a decisive battle, he not only dispersed the whole of his adversaries, but took his uncle and two of the sons of Khanta prisoners: the eldest of these last he killed, the youngest, Hietnza, he pardoned, as he was but a child, and adopted as his heir. Tzlambi was kept prisoner for two years, and then made a captain by the king, who, when giving him his commission, gave him likewise this wholesome admonition,—"when you were my tutor, you taught me to be a generous king, and since I became your king, I hope I have taught you to be a faithful subject." In consequence of these disputes, several parties of the Caffres withdrew to different and distant parts of the country, who owned nominal subjection to Gika, but in some cases, particularly in their disputes with the colonists, acted independently.

Such was the internal state of Caffraria when the aged missionary set out to reclaim it from the wilds of heathenism. The situation of affairs in that part of the colony through which he had to pass, was at that time extremely critical. The Boors of the interior were many of them dissatisfied with the British government, while the oppressed Hottentots naturally attached themselves to it for protection; in consequence, the farmers treated them with increased cruelty, while the British had not the courage to dare to be just, nor afford them that protection which the letter of the Dutch law had so repeatedly promised. Many of these unfortunate men therefore fled into Caffraria, leaving their families and cattle behind, where, having no means of support, they joined with some of the neighbouring Caffres, who had also suffered from the base violence and injustice of the colonists, to attack their tyrants, and rescue their family and cattle from their withering gripe; and they had successfuly resisted a party of British troops, with a large body of the Boors who had attempted to reduce them; nor was anything wanting but arms and ammunition to have enabled them to have swept their oppressors from the face of the earth. As it was they desolated a fine track of country, and kept the whole border in a constant alarm.

Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Edmonds left Cape-Town about the middle of May 1799, with Bruntjee, a Hottentot from Bavian's Kloof,—a famous elephant-hunter, who had formerly visited Caffraria, to act as guide and interpreter,—his two sons, with another young Hottentot, Valentine Hartenberg, also from the Moravian settlement, as attendants. They carried letters of introduction and recommendation from the governor, General Dundas, to the commander of the forces, and from the fiscal, Rynvalt, to the landrost of Graaf Reinet, the last station in the colony, besides various others to different persons on the road. These, with the circumstance of Dr. Vanderkemp being a Dutchman, secured them the greatest kindness everywhere, especially as the Boors did not fully understand the nature of their mission, and did not conceive that they would ever propose instructing the natives within the colony. Yet there were some few pious persons among the colonists who sincerely wished them God speed.

They seized every opportunity on the journey of preaching and were heard "with reverence as apostles," by numbers, who came from very distant quarters. On their way they met a party of Caffres who were wandering towards the Cape, by whom they were regaled with milk; but they declined returning with them to Caffraria, as their chief had been murdered by those of another kraal. The whole intelligence they received upon the route was calculated to deter them from entering that land, which was described as in a state of the utmost distraction. Their journey through the wilderness was disagreeable and dangerous,—it being now in the depth of winter, from the cold and the ravenous animals which constantly prowled around them; but on the penult of June, they arrived in safety at Graaf Reinet, situate on the Sontag River.

Here the landrost and the inhabitants endeavoured to persuade them to give up their plan of going to the Caffres beyond the Great Fish river, representing the risk they ran from the exasperated state of their minds against the whites. But they declared, if they obtained liberty from the king, they would not count their lives dear in obeying the command of the Lord; and from the deliverences they had already experienced, they doubted not but they would still see more of His wonders. On the borders all was confusion. The Boors, whose encroachments upon the fine country of the Caffres was the occasion of a great part of the troubles, were violently against the missionaries entering Caffraria; in particular, one Piet Prinslo, who rudely accosted them— "*Dog Hornhutters*," *i. e.* Good day, Moravians; and told them "he should not assist them in converting the savages, nor have anything to do with them at all." They sent forward, however, messengers to king Gika, to request liberty to visit him, and kept advancing, accompanied by several farmers.

During the march they were the unwilling witnesses to some petty, but not bloodless skirmishes, and saw the ravages and plunderings which the Boors, by their overweening ideas of their own superiority, and their brutality to their savage superiors, had entailed upon themselves. To illustrate the character of these Christians, and the heathen, among whom Dr. Vanderkemp was placed as between two opposing elements, the following anecdote may suffice:—A Hottentot named *Courage* asked him,—"Is it true that God has created us as well as the Christians and the beasts of the field? for you know," added he, "that the Dutch farmers tell us that He never created us, nor taketh any notice of us."

The missionaries paid a visit to some friendly Caffres on the other side of the Great Fish River, and observed their smiths at work. When they told them the object of their mission, they assured Bruntjee that they had nothing to fear; that Gika had been informed of their intention of visiting him; "and we will accompany you, and build houses for them, though we do not exactly understand their intentions." When the missionaries endeavoured to explain their object—"Your masters," said they to the interpreter, "are children of the great King above,"—pointing to heaven. They told them that the Boors had attempted to poison their minds against them, suggesting that they came to betray them. "But," added they, "it would do no good for your masters to turn back, for they would certainly be cut off: let them stay and wait." Six fires on the tops of the mountain next night, alarmed the whole encampment, and the colonists prepared for flight. Prinslo, in a rage, entered Dr. Vanderkemp's tent, and charged him with having stirred up the Caffres to plunder and murder the colonists; and that he had said to the Hottentots, pointing to the cattle—"These you have a right to take freely—they are yours." But when desired to produce the person to whom this had been said, he could not find him—he had absconded; and Prinslo at last said himself, that he believed the accusation false.

Meanwhile, the ambassadors returned from his Caffrarian majesty, with an encouraging and pressing invitation, and the royal tobacco-box as their passport. But next day they were attacked by some hostile Caffres, when a battle ensued, which lasted for an hour. The missionaries chose to be unarmed, as they would not interfere in the hostilities; but Vanderkemp, who had himself been a soldier, was surprised at the coolness and intrepidity of the women and children. A few of the assailants were killed, but the colonists were obliged to leave their cattle a prey to their enemies, to whom many of the Hottentots took the opportunity of deserting. This and other untoward incidents, prevented the missionaries from entering Caffre-land till the month of September 1800.

They were now alone, and left to their own resources; and not unfrequently remarked, that, when destitute, their Heavenly Father cared for them. One evening, when sitting in their tent, and consulting where they might get as much to eat as would preserve them alive, they were surprised to observe some wild onions growing in the tent; and on examination, found they had pitched in the middle of a field full of these roots, of delicious flavour, and which afforded them an excellent breakfast. That day they reached an inhabited country, and three days after, they reached the dwelling of the king.

Immediatly about a hundred Caffres flocked around them, and they asked for his majesty, but nobody answered. After they had waited about ten minutes, he made his appearance, advancing with a slow majestic step, attended on each side by one of his principal chiefs. He was covered with a long robe of panthers' skins, and wore a diadem of copper, and another of beads, round his head. His cheeks and lips were painted red; and he held in his hand an iron *kiri*. He stopped about twenty paces from them, when one of his captains announced that it was the king. The missionaries then approached, and he, marching up to them, offered them his right hand, but spoke not a word. Vanderkemp then delivered him his snuff-box, which he had filled with buttons, which he graciously accepted, and handed to one of his attendants. Behind his majesty his court was ranged in a semi-circular form; and, at a considerable distance, the people had crowded to see the ceremony. Dr. Vanderkemp then asked, in a loud tone of voice, whether any person could speak Dutch? Nobody answered, only some smiled; but in about a quarter of an hour, Konrad Buys, a rebel colonist, who had sought refuge in Caffraria, arrived, and acted as interpreter. Having seated himself on an ant-hill, Gika asked what was the object of their mission, and what they wished of him? Vanderkemp replied, to instruct him and his people in matters that would make them happy in this life, and after death; and that they only asked leave to settle in his land, under his friendship and protection, with liberty to return to their own country when they judged it expedient. The king, evidently prompted by Buys, said they had come at a very unfavourable period, when the country was all in confusion, though he took no part in the disputes between the English and some of the Caffres. He advised them, therefore, not to stay with him. "Your people," continued he, "look upon me as a great man, but I am not able to entertain you as you ought to be entertained: you look for a settlement, but I have no resting place; nor can I protect you, as I cannot protect myself." The missionary told him, they were only private men, willing to provide for themselves; that they did not suppose he could remove the common calamities of war, but they were willing to bear them with patience; and asked no other protection than what he could give to the meanest of his subjects, or than what Buys enjoyed. He repeated that he would not advise them to stay in his country, as not calculated for their manner of living; but gave them leave to unyoke their oxen and pitch their tent; and asked, if they had brought anything with them? They produced their presents for himself and his uncles, with which he declared himself pleased; and afterwards honouring them with a visit in their tent, he was captivated with a looking-glass, which they also gave him.

The addition of a musket would have sealed their friendship; but their old enemy, Piet Prinslo, had insinuated that they were English spies and assassinators who had enchanted wine, with which they meant to poison him; and advised him to keep them prisoners till he arrived to convict them. Lichterstein says, that Gika repaired to Vanderkemp, and requested from him a glass of wine, when he, with all the ingenuity of innocence, told him he had no wine; and Gika, immediately convinced of the falsity of the accusation, dismissed all suspicion. The doctor's own journal merely mentions, with gratitude to his God and Saviour, that the machinations of his enemies had been frustrated, but does not tell by what means. A gridiron, however, secured his friendship, and four handkerchiefs, that of his mother and his sister Hoby, who, in return, plentifully supplied them with milk.

His majesty still refused to give the missionaries any decisive answer with regard to their settlement. The proverbial fickleness of barbarians rendered Dr. Vanderkemp uneasy at the delay—his attendants were anxious to return home. Mr. Edmond, who never liked the country, had grown sickly and low-spirited. Buys himself began to be doubtful of his own safety; and all the felt or dreaded mischiefs were imputed to the venerable saint, although he had previously warned them, and left it to their own choice to accompany him. "As for me," said the heroic man, "I know when I entered this country, I entered it having the sentence of death in myself, that I should not trust in myself, but in God who raiseth the dead." The psalm which they read in course on the evening when their troubles were at their height, was the thirty-fourth.

Next day, the king, upon being remonstrated with by Buys, candidly confessed that he had acted wrong. He had married a third wife, and the festivals in which he had been engaged had been the cause of the neglect. "But now," said he, "let *Tink-hanna*, the name he had given Vanderkemp, take the field which is on the other side of the Keisskamma; and let him remain, with free liberty to return to his own country when he pleases,—I shall never attempt to injure him; and should he at any time think himself aggrieved, as I am not free from faults or mistakes, I appoint you to judge between me and Tink-hanna, and by your decision, I promise to abide: all my people hear this." They then partook of some dried apples. The king made them the present of a sheep; after which, they departed for their destination.

Travelling in a barbarous country, along untrodden paths patrolled by beasts of prey, and liable to the accidents a carriage is exposed to in traversing rivers, and woods, and mountains, where there are no formed roads, tries both the courage and the patience of a man. They had scarcely reached the summit of the first mountain, when the shaft of their wagon gave way, and they had all to wait, under a heavy shower of rain, till they got it repaired; but they had not proceeded far, when Valentine drove the fore-wheel against a thorn tree, and again broke the shaft to pieces. They despatched him with a horse to a neighbouring kraal, belonging to an aged woman, Appolonia, who had two wagons, to procure a new shaft; but he absconded with the horse, and they were obliged to mend their shattered pole in the best manner they could. During the following night, they lost five of their oxen, and could not proceed. Bruntjee was therefore dispatched to the king to inquire for the oxen; and Mr. Edmond having gone to take a view of the country, the doctor remained. He remarks in his journal: "Being thus left alone with the wagon, I experienced what a faithful friend and sweet companion Jesus was, and I longed for no other company." When Bruntjee returned, he informed them that Gika would not speak to him without a companion. In the afternoon the doctor went to the nearest kraal, where he engaged an interpreter to go with him. In returning in the evening, by mistaking one stream for another, he entirely lost his way, and wandered about in uncertainty, being able to find neither the road back to the kraal, nor forward to the wagon; so was obliged to give it up, and, commending himself to the Lord, lay down, resolved to sleep there; but the wolves gave him no rest; and as he had nothing, no weapons of defence but a Caffre kiri, he got up, and resolved to go straight westward; but the moment he set out, the barking of dogs, heard at a considerable distance, convinced him that he was wrong, and he then returned, directed by their voices. In proceeding, he had to cross a river, which, as he entered, a large kayman, a kind of crocodile, plunged in; then passing through a thick wood, still directed by the sounds, he arrived at old Appolonia's kraal, who sent two men with him to guide him to his tent.

Bruntjee in the morning went with his companion to the king, but returned in the evening from a fruitless embassage, having been afraid to face his majesty. Vanderkemp therefore resolved himself to try what he could effect. He found Gika at home, who received him in a friendly manner; and, when he was beginning to speak, put a piece of roasted meat into his hand, so that the missionary had to exercise his powers of mastication and oratory at the same time. The king expressed his satisfaction that he had brought his complaints before him, and told him the oxen were found, and should be restored,—that he had heard Valentine had left them and stolen his horse; but if such conduct was left unpunished in their country, it was not so in his; he would also inquire after him, force him to carry back the horse, and deliver him into their hands, or punish him himself. Both which promises he punctually fulfilled.

Perfectly satisfied, the missionaries proceeded to take possession of their premises: they were welcomed by a serenade of wolves. As night fell the concert began: cries like the shrieks of women were succeeded by notes like the wailing of children, and these were drowned in loud shouts of laughter, like the boisterous merriment of intoxicated men. Vanderkemp, who suspectsd that the discordant noise proceeded from some Caffre girls of Appolonia's kraal, insulted by Valentine, ran out to assist them, when a simultaneous yelling, resembling the music of cats in their nightly excursions, convinced him of his mistake, and he retired to security and rest.

The spot Gika had assigned them was a beautiful field of grass, in the middle of an amphitheatre of high mountains, round whose base flowed the river Guakesby, a fine stream of excellent water. The lower acclivity was covered by woods of various trees, some more than one hundred feet high. Beyond these natural plantations, pastures of vast extent and of the richest verdure: the primeval forests crowned their tops. Eleven different kraals of Caffres were situated at no great distance.

Dr. Vanderkemp immediately inspected the ground, to find a proper site for a house and garden; and the very day after halting, he and Mr. Edmond began by cutting trees and other materials to prepare for building. Having procured the assistance of some Caffres, he dug a little ground, sowed lettuce and carrots, and planted red currants and potatoes; he also introduced calabashes, melons, cucumbers, and pumpkins.

While proceeding with these novel improvements, they learned that several of the border colonists had been involved in ruin, had had their houses burned, and all their cattle driven away. Among the rest, Piet Prinslo, who had fled for refuge to Caffraria, and had been seized as a spy by the king,—the very character he had falsely accused the missionaries of assuming. Several deserters also were forced to flee beyond the bounds of the colony, and one of them (Thomas Bently) informed Dr. Vanderkemp, that four had been hired by the colonists to way-lay and assassinate him; —such was their terror lest the Caffres should be enlightened. The Caffres have no great liking for salt; in lieu of this, to us necessary article, they roll their steaks in cow-dung, and thus broil them. Dr. Vanderkemp, who did not much admire this substitute, set out with Thomas, and having explored the coast, fixed upon a spot for erecting salt-pans; but having neither shoes, stockings, nor hat, his head and feet were severely lacerated in the excursion,—a species of voluntary penance, however, which is not to be numbered among this excellent man's virtues.

At his return, he found a letter from Governor Dundas, expressing his fears for his safety, and offering him his choice, either to labour among some other tribes of Caffres on the near side of the river, or to become pastor of a Dutch church within the colony. He could not bear to give up the idea of missionary among the heathen; but as Mr. Edmond, whose primary object had been to labour in India, had an invincible dislike to continue in Caffraria, he proposed accompanying him so far, in order to have an interview with the governor. When he applied, however, to Gika for permission to leave the country, the king allowed Mr. Edmond to depart, but said,—"If the governor wishes to speak to Tinkhanna, he may speak to him when he comes to speak to me." Intrepid as Dr. Vanderkemp was, he could not without tears part from his young friend. They went into a wood together, and there, with weeping and prayers, they had their last interview. The old man recommended him affectionately to the grace of the Lord, gave him his best blessing, and took a final leave never again to meet on earth. The memorandum in his journal is inexpressibly tender:—"I went upon a hill and followed his wagon for about half an hour with my eyes, when it sinking behind the mountains, I lost sight of him to see him no more!"

Left alone, distressed and dejected, he found his comfort in his work, and that very night he had the hope, that when speaking in the fulness of his heart from Eccles. iii. 10., a subject his own case had suggested, that his sermon was blessed to two poor ignorant Hottentot women. He was still further encouraged and strengthened, when within a few days Piet Prinslo came and attended divine worship, and seemed deeply impressed by what had been spoken. The king, too, entered his tent during the time they were at prayer, and after it was finished, said to Buys,—"He imagined one time or other he should be a Christian." In the evening, he supped in the missionary tent, and after he had regaled himself plentifully with the milk and the mutton, he threw himself down at the back of Vanderkemp, and prepared for sleep; but as soon as he perceived them at their evening's devotions, he rose, and with reverence, if not with understanding, joined them.

An appearance of a settlement and an assemblage of people, seems to have attracted the attention of the wolves, who visited the premises in troops and in solitary pairs. Their howlings were less to be dreaded than their silence. In the darkness of night they approached without observation, and sometimes were admitted within the precincts of the cattle fold, without suspicion, as the dogs of the inhabitants. Frequently does Dr. Vanderkemp acknowledge with gratitude his deliverance from these ravenous animals. At one time two came so near, that he had almost caressed them as his own domestics; at another, they carried off a shirt and the leg of an ox from his tent door. The tiger-wolf was very audacious, of which the missionary journal gives several specimens. A huge animal of this species having seized a sucking calf near the missionary tent, the mother ran to its rescue. The ravener resisted, when a number of kine ran to the aid of their friend, and forced the depradator to let go its prey. The thief, when killed, measured five feet from the snout to the tail, which was not above six inches. Another laid hold on a calf by the foot; and when a general turn out was made to retrieve the captive, a second came up as an auxiliary, and the two fought a short battle, and, but for numbers, would have overcome their assailants. Repeatedly the straps and cordage of the tents were destroyed by these beasts, who almost every night contrived to catch hold of at least one sheep.

Yet the savage men were more to be dreaded than the savage animals. Often were their lives in danger; and their safety can be attributed to nothing but the superintending Providence of God. Among many instances of the refugees who fell victims to their treachery, the case of Bota may serve as an example. It must, however, again be repeated, that the villany of the colonists led the way to the descent of the Caffres. Bota, who had wished to return to his home, after much solicitation, received the reluctant acquiescence of Gika, who gave him a guide to conduct him and his family to the border. The party had scarcely proceeded one day's journey, when they were ordered to stop. They did so, and a Caffre requested Bota's knife, which he gave him. This appears to have been the appointed sign; for instantly a number of other Caffres started up from behind the bushes, and threw their assagais at him. The first pierced his side, and was drawn out by Mrs. Bota; the next he pulled out himself; but the savages advancing, thrust him repeatedly through the body, and he sunk lifeless into the arms of his wife. They then burned his wagon, and took possession of his cattle, which they brought to Gika. The king disapproved of the action, but kept the spoil.

Several conspiracies were formed against the life of Vanderkemp, who was advised by Mr. Buys, a Dutch refugee colonist, to quit that part of the country; but he had determined not to leave the station in which he believed Providence had placed him, without a decided necessity. On another occasion, he mentions, that Mr. Buys and his associates, being informed that the Caffres intended to kill them, came to him in great terror; "but I found," he adds, "that God comforted me in a remarkable manner. I viewed Jesus to be the king of the heathens, who were not able to touch me, without his will; in which I was enabled to acquiesce by his grace, and I slept this night in the arms of his love in peace and safety, while they spent it in great fear and trouble."

But perhaps the most dangerous plot was one of the king's against him. Gika had ordered them to break up their settlement,—with which they complied, and approached nearer the Debe, where he said he wished them to remain. Here the king came to them, and about fifty Caffres and Hottentots with him,—having only a single kiri, or assagai, in their hands; but about two hundred more lay round about the place, completely armed, and ready to execute any of his commands. He told Mr. Bays that the Hottentots had induced him to treat them as his enemies, who had formed some mischievous scheme against him; but by their coming to him so readily, he was now convinced this accusation must be untrue. It turned out, however, that this pretext was entirely false, and that he really had intended to destroy them, though for the present he had suspended the execution of his plan; and one of his captains upbraided him openly before Dr. Vanderkemp with his treachery.

A more gratifying circumstance occurred a few days after. In going to Appolonia's kraal, he had the pleasure of hearing Piet Prinslo, his former enemy, engaged in preaching the gospel to some Gonka Hottentots. He had been brought under strong impressions while hearing a sermon of Dr. Vanderkemp, and now requested him to continue the same subject, while he acted as interpreter. His hearers seemed to feel the importance of the truths delivered, and he wished to remain among them, but Gika refused him permission; and, leaving the Debe, he halted at the river Keisskamma.

Here Mr. Buys left, on a journey to the colony, and carried letters from him to his friends; and here he was visited by several Hottentots who understood Dutch, to whom he spoke of the word of life, and prayed with them; and of some he began to have good hopes: in particular, one named Sarah, who, on this account, became an object of contempt to her neighbours, and to whom the following incident relates. She was in great distress for want of food, having killed and eaten her last cow. The missionary, in order that he might relieve her, requested one of the colonists to sell him two sheep; but he, suspecting the purpose for which they were intended, refused to part with one, until he knew how they were to be disposed of. Dr. Vanderkemp then represented to him the miserable condition of the poor woman, when he flatly refused to sell him the sheep; and the Doctor endeavoured to comfort her, by showing the providential care of God for his people. Knowing, however, that her wants were urgent, he next day offered her some old iron, that she might try and obtain from the Caffres some corn or a cow; but she told him that unexpectedly the colonist had sent to let her know that thirteen of his sheep had tumbled over a precipice and were killed, and that she might now go and take them. Thus she received not only a supply of food, but also of skins for covering to herself and her little ones.

Not long after this, some woman told her instructor that she incessantly prayed to Jesus that he might reveal himself to her soul, and teach her what she ought to know. His remarks on this show the intense zeal with which he was inspired: "This filled my heart with joy; and I prayed the Lord that it might please him to accompany the unworthy efforts of his vile servant with the influences of his Spirit. And, Oh! how did my soul rejoice that the Lord had given me, in this wilderness, among tigers and wolves, and at such a distance from Christians, a poor heathen woman, with whom I could converse confidentially of the mysteries of the hidden communion with Christ! Oh! that I may not be deceived! Lo! my winter is passed! The voice of a turtle is already heard in the land!"—A few others, chiefly women, were added.

Some English deserters arrived at Keisskamma, while the Doctor abode there, and afforded an example of the little advantage that is to be gained by a residence among savages, even if escaping from military discipline. They had two horses, which the king desired to buy. To this, after considerable reluctance, they consented; but delaying to deliver them, Gika sent twice, and they at length sent the animals to him. He immediately took the horses from them, robbed one of them of his hat, and cut the buttons from their jackets; and when they asked for two of them back, he showed them a tree to hang them on. At which intimation they were glad to flee for their lives. Yet, about the same time, one of two young Caffres, who were watching cattle during a severe night, having been killed by wolves, Gika ordered the person who had sent out the boy to pay to his parents seven cows and two oxen;—so capricious is barbaric justice.

The colonist refugees who still remained in Caffraria, being tortured by fears, which they did not think Gika's character calculated to remove, informed Dr. Vanderkemp of their intention of returning to the colony, and requested him to accompany them. To this he was very averse. If he were to accompany them, he must give up his mission among Gika's Caffres, who would certainly turn his enemies, should he join the colonists in their flight; yet, if he remained, he must part with the heathen belonging to their families, who earnestly requested that he would not leave them helpless, and among whom the work of God began to appear. In addition, he had just received intelligence, that the two missionaries, who were appointed by lot his assistants in Caffre-land, were prevented by the governor from joining him, on account of the very unsettled state of the country, which presented for the time very formidable obstacles to the pursuits of the missionary. His affection for his young converts prevailed; and at last he agreed to set out with the party. He left Caffraria on the 31st December, 1800, after having spent upwards of sixteen months in the country.

Proceeding northward, on the 1st of January they passed a steep mountain, which forms the boundary between Caffraria and the eastern Bushmen, who are the terror of the Caffres; and next day crossed the Goboussi, when Dr. Vanderkemp had a narrow escape. The bed of the river is full of large stones, and the current rapid. His horse being terrified by the noise of the stream, refused to enter it, when he alighted, and endeavoured to force it, leading him by the bridle, but, slipping from the stones, was immersed to the shoulders. By his fall the horse was pulled forward, and advanced upon him, and had nearly trampled him under his feet, when he was extricated from his perilous situation. The company consisted in all of fifty-nine persons, men, women, and children, of various nations and descriptions, with three wagons and a cart, above three hundred cattle, besides goats and sheep, and about twenty-five horses. The numbers of wild beasts in the country were prodigious; and they were exposed to the attacks of the Bushmen, which rendered their situation exceedingly dangerous, as, through dread of exposing themselves to their arrows, they durst not kindle a fire to keep off the lions.

Entering a wood, they encamped near a stream, and rested; and the missionary resumed his regular labours of preaching and instructing the people,—abattis being formed to protect them and their cattle. Three of their people, two Hottentots and a Caffre, however, departed from their entrenchment, and ran away, carrying five horses with them. They were found next morning, all three, at no great distance, barbarously murdered by the Bushmen, who appeared in great numbers, whistling and shouting. Considering their present unsafe situation, the travellers moved two days' journey across a vast plain, and encamped on the right bank of a large and deep river, in a fertile field of excellent grass, and different eatable roots. Here the doctor baptized two women, with their families, and despatched a letter to the governor, requesting, that if he still considered it improper to suffer the two missionaries to proceed to Caffre-land, he would allow them to come as far as Turka, where he would endeavour to meet them, and consult about their future operations.

Among the causes which contributed to prevent the civilization of Southern Africa, none operated so powerfully as the conduct of the colonists, both to the heathen within and without the colony. This has been attempted to be denied by some writers; but the undoubted testimony of the missionaries remains uninvalidated. It has been among the advantages which has attended missionary labours, that the characters of these men have been wonderfully improved; and many of the opponents of all schemes for ameliorating the condition of the Hottentots, and numbers of their descendents, are now to be numbered among their supporters. But what they were in 1801, will appear from some schemes of depredation which they formed, even under the eye of the missionary. A disease, which is common in the colony, in the decline of summer, among the horses, was discovered among those belonging to the refugee Boors. Five of them had died, and all were sick. As this disease was not known in Caffraria, they sent the sick to a very high mountain in the neighbourhood. And Dr. Vanderkemp found, upon dissection, that the distemper was inflammation of the intestines, and advised bleeding profusely in the beginning of the disease. On the third day, when they sent to the mountain to bleed the animals, they found them all recovered. But they encountered a more dreadful disaster. The Bushmen came upon them. One Hottentot came running down from the mountain, wounded in several parts of the body. He vomited—was vertiginous, and while he spoke, fell down at Dr. Vanderkemp's feet, and expired. Another was also wounded, who dropped dead before he could reach the camp. Their wounds were only superficial, yet death ensued within a quarter of an hour. These desperate men also killed fourteen horses; these died still sooner of their wounds than the men.

"In this," remarks the doctor in his journal, "the hand of the Lord over-ruling their schemes was very visible. They had intended to penetrate to the Tamboockis, and rob them of their cattle; but the very day fixed for their departure, the Lord sent a sudden mortality among their horses, by which they were forced to lay aside this wicked design, till they could procure fresh ones; for which purpose, they proposed to shoot an elephant, and to send one of their number to Gika with its tusks, as a present, while another, with some English deserters, should follow him into Caffre-land, and steal Gika's horses. As soon as this nefarious plan was settled, the Lord sent a handful of Bushmen to frighten them, and kill almost all the remaining horses. This deterred them from remaining in such a dangerous neighbourhood, and determined them to draw nearer the colony."

Those now under instruction, in the midst of such scenes, were one English brother and three Hottentot sisters, two Hottentot women, not yet baptized, two Christian boys, two Bastard boys, and four Bastard girls, one Tambooki boy, one Caffre girl, one Hottentot boy, and three Hottentot girls; in all twenty.

From this place he sent a letter to Mr. Vanderwalt requesting a wagon to convey him and baggage to Turka; and continuing their route, entered the territory of the colony, where he was met by Mr. Buys, who brought him a very friendly letter from Mr. Vanderwalt, and information of the arrival of his two missionary companions at Graaf Reinet. Shortly after, the wagon arrived, which conveyed him in a few days to that station. He speaks with gratitude of the desire of the people by the road to hear, and of the opportunities afforded him for preaching the gospel. At some places, whe e he arrived late in the evening, the people came out of their beds; and he continued till midnight expounding the Scriptures. At Graaf Reinet, to his inexpressible joy, he found his brethren Vanderlingen and Read comfortably lodged in a house belonging to the church of the village, and entertained by the commissioner Maynier, who showed them uncommon civilities; and informed Dr. Vanderkemp that a regard for his safety had alone prevented a body of soldiers being sent to Caffraria to seize the emigrant colonists, as he thought that might have been endangered by so violent a step. And he was told afterwards, by some Caffres, who were sent by Gika to the colony, that Buys, who pretended so much friendship, had endeavoured to stir up the king's mind against him, but that the latter had always resisted his designs, and was sorry he had lost him. He also learned that Buys had not only kept the cows which he had refused as the purchase of rain, but had also extorted more cattle from Gika in his name, telling the king, that he could not give so much rain to the country at so low a price!

CHAP. VII.

Missionaries labour at Graaf Reinet—Discontent of the Boors at the instruction of the Hottentots—They rise in arms—Their demands—Hostile demonstrations—Dr. Vanderkemp acts as mediator—A truce—Vanderkemp and Read go on an embassy to the Caffre chief Gika—Particulars of their journey—Return to Graaf Reinet—Misrepresented—Boors again rebel—Attack Graaf Reinet—Dr. Vanderkemp shot at—Pleads the cause of the Hottentots—Governor Dundas encourages him to form a missionary settlement within the colony—His views of the state of the aborigines—Plan of a settlement—Approved by the governor—Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Ried prepare to leave Graaf Reinet—Generosity of British officers—Journey of the missionaries to Algoa Bay—Interview with Klaas Stuurman—Obtain possession of Boto's farm—Dr. Vanderkemp employed to negotiate with the Hottentots—Prevails on Klaas Stuurman to make peace—Colonists attack Hottentots and Caffres—Traduce the missionaries—Klaas Stuurman; his noble reply—Barrow's account of the patriotic chief—Boors defeated and dispersed by the Hottentots and Caffres—Critical situation of the missionaries—British prepare to leave the country—General Dundas's solicitude about the missionaries—His kind offices—Attacks upon the settlement—Institution seeks refuge in Fort Frederic—State of the mission—Arrival of the Dutch.

Shut out for the present from Caffraria, the missionaries sedulously employed themselves among the inhabitants of Graaf Reinet, the slaves, and the neighbouring Hottentots. But here greater and more imminent perils awaited them. By permission of the commissioner, Mr. Maynier, the Hottentots were invited, by the ringing of the bell, to assemble every evening, in the public church, for worship and instruction. And on the first night, when Dr. Vanderkemp preached, about two hundred were present. Immediately, Mr. Read and he began a school for teaching the Hottentots reading and writing; and numbers flocked to the place, not only to obtain instruction, but to escape from the tyranny of the Boors, whose rage was now greatly increased, by these benevolent attempts to elevate the character of these unfortunate people. The consequence was a threatening insurrection. The Boors were, in general, averse to the British government, because they had shown a disposition to favour the despised Hottentots, and patronize the missionaries,—crimes in their eyes for which no protection afforded to themselves could atone. And their dissatisfaction could now be no longer repressed. A number of them, with about three hundred wagons, left their farms, and assembled in arms at Zwagershoek, murmuring against the instruction of the heathen. All was alarm. The inhabitants of Graaf Reinet were told that they intended to come and burn the village; and many of the nearest inhabitants of the country fled from their homes. When Mr. Jacobs was sent to inquire the reason of their conduct, they alleged some aggressions of the Caffres; but their chief complaints were the treatment of the Hottentots, their admission into the church, their instruction in reading and writing, and religion, which seemed to admit them to an equality in the scale of rational existence with themselves,—an idea not once to be endured. They, at the same time, most unwarrantably charged government with having protected the Hottentots and Caffres, and encouraged them to rob them.

As the insurgents approached, the inhabitants were afraid lest they should fall upon the village while they were at church, and therefore they attended divine service in arms; but several of the whites showed openly their disaffection. The commissioner's whole force consisted of one officer and twenty-one light dragoons, eighty armed Hottentots, nineteen Pandours, four pieces of ordnance, and a few inhabitants to work them. The rebels, whose numbers report had greatly exaggerated, did not much exceed three hundred, advancing on horseback, halted about gunshot from the village, and sent a messenger to the commissioner, whose troops were in array, and prepared to meet them. He ordered them to lay down their arms, and state their complaints, which he was ready to settle with them in a peaceable manner. They refused the first condition; and as for the second, they complained of the admission of the Hottentots into the church, and desired that the seats should be washed, the pavement broken up, the pulpit covered with black cloth, as a demonstration of mourning, and the church-yard fenced by a stone wall. They also demanded that those Hottentots who had murdered their relations, should be delivered into their hands. The missionaries immediately signified their readiness to retire with their heathen from the church, and to meet at another house, where the colonists might have access when they chose; but Dr. Vanderkemp, who had been twice requested to accept of the charge, assured him that he would never preach in a church from which the heathen congregation were excluded. The commissioner then consented to exclude the heathen from the church, which they might purify as they pleased; and that those Hottentots whom they could point out as murderers, should be arrested and tried according to the laws of the country, but not given into the hands of their accusers without any proof of their crime.

Towards evening, Mr. Lyndon, commander of the troops, desired the rebels to withdraw to a certain distance from the village, and send in their resolution next morning. They accordingly withdrew; but in the morning returned to their former ground, whence they returned for answer, that they were not at all satisfied with Mr. Maynier's propositions, but would procure themselves redress by those means which they had in their power. Mr. Lyndon sent them notice, that he agreed to allow them till one o'clock to come to an amicable arrangement with the commissioner; but declared, so soon as that time had elapsed, he would attack them. Upon this, the inhabitants of the village laid down their arms, declaring they would not fight against their countrymen. The Hottentots were resolute for the fight, and marched out with great spirit. The missionaries had resolved to stay at home and unite in prayer; but seeing their Hottentots departing, they followed unarmed. After some hostile demonstrations, the rebels sent, requesting three days to deliberate; but Mr. Lyndon refused, and assured them he would attack at the stipulated time; upon which they moved off, saying they meant to return again, to see if Mr. Maynier had performed his promises.

As the field-commander, Vanderwalt, one of the chiefs of the rebels, had always expressed the greatest friendship for Dr. Vanderkemp, he wrote him a letter, but received no answer; and within three days the rebels again advanced. He therefore, at the request of Mr. Maynier, who wished to avoid bloodshed, went out to the insurgents to try if he could act as mediator. He found them, at half an hour's distance placed behind a hill, on whose summit their advanced guard, of about forty horse, was posted. They received him in a friendly manner, and told him they were not assembled to commit any violence, but only to deliberate on their present circumstances. They said they would be content with the proposals of Mr. Maynier, and signify to him personally, if they could depend upon his promises, and that their former steps should be forgiven. Of this he assured him in the strongest terms: and when they expressed their fears, that if they sent any of their number to Graaf Reinet they would be killed, he offered to remain himself as a hostage for their safety. His magnanimous exertions were crowned with success; the two rebel chiefs, Henry Ronsburg and John Vanderwalt, accompanied him to the commissioners, where, for the present, an amicable arrangement was agreed upon.

Amid this hostile bustle the missionaries pursued unweariedly their peaceful occupations, and had the pleasure to observe that their exertions were not in vain. Inquirers increased; and the children of the school became so numerous that they printed a spelling table for their use, whilst they prepared a more complete introductory book. Their conduct and principles had inspired so much respect, that a chief of the wandering Hottentots, Klaas Stuurman, or Nicolas the Helmsman, famous for his exploits in behalf of his countrymen, sent them a request to come and settle at Zwartkop's river, that he and his people might be told the good news about Christ; but as their hands were at the time sufficiently employed, and they still looked anxiously forward to Caffreland, they declined compliance.

About the end of the year, Gika sent two Caffres to inform commissioner Maynier, that, in compliance with his proposals, he was willing to come into the colony, in order to have a personal intercourse with him, if Tink-hanna would come and conduct him to Graaf Reinet. He, accordingly, accompanied by Mr. Read, immediately set out for Caffraria, on the borders of which Gika had promised to wait for them; but, upon their arrival, they found he had departed and was gone farther into the country, whither they followed. "His majesty" received them kindly, but excused himself from accompanying them to the colony, as his circumstances would not permit him to leave his own land. He said, however, he should be happy if they felt inclined to live again in his country; that he himself was willing to receive instruction, and such of his people as were not disposed to follow his example, might let it alone. He expressed his desire of maintaining peace with the colony; and complained strongly of the conduct of the Boors who had emigrated. Having received several presents, he offered to exchange a cow for a dog belonging to one of the Hottentots;—which being agreed to, Dr. Vanderkemp observed to him, that it was an old dog, without teeth, and good for nothing. He replied, he liked the dog, and would give in return a cow without teeth! He sent, however, a young cow and a calf, with an ox, as a present to the commissioner's son, and a cow for food. They then separated, Gika for his mother's habitation, and the embassy returned to the colony. Thus ended the first attempt to evangelize the Caffres, which, although apparently of no great immediate success, yet prepared the way for future missionaries, and was thus productive of much subsequent advantage.

Four days did they travel through the border district, which before the present disturbance had been reckoned the most fertile and populous part of the colony, but was now a land of desolation, and without inhabitants. When they halted at the farm of a friendly peasant, Gerrit Koetze, they found him also much dejected, and preparing to leave the country. Vanderkemp, whose feeling soul had been torn with anguish, almost from the day he entered the interior, at beholding the degraded state and cruel usage of the Hottentots by the Boors, became their most active and unceasing advocate; and although he fell on the field before the victory was achieved, had the honour of leading the way to the final emancipation of the enslaved aborigines. Upon this occasion, he addressed the farmer and his family with great earnestness and freedom, in a discourse from Rom. xi. 20—22. And told them that he believed firmly the hand of God was heavy upon them for neglecting and opposing the teaching of the heathen living in the midst of them. Next day, he addressed both the family and the heathen, whom he desired to be called in; and before he departed, his friend promised that he would continue with them in family worship.

Calumny and misrepresentation were never more busily employed, than with regard to this good man. While he lived, not only the Boors, but even the best of the people, were strongly prejudiced against him, and represented him to two assistants, who came to labour in the same work, as guilty of the most scandalous enormities, and entirely given over to Satan. The rebels, who were again in arms, seized this opportunity to circulate an address among their countrymen, asserting that his late benevolent visit to Gika was to stir him up against them, and invited them to join the insurrectional troops and march to Graaf Reinet and destroy it; and they made the attempt. At half-past five in the morning, when the venerable missionary went to the water to wash some linen—for even this he had to do for himself—he was surprised to observe a crowd of terrified Hottentot women and children running from their kraals to the barracks; and, looking up, perceived that the rebels had surrounded the village, and were advancing from every quarter. At the same moment, the great guns of the barracks and redoubt opened upon them, and they as briskly returned the fire. A party of them then made their way into the town, and took possession of some houses, but were soon compelled to retire; yet not till a few houses, together with the prison, were involved in flames.

Orders having been given to level one or two others, which formed an obstruction to the operations of the garrison, Dr. Vanderkemp went to the redoubt to obtain their repeal; and both in going and returning, the rebels fired repeatedly at him, but providentially missed. Next morning the rebels returned. Dr. Vanderkemp seized this opportunity of freely expressing his opinion, in a conversation with the commissioner, respecting the state of the Hottentot nation, and urged the injustice of the Hottentots being forced to serve the colonists,—that they should be equally free, and land allotted to them by government, to be held in complete possession,—a poor boon in a country their forefathers called their own. But the possession of the Cape by the British was merely considered as temporary; and, however well inclined, the governors did not deem it proper to venture on this act of justice.

One step, however, and that no unimportant one in its consequences, took place. Dr. Vanderkemp received a letter from Governor Dundas, informing him that he was at liberty to take any piece of ground, in the gift of government, for the erection of a missionary establishment, and expressed a wish to know his opinion on that subject. In name of himself and fellow-witnesses, he replied:—"We were witnesses of the deplorable and wretched condition into which the Hottentot nation is sunk, for want of food, instruction, liberty, useful employments, and a spot which they, under the superintendence of government, might, in some measure call their own home.

"I am speaking of their condition at Graaf Reinet, the very place to which numbers of them, by the present circumstances, are compelled to repair to as an asylum, where they may be nourished at the expense of government, while a still greater number profess to shelter themselves among the Caffres on this side of the great Fish river, against the barbarities of the colonists. Among this number are found the hordes of Klass Stuurman and Ourson, who repeatedly requested me to come to them to instruct them, but constantly refused to settle themselves at or in the proximity of Graaff Reinet. The consequences of such a condition can be no other than idleness, poverty, or enormous expenses to entertain them,—an aversion and actual separation from civilized society,—vices of every kind, which may end in plunder, murder, and irregularities of a different nature, but all tending to reverse the happiness and usefulness of that nation, and the safety of the colony.

"These reflections have induced us to suspend for a while our missionary attempts among the Caffres and Bushmen, and to devote ourselves to the instruction of the Hottentots in this village, that we might be made instrumental to afford them spiritual blessings, till it should please the Lord, by sending us a sufficient number of missionary brethren for our help, to enable us to re-establish the Caffre mission, and for an establishment near the great river, for the use of the Bushmen. And though it was not in our power to alleviate the temporal calamities of the Hottentots, we hoped and trusted that the Lord would, in his own time, open a way to answer also in this respect our ardent wishes.

"This seems, in the way of Providence, to have been reserved for you, sir; and it is with thanksgiving to God, and of acknowledgment of my obligations to your excellency, that I proceed to submit my ideas, and those of my brother Read, (Vanderlingen being absent,) after having consulted Mr. Maynier, to your excellency's decision.

"1st, It appears to us desirable that our missionary settlement should be formed between the Bushmen river and Algoa bay, at a moderate distance from Fort Frederic; and if a proper supply of water may be procured there, which for the present is doubtful, on the banks of the Sundy river.

"2d, The chief object and aim of the missionaries, under whose direction this settlement shall be established, ought to be to promote the knowledge of Christ and the practice of real piety, both by instruction and example, among the Hottentots and other heathen, who shall be admitted and formed into a regular society; and, in the second place, the temporal happiness and usefulness of this society, with respect to the country at large.

"3d, Into this society those only ought to be admitted who will engage themselves to live according to the rules of its institution.

"4th, The actual admission into and expulsion from this society, shall entirely depend upon the judgment of the missionaries; but it seems necessary, that of those who shall have lived in the families of colonists, none shall be considered admissible but such as shall procure a written declaration of their admissibility, signed by the landrost of the district where they have lived.

"5th, As we by no means wish to counteract, but, on the contrary, to promote as much as possible, the labours of our Moravian brethren, we are resolved not to admit any individual belonging to their institution, unless it be with their express permission, and at their request. We hope to be equally cautious in respect to other missionary institutions which may in future times be formed within this colony.

"6th, As we are of opinion, that the rule laid down by Paul,—'That if any man would not work, neither should he eat,' ought to be strictly observed in every Christian society, our intention is to discourage idleness and laziness, and to have the individuals of our institution, as much as circumstances will admit, employed in different useful occupations, for the cultivation of their rational faculties, or exercise of the body, as means of subsistence, and of promoting the welfare of this society, and the colony at large. These occupations may be referred either to agriculture or farming, the management of cattle, or mechanical arts, and little manufactories, *e. g.* soap-boiling, candle-making, spinning of thread, manufactories of paper, tanning, pot-making, brick-making, turning, &c.

"7th, As the introduction of these employments will involve the European missionary societies in considerable expenses, the workmen should be considered as journeymen in the service of the Society, and be paid weekly for their labour; but the products of their labour should be the property of the Society, and sold for its benefit. The fund, however, arising from the sale of these articles, shall be entirely devoted for charitable institutions of a missionary nature, among the heathen, *e. g.* the erection of other missionary settlements, an orphan house, in which abandoned and fatherless children may be educated, or the subsistence of the sick, old, or poor. By these measures we intend not to preclude any one who, by his industry and diligence shall be enabled to elevate himself above the class of journeyman, from becoming a master and proprietor in his own business.

"8th, Should the settlement, which is to be put under the direction of two missionaries and a school-master, increase to a greater number than can be directed by three missionaries and two school-masters, it appears better to divide it into two distinct settlements, to be placed in different parts of the country, than to extend it beyond the limits mentioned.

"9th, Good order and domestic discipline is to be maintained by the missionaries themselves. The settlers are to be divided as Christians, catechumens, and hearers. By the last we understand heathen, who will flock to us to hear the word of God. By catechumens, heathen who are more particularly under our inspection and care, instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, and submit to ecclesiastical discipline. Christians are those who bring forth fruits of conversion, and be by baptism instituted as members of the church.

"10th, We have no severer punishment than excommunication from the church, and expulsion from the society. If we shall be compelled to proceed to this last step, we shall think it our duty to acquaint the landrost of the district with the case. Should any of the settlers be accused of a crime against the laws of the country, we shall think it likewise our duty to inform the landrost of the fact, that justice may be administered by the court to whose cognizance the crime belongs; and no malefactor shall find a shelter within our walls.

"11th, As your excellency cannot be indifferent with respect to the state and progress of the institution, we suppose that it will please your excellency to accept at least once a year a report of its state in detail, by a list, pointing out the number, names, qualities, occupations, and other circumstances of the members, according to a model which shall be approved by your excellency.

"12th, Our ideas respecting the polygamy of the heathen exactly correspond with those of the Moravian brethren.

"13th, As to the protection which we may expect from your excellency, we entirely trust to your excellency's declared resolution to favour our missionary exertions, and request that we may enjoy the same protection and privileges which are granted to the brethren in the Bavian's Kloof. The state of our congregation, formed out of Hottentots, and a few of other nations at Graaf Reinet, is such that it shall be necessary to leave an individual missionary in that village, for the instruction of those who shall, by their circumstances, be constrained to reside at this place. The number of children in our reading school amounts to one hundred and twelve, of whom, however, seldom more than seventy are present. We have been obliged to print a spelling-book for their use, and we hope that your excellency will permit us to print and to sell little school-books, for the benefit of the future establishment, and to educate some of our young men in the art of printing, as a peculiar branch of their employment.

"The commissioner Maynier favours our undertaking here with all his power, and has given us a place to build an hall upon, which may serve for a meeting-house, school-room, and a dwelling-place for the missionary."

General Dundas, whose liberal and enlightened views accorded with those of the missionaries, immediately transmitted the following letter of approval.

"Sir,—I have only time, by the present opportunity, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated Nov. 11, containing some heads of a plan of a Hottentot establishment, which I am desirous to encourage, seeing the necessity of endeavouring to ameliorate the spiritual and temporal condition of those unhappy people, whom, upon every principle of humanity and justice, government is bound to protect.

"I have only to add, that in my opinion the banks of Loeric, or Van Slade's river, is the preferable situation for their establishment, thinking it by no means advisable to place them in the vicinity of the Caffres.

"The secretary of the colony has this day received my directions to acquaint the landrost with my wishes upon this subject, being extremely anxious that this plan should be carried into effect as soon as possible, and the Hottentots moved towards their proposed establishment without delay, where every reasonable assistance at the outset, to enable them hereafter to provide themselves with provisions and other necessaries, it is my intention to afford them at the expense of the colony.

"In expectation of hearing again from you upon the subject of this praiseworthy and benevolent undertaking, together with such particulars relative to it as you may think it necessary to give, I have, &c. (Signed) Francis Dundas."

Not content, however, with one letter, his excellency, fully sensible of the vast importance, repeatedly, within the short space of a month, urged the immediate commencement of the undertaking; and he even anticipated the proposals of the missionaries, by sending a ship laden with rice and other necessary articles to Algoa bay. Neither were they, on their part, slack in the business. Mr. Read was immediately sent to Algoa bay, to inspect the country, and to choose a proper spot for the settlement, while Dr. Vanderkemp remained to make the final arrangements for quitting Graaf Reinet. By the laws or customs of the Cape, slaves could not be baptized without the permission of their masters, who were not permitted to sell any Christian; in consequence of which, the missionaries had not been allowed to baptize some of whose belief of the gospel they had no doubt, particularly two, Cupido, who had already shown himself a zealous preacher among his fellows, and Susanna, whose conduct and knowledge were worthy of her profession. With these Dr. Vanderkemp, before leaving, partook of the Lord's-supper, against which there was no law. Before they left, however, they had an opportunity of contrasting the liberality of some of the professing Christians there with the generosity of British soldiers. The church-council gave the missionaries notice to quit a house they had hired of the church, as soon as possible; which, when Major Sherlock and some of a detachment which had come to reinforce the garrison, heard, they waited upon Dr. Vanderkemp, and said—"These men have ordered you to give up the house, because they are embittered against you on account of the heathen; they know that you will not find in all this place a room convenient for keeping meetings and a school for the Hottentots; and by that means they suppose you will be forced to give up instructing them. We will hire the house for one quarter, but will make no other use of it than to beg you to stay and keep school in it as long as you think proper, and we will pay the rent." He thanked the gentlemen for their extraordinary kindness, but as they were badly lodged, and he had procured a place which could answer his purpose, declined their handsome offer.

Their preparations being completed, the missionaries, Vanderkemp and Read, departed from Graaf Reinet on the 20th of February, with one hundred and nine Hottentots, leaving Mr. Vanderlingen at the place, with forty under his care. During the four first days of their march, their number increased to two hundred and twenty-one, but when about half way. Captain Weddeman, with forty of his Hottentots left them. This loss was partly repaired by sixteen wanderers, whom they found among the mountains: but on their arrival at Zwartkop's river, Klaas Stuurman induced a hundred of their people to follow him, by reporting that there was an assemblage of Boors at a farm they had to pass, wanting to intercept and destroy them. This farm was the only one between Gamtoo's river and Zwartkop which had escaped the vengeance of that formidable captain; and it he was advancing to attack. When reasoned with by the missionaries, he replied he was determined to revenge himself on the Boors for their barbarous treatment of his people, till government could or would do him justice: adding, "We are blind heathens and know nothing, and in this state the Boors wish to keep us."

Of the whole number who set out with them, only seventy-eight arrived at Algoa bay, March 7. The officer commanding Fort Frederick, who had only general instructions, put them in possession of Bota's farm, seven miles west from the fort, and three miles from the bay. "Whether we shall stay here," say they in their journal, "or have another place given us, is quite uncertain, though the former appears the most probable. We have requested it, as its vicinity to the bay is the only objection we have: but this has its advantages. Want of water seemed at first a great obstacle, but by digging wells we find this want amply supplied. The number of people, from those who have joined us at the bay, now amounts to about one hundred and sixty; but we have every reason to expect a great increase. The governor has engaged to supply us with provisions for the first year, after which he hopes they will be able, from industry, to provide for themselves."

Besides abundance of grass, timber, and limestone, the missionaries found on the farm a dwelling-house of three rooms, another fit for a church and school, and a third, which they turned into a printing office. To each of the settlers they gave eight hundred square paces of land, to build a house and make a kitchen garden. Their mode of instruction, which they immediately began, was—Every morning and evening a meeting in the school for worship, in which a chapter of the Scriptures was read and explained. Twice a day they met for lessons in reading and writing. On Wednesdays and Saturdays the natives were catechised, afternoon and evening. They had not, however, long resided in their new situation, till they found a very important drawback from their advantages. The people became subject to intermittent agues, and other diseases,—the effects of stagnated water in their neighbourhood. Dr. Vanderkemp was among the sufferers; and an ague was followed by severe rheumatism, which confined him to bed for eleven months. But the energies of his mind were not weakened; and in circumstances the most trying, he showed that the spirit of a man could sustain his infirmities.

Employed in promoting the spiritual benefit of the colonists, he was unwearied in likewise seeking their temporal advantage; and, had his counsels been followed, the interior would soon have assumed the lively appearance of a well cultivated field, and a happy and peaceful population. He stood high in the estimation of the heathen: the Boors expressed their respect for his talents, by the unrelenting hatred they bore him. General Dundas, who was fully aware of his importance, employed him to negotiate with the hostile tribes; and he persuaded Klaas Stuurman to declare for peace, and accept of the advantageous offers made him by government; which offended some of the other chiefs of the plundering Hottentots so much, that they not only attacked Klaas, deprived him of his people, cattle, and arms, but also threatened the missionaries, as the authors of his desertion. Stuurman fled to Conga, a chief of the Caffres, on this side of the Great Fish river, who gave him shelter, and informed Dr. Vanderkemp that he approved of the captain's conduct.

Meanwhile, the governor had caused a strong detachment of colonists, commanded by the famous Tjaard Vanderwalt, to be marched into this region against the plundering Caffres and Hottentots,—after he had issued a proclamation, that those who would leave the plundering tribes and go to Graaf-Reinet, Fort Frederick, or into the institution at Bota, should have protection and freedom. The detachment, however, attacked promiscuously the Caffres and Hottentots on this side of the Great Fish river. Looking upon this as pernicious to the rest of the colony, Dr. Vanderkemp gave his sentiments upon it with boldness; and wrote both to governor Dundas and the fiscal, Van Ryneveldt, that, according to his opinion, if the detachment proceeded in that manner, and were not recalled in time, it would occasion its own destruction, and that of all the colony. He urged also that Klaas Stuurman should be protected, and the promises made to him in the name of government fulfilled.

But it appeared from the answers he received from the governor, that he was prejudiced against that chief by his enemies, and suspected him of falsehood and fraud. The missionaries were also described by the colonist as men who favoured the plundering Hottentots and Caffres—maintained a connexion with them which was dangerous to the good inhabitants—and caused their institution to be a place of refuge for robbers and murderers. "The truth was," say the missionaries, "we never had had a connexion with any of the plundering hordes; but that we took into our institution those who separated themselves from these herdes, and who, from aversion to their former behaviour, came daily to us to hear the word of God, and to conduct themselves peaceably, according to our rules."

The consequence, however, of these misrepresentations was, that they received an order from government, prohibiting them from receiving more Hottentots, or entering into any connexion with the tribes at the Sondag river. By this order they were, to their great sorrow, forced to refuse many of these unfortunate people shelter, principally women and children, who yet chose rather to maintain themselves in the woods, among the brutes, than to return to their tribes.

Notwithstanding the manner in which their benevolent efforts were repaid, they did not remit them. They admonished Klaas Stuurman not to take any part in the hostilities between the farmers and Hottentots, and to convince the governor and his own enemies of his good faith by such behaviour. His reply was noble: he declared, "He would rather suffer injustice than break his word!" Barrow had an interview with this chief, and he represents him in a light equally favourable. On meeting a band of wandering Hottentots, he inquired the cause of their hostile appearance, when "one of them, named Klaas Stuurman, or Nicolas the Helmsman, whom they had selected for their chief, stepped forward, and after humbly entreating us to hear him out without interruption, began a long oration, which contained a history of their calamities and sufferings under the yoke of the Boors: their injustice in first depriving them of their country, and then forcing their offspring into a state of slavery: their cruel treatment on every slight occasion, which it became impossible for them to bear any longer: and the resolution they had therefore taken, to apply for redress before the Englsh troops should leave the country: that their employers, suspecting their intention, had endeavoured to prevent such application, by confining some to the house, threatening to shoot others if they attempted to escape, or to punish their wives and children in their absence. And in proof of what he advanced, he called out a young Hottentot, whose thigh had been pierced through with a large musket ball, but two days before, which had been fired at him by his master, for having attempted to leave his service. 'This act,' continued he, 'among many others equally cruel, resolved us at once to collect a sufficient force to deprive the Boors of their arms, at which we have succeeded at every house which fell in our way. We have taken their superfluous cloths in lieu of the wages due for our services; but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though,' added he, shaking his head, 'we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge!'"

Mr. Barrow proposed that Stuurman and his people should enter the British service, but stated a difficulty respecting the manner in which provision must be made for the aged the women, and the children. "Restore us," said the chief, "the country of which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask." "I endeavoured," continues Barrow, "to convince him how little advantage they were likely to derive from the possession of a country, without any other property, or the means of deriving a subsistence from it; but he had the better of the argument. 'We lived very contentedly,' said he, 'before the Dutch plunderers molested us, and why should we not do so again, if left to ourselves? Has not the *Groot Baas* (Great Master) given plenty of grass, roots, and berries, and grasshoppers for our use; and, till the Dutch destroyed them, abundance of wild animals to hunt? and will not they return and multiply when these destroyers are gone?" We prevailed upon Klaas to deliver up their arms, and, in the meantime to follow the troops until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare."

When Mr. Barrow and his military escort arrived at Algoa bay, he found the Boors with their families, amounting to one hundred and fifty, under the protection of the Fort; and their opponents, the Hottentots, to the number of five hundred, encamped on the open plain. His attempt to reconcile them was rendered abortive by the rebel Boors, who caused a report to be circulated among them, that the English intended to put them on board ship, and carry them to Cape-Town. Alarmed at which, many of the Hottentots fled, and sought refuge among the Caffres; and, uniting with that body who had renounced the authority of Gika, and were already exasperated against the Boors, they soon overran the whole district of Graaf Reinet, seizing the cattle, and burning the houses of the colonists,—many of whom paid the forfeit of their former brutality with their lives. Having defeated the Boors in the district of Uitenhage, and chased them to the Chamtoos River, they were met at Lochenberg's place by another body of colonists, commanded by Vanderwalt, where they obtained another victory, killed the leader, and dispersed his troops. Their progress to Cape-Town was only stopped by a body of British troops in conjunction with the colonists of Swellendam, who drove them back towards Algoa bay, where they seem to have separated into predatory bands.

In the midst of these distractions, the situation of the missionaries at Bota was extremely critical, as, besides the hatred of the farmers, they had now incurred the suspicions of the plundering Hottentots, who, averse to peace with the colonists, thought those their enemies who advised conciliation. Governor Dundas assisted them as much as in his power—he not only took care that they should not want for provisions, but supplied them with seed, corn, farming utensils, and whatever he thought would be necessary to forward the institution. But news had reached the Cape of the Peace of Amiens, and he was now preparing to leave the country.

Before doing so, he paid a visit to Algoa bay; and Dr. Vanderkemp being confined to bed, he kindly went to see him at Bota's place, to inquire what he could do to ensure their safety, as circumstances compelled him to transport the garrison from Fort Frederick to the Cape. He expressed his approbation of their proceedings, and promised to recommend them to the Dutch governor, who was soon expected. A few days after, he sent to the missionaries, expressing his wish to see Dr. Vanderkemp once more, or if he was unable to come, Mr. Read; but the Doctor caused himself to be carried on his bed, and had a parting interview with the governor. His excellency pressed them to remove with their institution into the fortress; but this they found themselves constrained to refuse: on which he urged them to go with him to the Cape, and defer their labours among the Hottentots till more favourable times. To this Vanderkemp replied, "That he hoped to remain faithful to the calling to which God had called him: that even if he knew he could save his life by leaving his flock, he would not fear to offer it for the least child among them;" and mentioned also what a powerful preserver God had already been to them. Mr. Read was equally devoted, and the governor desisted from further repeating the subject; but he left them as a present six thousand pounds of rice, six casks of salt beef, two hundred sheep, fifty-nine labouring oxen, eleven milch cows, ninety-six horned cattle, three wagons, a fish-net, a corn-mill, two corn-sieves, and a pair of smith's bellows, besides several agricultural implements.

Hardly eight days elapsed after the departure of the British, when a troop of plundering Hottentots attacked Bota's place at midnight, fired about fifty shots into the settlement, and drove away the whole of their cattle. To every friendly advance they replied by firing; and when one of the Hottentots spoke kindly to them, they cried,—"There comes a peace-maker—kill him—shoot him!" and he received a ball through his leg. Not content with their cattle, they meditated the murder of the inhabitants; and for this purpose assaulted their dwellings in Caffrarian method, by driving their oxen in front. But, fortunately, Mr. Read had laid some newly sawed plank in the passage between the houses, at which the animals took fright, and turned aside, leaving their drivers exposed. Compelled by self-defence, the Hottentots of the institution fired, but at random in the dark. One ball, however, directed by an unerring hand, wounded the chief in the thigh, and cut the artery through. The violent effusion of blood put an end to his life in a few minutes, and the assailants fled, leaving behind them all the cattle, except eighteen which had been driven away in the beginning of the attack. In the morning, the dead body was found, and recognized as that of Andrus Stuurman, the brother of Klaas. Such, however, was the general regard the Caffres had for Dr. Vanderkemp and the missionaries, that when Stuurman's troop returned, they put three of them to death for their conduct; and it was with difficulty Klaas escaped, although he had no hand in the business.

Next night, the institution was again surrounded by the plunderers, who, finding the cattle secured, and the place barricaded, withdrew; but, two days after, having got a reinforcement of Caffres, they attacked them openly in the middle of the day, as part of the cattle was driven to the pasture,—stabbed one of their wood-cutters,—and drove away the whole. Observing this, the Hottentots of the institution rushed upon them with fury,—put the assailants to flight,—and brought back all the cattle, except eight that had been wounded. The missionaries had always instructed their people that it was not the duty of a Christian to save his goods at the expense of his neighbour's life—that nothing but his own safety, or that of a third person, could authorize killing any one. They could not, however, understand this doctrine; and as their teachers saw that remaining in the open country in its then unsettled state, would lead to bloodshed and the defeat of their object, which was to gain the savages by soft and amiable behaviour, they withdrew the institution into Fort Frederick, till the government should be re-established. In this resolution they were encouraged and assisted by the colonists, who thought they would now make common cause with themselves; but when they found their mistake on this point, and that nothing could induce them to aid or even sanction their conduct towards the Hottentots, they did everything to render their situation uncomfortable, and their labours abortive. Unfortunately, the efforts of their enemies were too successful; and when they could not resort to force, they played a more mischievous game, by seducing the poor natives to the perpetration of vices which, however tolerated among men who call themselves Christians, could not be endured in a missionary establishment. The consequence was, that owing to these and other causes, the number of Hottentots, with their wives and children, which on the 18th of September, 1802, while they remained at Bota's place, amounted to three hundred and one, considerably diminished during their residence in Fort Frederick. But the missionaries add in their journal, that the preaching of the word was accompanied with the power of God's Spirit, and his holy arm revealed itself more and more in the conversion of many; they perceived a more general conviction of sin, and a sincere desire for Jesus Christ, chiefly among the children. "The number of the enlightened increasing," they continue, "we held every Sunday afternoon a particular meeting with them, in which we inquired after the proceedings of the work of grace in their hearts, by familiar conversation. We are, however, obliged to mention, that many who seemed in the beginning very zealous, afterwards returned to a state of indolence and insensibility." Although the Cape had been for some time delivered up to the Dutch, they did not occupy Fort Frederick till April 1803; and till that time, the missionaries remained in it, pursuing as they could their ordinary occupations.

CHAP. VIII.

Cruelties of the Boors—their hatred to Dr. Vanderkemp—Cape transferred to the Dutch—General Jansen arrives as governor—Treats the missionaries with kindness—Outrageous proposal of the colonists—Visits Dr. Vanderkemp—Gives him ground for the missionary institution—Has a conference with Klaas Stuurman—Receives ambassadors from the Caffre rebel chiefs—Description of a savage chieftain—Has an interview with the chiefs—Peace concluded between them and the colonists—King Gika, Lichstenstein's account of his appearance and manners—Receives rich presents from the Dutch—Concludes a peace—Conditions—Dr Mist's exertions to regulate the colony, and secure the freedom of the Hottentots—Renewal of the war—De Mist's journeying to Bavian's Kloof, now called Gnadenthal—To other missionary establishments—Accounts of these—His return to Cape-Town.

ANTICIPATING the restoration of the Cape to the Dutch, the Boors in the interior were guilty of the most cruel excesses:

they kidnapped the children of the poor Hottentots, and murdered their parents, and rejoiced in the prospect of soon having them reduced to a state of more abject slavery than ever. They had felt that when roused, or properly disciplined and led, they were not a people to be despised; but the lesson, instead of teaching them wisdom, had only inspired them with revenge. Enraged at all missionary attempts, that under Dr. Vanderkemp was the object of their most peculiar hatred. This philanthropic missionary they persecuted with an almost prophetic virulence, as if they had foreseen that he was mining the bulwarks of their tyranny, and shaking the most stable of its towers. But it so happened that he possessed every qualification that was calculated to render those attempts abortive, under which any ordinary missionary, without a miracle, would have sunk. In addition to his being a man of great superiority of talent, he had been the schoolfellow and the fellow-soldier of General Jansen, who was now appointed the governor of the Cape; and one of the General's first visits was to Algoa bay. As a precursor, he sent a Major Van Gilten with a detachment of the Waldeck Jaggers, to take possession of Fort Frederick. The major's first steps convinced the colonists that they were at least premature in their exultation. He put those who had been most turbulent under arrest, while he treated the venerable Vanderkemp and his brother Read with the utmost politeness. Next to its antipode, oriental despotism, anarchy is perhaps the worst of all tyrannies; and under this, the south-eastern part of the colony had groaned for nearly a twelvemonth. The governor was therefore earnestly pressed to visit it personally, and endeavour to restore something like order. But it so happened in this, as in many other cases, that those who were the authors of the mischief were the first to complain. Scarcely had the new governor arrived, when a deputation of colonists from the disturbed districts appeared, to give him information, and to propose what, were it not placed beyond a doubt, would appear incredible,—that all the Hottentots should be seized,—that every individual among them should have a chain put upon his legs, and that they be distributed among them as slaves! The proposal of course was never listened to, but the representations of the farmers made an unfavourable impression with regard to the Hottentots on Jansen's mind, which never seems to have been wholly effaced. He, however, determined to examine for himself; and as soon as business would permit, he left the Cape on a tour of inspection.

When he arrived at the bay, Mr. Read immediately waited upon him, and apologized for Dr. Vanderkemp, who was confined by sickness; but his excellency waived all ceremony, and visited the missionary in his lowly cottage—reminded him of the scenes of their youthful days—and treated him with mingled tenderness and respect. But notwithstanding the personal esteem General Jansen had for his old friend, when they entered upon the subject of missions, it was soon apparent that the mind of the general had been pre-occupied by the false representations of the enemies of missions. It had been insinuated that a mission to evangelize the Hottentots conducted by Englishmen, was pregnant with danger to the Dutch government of the colony. But Dr. Vanderkemp, in a letter to the directors of the London Missionary Society, says, that he found it an easy matter to convince the brave and philanthropic governor Jansen of the futility of the objection, and to show that the undertaking was entirely separated from all national views and concerns; and that the direction being entirely fixed to spiritual purposes, did not even in the least degree affect, much less relax, the authority which government has a right to exercise over all its subjects, any more than the filial obedience due to a father or tutor infringes the rights of a sovereign over a son, or a pupil residing in his dominions. "But it was not so easy," he adds, "to eradicate the inveterate prejudices against our work among the heathen, out of the stony hearts of more barbarous inhabitants; and it was evident that our relation to English benefactors was only a pretext to give vent to a deeper rooted enmity against God, his Christ, and the extension of his kingdom of love and grace among the heathen." The general was satisfied, and at the same time convinced of the utility of missionary labours; but to avoid offence to the colonists as much as possible, it was agreed that in future Dr. Vanderkemp should correspond with the London Society through the medium of the Dutch Missionary Society.

As it was now necessary for the institution to remove from Fort Frederick, the next object was to procure another place for the establishment. The only spot of ground not in possession of the farmers, was about seven miles north of Fort Frederick, near a small rivet, at the entrance of a glen, between high mountains,—a situation by no means desirable, but which, as there was no alternative, he was obliged for the present to accept, under an understanding, however, that it was only for one year, or till a more suitable situation could be procured. After the site had been fixed upon, the governor requested Dr. Vanderkemp to give it a name, observing, that as he had no fondness for scriptural names, he hoped it would not be from the Bible. Pausing a moment, and recollecting that he had preached, on the preceding Sabbath, from Gen. xxxv. 2, 3., the doctor proposed "Bethels-dorp,"—the village of Bethel; which sounding well enough, Jansen assented. Next day, when he discovered the derivation of the word, and found out the hoax, he joined in the laugh against himself. He owned that it was perfectly fair.

While he remained at Algoa bay, he had a conference with Klaas Stuurman, who reiterated his complaints against the colonists, but renewed his promise of remaining quiet; and the governor assured him that a new code of laws was to be framed for the Hottentots, by which the enjoyment of perfect freedom would be secured to them, together with good treatment in the service of the Christians,—while robberies would be severely resented.

Ambassadors also arrived from the Caffre chiefs, Zlambi, Conga, and others, who were in a state of rebellion to Gika, and were at war with the colonists, in order to treat about peace. Among these, Nacabaneh, first minister to Conga, afforded a fine specimen of a savage chieftain. He appeared about middle aged,—was tall in stature,—had a martial air,—and a very keen eye. He said he had four wives, but the purchase of them had cost him so much, that he scarcely had any cattle remaining. He wore a mantle of tiger's skin, the point of which was fastened to the right shoulder, so that the arm remained at liberty. On his breast he had a copperplate, engraved with the arms of General Dundas. As he stood in presence of the governor, he took care to throw back his mantle over his left shoulder; when on his left arm, above the elbow, eight beautiful bracelets were displayed, each cut out of a single piece of ivory. On both wrists he had copper bracelets; and round his waist he had a girdle, ornamented with a double row of plates of copper. His head was decorated with a sort of diadem, consisting of a strip of leather, about an inch wide, on which were sewed beads of all colours, in symmetical figures; and on the top of his head was a large bunch of quagga's hair, standing upright, intermixed also with beads and pieces of copper. He was struck with astonishment at all that he beheld. As he went over the barracks, the soldiers were at dinner, and he expressed his admiration at the order that reigned among them. He said, the Caffres had a great many warriors, who were never suffered to want; but that *he* must be a great man, indeed, who had so many rich men under him. If every one of the soldiers did but give him "a button," what a rich man he should be,—and yet they would still have enough left for themselves! At the going off of a piece of artillery, he gave tokens of terror; but his amazement exceeded; he sprang forward, with his eyes staring, and holding both his ears; and after drawing his breath very deep, whistled out a long protracted tone. He then inquired how far such a shot would hit, and how many men it would kill at once; but declined having the experiment repeated. The gold epaulettes of the officers, a watch, and several other articles, attracted his attention much; and when permitted to feel them, or take them into his hands, he uniformly expressed his wonder by whistling.

With these envoys, nothing definite could be settled; and the governor proceeded to Sondag's river, to hold an interview with the chiefs. On the road he was met by upwards of a hundred colonists, who drew up on horseback on a plain near the river,—received him with a salute of musketry; and Rensburg expressed, in a short speech, the joy they all felt at the return of the Dutch government, and made tender of their obedience. The general gave them many assurances of his paternal care, and ascribed the misfortunes they had experienced partly to their own misconduct—to disunion among themselves, and to the intrigues of some evil spirits by whom they had been led astray; but hoped he should now receive their cordial assistance in restoring tranquillity both among themselves and with their neighbours. A common camp was formed; and this pleasant but sequestered spot presented all the bustle and show of civilized life.

The general visited Klaas Stuurman, who had moved near the Caffres, in his kraal, and heard from him a declaration similar to what he had made to Mr. Barrow. Within a few days the chiefs arrived, and peace was concluded between them and the colonists,—the leading terms of which were, that the Caffres should deliver up all the slaves who remained with them, and the colonists should restore all the children they had stolen from the Caffres,—that the Fish river was to be the boundary,—that no Caffre should come into the colony without permission, and no colonist should enter Caffraria without an order from the governor, or the landrost,—that if a colonist offend a Caffre, he should not avenge himself, but give notice to the nearest landrost,—and that if a Caffre offend a colonist, he shall give notice to his chief.

Having concluded a peace between the Caffre chiefs and the colonists, the general was not less desirous to effect a reconciliation between them and king Gika After much manœuvering, he induced his majesty to come to the Dutch camp. The royal train, women included, in number was about a hundred and fifty persons. Lichtenstein thus describes him :—"Gika is one of the handsomest men that can be seen, even among the Caffres, uncommonly tall, with strong limbs, and very fine features. His countenance is expressive of the utmost benevolence and self-confidence, united with great animation. There is, in his whole appearance, something that at once speaks the king, although there was nothing in his dress to distinguish him, except some rows of white beads, which he wore round his neck. It is not hazarding too much to say, that among the savages all over the globe, a handsomer man could scarcely be found. Nay, one might go farther, and say, that among the sovereigns of the cultivated nations, it would perhaps be difficult to find so many qualities united, worthy of their dignity. His fine, tall, well proportioned form, at the perfect age of six-and-twenty,—his open, benevolent, confiding countenance,—the simplicity, yet dignity, of his deportment,—the striking readiness of his judgment, and of his answers,—his frankness, and the rational view he took of things ; all these properties combined are not often to be found among those who, according to our commonly received opinions, have had infinitely greater advantages in forming their persons [persons?] and minds." His majesty, with his mother and two wives, were invited to dine with the general ; and although a perfect stranger to most of the dishes, and to the European manners, he easily caught them. When any of the meats particularly pleased his palate, he immediately handed a piece over his shoulder to some of his attendants who were standing without. He drunk wine with pleasure, but drank little : the ladies were more ample in their libations. Among the presents was an European dress, which, although much too small, he got himself squeezed into, and strutted about with great complacency in his new apparel, notwithstanding the inconvenience of the unusual casement. In these straitened circumstances, he cast an anxious eye on the general's military cloak ; but as this was indispensable, he was promised that one should afterwards be sent him. This was punctually fulfilled, and with the cloak was sent a complete hussar uniform, richly trimmed with gold-lace, and a horse superbly caparisoned with embroidered housings. Alberti gives a characteristic account of the manner in which they were received. "The uniform fitted him extremely well, and was very becoming. He mounted the horse with his usual address ; and his pleasure seemed to reach its highest possible point when a looking-glass, about six feet high, was produced, and set before him. He was so astonished, that it was some minutes before he could recover himself. His vanity was now fully displayed by galloping to a certain distance backward and forward before the people for a considerable time, while they contemplated him with the utmost admiration, uttering all the time loud shouts of applause. I observed he was more particularly delighted with the applauses he received from the women."

When the governor had soothed him with his presents, he introduced the subject of peace with the rebels ; and with great difficulty obtained his promise, that if they supplicated peace, he would throw no obstacles in the way. He next proposed, that if peace should be made, and the revolted tribes reduced to obedience, that implements of husbandry and tools for mechanical work should from time to time be sent to the Caffres, to enable them to acquire greater wealth and a more abundant portion of the comforts and enjoyments of life : and that a commissary should reside in the country, to see the articles of peace fairly observed on both sides. Respecting peace between the colony and himself, Gika expressed his utmost readiness to enter into all or any terms the governor chose ; and he showed at least an equal adroitness with the Dutch negotiator, when he secured for himself what were objects of the first moment—the presents ; and gave the governor, what polititions in all ages have considered of very secondary import—the most unbounded promises. He concluded a peace, and the conditions were such as do honour to the good intentions of the governor, whatever idea his supposition that they would be observed may convey of his discernment. Among a variety of articles, the principal one was the stipulation which prevented the Caffres coming into the colony, or remaining there, without leave. This, which had most probably been inserted at the suggestion of the colonists, was calculated, if not designed, to break up all connection between that nation and the venerable Vanderkemp, for whom, the colonists well know, that the men, less savage than themselves, had an esteem not less ardent than their own hatred. Had the Dutch retained the Cape, it must have been injurious in no common degree to the cause of civilization ; and even during the short time they retained it, it operated so as to render the progress retrograde.

While General Jansen was thus endeavouring to secure the peace of the extremities, M. Von de Mist, commissary-general, was laudably engaged in attempting to settle the government upon a just and permanent basis. To repair the damage which years of confusion had occasioned to the finances, and to enact such laws and regulations as, while they gave to the colonists every advantage, would prevent the continuance of the enormous evils under which the aborigines groaned. He procured the enactment of a statute, declaring the complete freedom of the Hottentots, which, although it for some time proved merely a verbal notice, was, notwithstanding, afterwards, of immense advantage, when the battle for the final emancipation of that people was combated for and obtained. Accounts of a renewal of war with Britain recalled General Jansen to the defence of the Cape ; but commissioner de Mist, whose presence was not necessary for military arrangements, seized the opportunity to make a journey through the colony, to complete, if possible, the internal regulations which he thought necessary for its prosperity.

It were useless and unnecessary to follow the travellings of constituted authorities through colonial possessions, when we attempt to trace the history of civilization : they are in their very nature not liable only, but almost so constituted as to invite imposition. Their route is published weeks before they set out,—avant-couriers are sent to announce their approach,—all is prepared for their reception,—whatever might offend is removed into the back-ground,—and as with the oppression there is power, in ninety-nine cases in the hundred, so far from seeing the real state of an enslaved people, they are amused with the holiday smile of wretches, to whom it were death to look sad. We may, however, glean some important particulars from inadvertent admissions, or from the narrative of circumstances which their journalists think may entertain, and see no use in concealing, although they do not perceive the extent of the legitimate deductions from the facts they narrate. Such are some of the incidental notices in Lichtenstein's account of De Mist's tour.

Various incidents and delays prevented the Dutch governor from entering upon his office at the Cape, till February, 1803. As soon as the Moravian brethren were apprized of this circumstance, Rose and Marsveldt repaired to Cape-Town to congratulate his excellency, who gave them a very kind reception, and also paid them a visit at Bavian's-Kloof, when he repeated his expressions of respect. The appearance of the settlement pleased him much, and, as a mark of approbation, he requested to give it a new name, as he thought the old one, Bavian's-Kloof, "baboon's glen," no longer applicable ; and suggested Guadenthal, "grace vale," which was adopted. When he returned, the commissary De Mist with a large retinue set out upon his expedition. In his progress, he visited the brethren's settlement, of which Dr. Lichtenstein has given the following account, and it is the more valuable, as he is no friend to missionary institutions.—"In the year 1799, at the request of the three original missionaries, two others, of the names of Rose and Korhammer, were sent from Germany to join them. The former has now in Marsveldt's place the direction of the whole institution. Both brought their wives with them, and brought over also wives for the brethren already established,—women of their own persuasion, who made no hesitation in crossing the seas to unite themselves in wedlock with persons wholly unknown to them. Since that time, the society has increased exceedingly, both in numbers and importance. The same year the brethren built a very neat church, and the number of their disciples now amounts to nearly eleven hundred. Two hundred houses and huts, with gardens annexed to them, and built in regular rows, give this place the appearance of an European village,—a sight which surprised me exceedingly, and for the first time brought in a lively manner to my mind the idea of my native country. Excepting this place, I never saw anything in the whole colony bearing the least resemblance to a German village.

"The five brethren, with their wives, received us at the door of a house where they live all together. One of them made a short speech to welcome us; after which, a chorus of perhaps a hundred Hottentots, men and women, ranged in two rows before the door,—the women on the right hand, the men on the left,—sung a hymn, which was truly affecting and elevating to the heart. At first, the whole number of voices sang the simple melody in slow time; then the verses were sung three voices together, by the men and the women alternately; after which, the melody was sung by two voices only, till the last verse, when again they all joined in chorus.

"After we had rested a short time in the house, we were carried to a table extremely well set out, and all prepared by the good wives themselves,—every one in her different department. Instead of a prayer before the meal, the five couple sung a verse of a hymn, and then, with the utmost cheerfulness, and in a style equally removed from studied seriousness and from frivolity, entered into conversation with us. This was carried on in a manner which showed so much correctness of thinking, and soundness of understanding, that our good opinion of them increased at every moment. We were so well entertained, that we did not break up the party till near midnight.

"Next morning every different part of the institution was shown to us; the church, in the first place, is a simple neat quadrangular edifice; but the roof is too steep, and carried up to too sharp a ridge. This was done to give height to the building, and render it more conspicuous. Within are two rows of benches, and a simple pulpit. The utmost simplicity is observable, indeed, in every part of the building; but, at the same time, the due proportions are exceedingly well observed, and the workmanship is extremely neat. The timbers are all of Sumach wood, the yellow tint and polish of which gives a sort of simple elegance to the appearance of the whole.

"By the side of the church is the garden of the pastors, in the midst of which stands the large old pear tree planted by Schmidt himself, the original founder of the institution; benches are standing under its shade; and this is a favourite place of resort among the brethren. The garden is two hundred paces long, and about a hundred and fifty broad; it is well stored with all kinds of kitchen vegetables and pulse, and intersected all over with little channels, by which it is constantly well watered. Brother Schwin, who is an excellent gardener, has the management of it. The church-yard is directly behind it, and is laid out exactly in the manner of the Hernhutters in Germany. A walk divides it in two,—on the right hand of which lie the men, on the left, the women. The graves follow each other in regular rows; and the greatest care is taken of them; each has over it a little wooden cross, on which is inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. The graves of two children of the brethren have tomb-stones; and those of the Hottentots that have been baptized are distinguished from the rest.

"The house inhabited by the brethren has, besides the hall in which they assemble, and where they take their meals, two chambers for two of the couples, and various household conveniences. The other three couple lodge in small houses close by. Another house is appropriated to the manufacture of knives, of which Kuhnel is the director, and which begins already to be very profitable. Four Hottentots were employed in it, who, when first they began learning, had no pay. They are now paid wages by the day; and when they are perfect in their work, are to be paid by the piece. The knives are strong and well made, and are much sought after at the Cape-Town, though they are dear. Pocket-knives sell from a dollar to a dollar and a half. Kuhnel complained much of the want of tools, and the difficulty of getting them from Europe, so that he is obliged to make them almost all himself. Marsveldt is the miller, and has built a water-mill, after the European manner, in which he grinds not only all the corn for the household and the Hottentots, but a great deal for the neighbouring colonists. The church, with the nearest houses, lie in the deepest recess of the valley, at the foot of the Bavian's-Kloof, from which, in winter, the water sometimes rushes with great force, so that it has more than once overflowed the whole valley. The channel has therefore been lately enclosed between two strong walls, and several bridges have been made over it; a work of no small labour, and affording an additional proof of the industry and activity of these people. The brethren proposed carrying this canal on as a benefit to the lands lying without the valley; and when, two years after, I visited this spot, for the last time, it was already extended six hundred paces farther.

"But in order to form a just estimate of the worth of these excellent men, their manner of conducting themselves towards the Hottentots must be seen:—The mildness, yet dignity with which they instruct them, and the effect which has already been produced in improving the condition of their uncivilized brethren, is truly admirable. It is the more astonishing, since all has been accomplished by persuasion and exhortation. No violence, or even harshness, has ever been employed. No other punishment is known but being prohibited from attending divine service, or being banished the Society; but it is very rarely they are obliged to have recourse to these things,—only when repeated exhortations and remonstrances have failed, and a determined perverseness of disposition appears, which cannot otherwise be subdued. The highest reward of industry and good behaviour is to be baptized and received into the society. Of this, however, they are so sparing, that the whole number of the baptized scarcely yet amounts to fifty. To the most distinguished among them, the still higher honours are granted of being appointed to little offices in the church, such as elders and deacons. The latter are also, very naturally, from their diligence and industry, in the best circumstances of any of the community, and have houses built by themselves, not at all inferior to any of those of the colonists on the borders. The men are clothed, like the peasants, in linen jackets, leather small-clothes, and wear hats; the women have woollen petticoats, cotton jackets, with long sleeves, and caps. The lower class are still clothed with skins; but they are made to keep themselves and their clothing clean; and no nakedness is permitted.

"Every family of Hottentots has a garden behind the house, planted with vegetables, pulse, and fruit trees, with a portion of land, according to the number of persons to be fed from it. This they cultivate themselves, under the direction of the father, as he is called; and they have the implements of agriculture and seed-corn given them. Industry is rewarded by an occasional addition to the portion of land; negligence is punished by being deprived of a part. But the brethren still find a disposition to indolence, the greatest subject of complaint they have against their disciples. Many of them will only gain their slender sustenance by the same occasional labours to which they have been accustomed in the service of the colonists, by assisting in the harvest, for example, by attending upon their cattle, or jobbing on their buildings. The women and children are left behind when they go out to work in this way,—a burden upon the community, and are not without difficulty incited to gain a trifle, by working in the gardens of the brethren, or of their more substantial fellow-countrymen."

In comparing this statement with these formerly given from the journals of the missionaries themselves, it will be observed, that the Doctor has mistaken entirely the terms of admission to baptism; though, certainly, the want of good behaviour would form a very proper ground of exclusion from that ordinance. Neither is it, in general, either from indolence or choice, that the Hottentots, located at any missionary settlement, go to reside again among the farmers.

In pursuing his route, the commissary-general visited the institution at Bethelsdorp, but found it in a very different situation. Instead of having arrived at maturity, like the settlement of Gnadenthal, it was merely displaying the first rudiments of civilization, and these under every possible disadvantage. On the day after Governor Jansen left them they took possession of their new allotment. They were obliged at first to supply themselves with the tilts of their wagons for houses, which they set upon the ground, under protection of bushes, against the prevailing south-west winds. They found the situation preferable to Bota, being much healthier, having better pasturage both for sheep and larger cattle, and excellent pot-clay and lime, but no timber, nor such a quantity of fire-wood or of water as was desirable; for which reasons, it was agreed only to make trial of it for one year; consequently, all the erections were merely temporary. The season for sowing elapsing fast, their first work was to get the plough into the ground; but, through the poverty of the soil, the want of manure and of seed-corn, their harvest turned out but very poor. Their next operation was to trace out the ground for a village; and in a few days Mr. Read formed a square two hundred and forty paces in length, and in breadth one hundred and forty-four, which they divided into portions, agreeably to the size of each family. Through this space ran a rivulet, which they named Bethel Fountain, dividing the square into two. To one section they gave the name of

Jansen, to the other that of Dundas. Nearly in the middle of Jansen's square they built the church, with walls and roof of reed. It was made in the form of a cross, four wings extending from the centre; at the end of one were two rooms for Dr. Vanderkemp; at the other was Mr. Read's residence; at the end of the third was a kitchen and small dining-room; the fourth was the front and entrance to the place where the people met for worship, and which was also used as a school. In the course of the third month, Dr. Vanderkemp planted, in the missionaries' garden, fig, peach, and pomegranate trees. Mr. Read sowed, in a large garden, Caffre corn, Indian corn, beans, pease, cabbages, cucumbers, lettuce, and other vegetables. The people, also, many of them made gardens.

But the month following, they had very heavy rains, which flowed in torrents through their reed walls, and consequently through their houses, by which many of their articles were spoiled. Several of their fences too were carried away by the floods. This was succeeded by the loss of a vessel from the Cape, in which were a great number of necessaries they expected, as likewise the goods that had been sent from England for the use of the mission. The corn the governor had promised to send for seed did not arrive till too late to be sown; but by this means they were provided with bread, of which they had not tasted for three months. These accidents, which tended greatly to retard the progress of the settlement, the missionaries could neither foresee nor provide against. The number of Hottentots who assembled around the station was considerable, but they were in a state of great poverty, which obliged many to go to the Boors, as the missionaries, who had received no money from the Cape for upwards of a year, had not the means of employing more than their own people. Others chose to lie in the bushes, and live upon the roots of the field, rather than be subject to the discipline of civilized life. Like the Moravian brethren, they complained of the laziness even of their own people, which subjected them to the greatest distress.

Surrounded by so many difficulties, which would have appalled settlers from a civilized country, the missionaries had only laboured six months, when the commissary De Mist, accompanied by Dr. Lichtenstein, arrived at the settlement. The following is Lichtenstein's account of the visit.—"On the day of our arrival at Algoa bay, the commissary-general received a visit from Vanderkemp. In the very hottest part of the morning, we saw a wagon, such as is used in husbandry, drawn by four meagre oxen, coming slowly along the sandy downs. Vanderkemp sat upon a plank laid across it, without a hat,—his venerable bald head exposed to the burning rays of the sun. He was dressed in a threadbare black coat, waistcoat, and breeches, without shirt, neckcloth, or stockings, and leather sandals bound upon his feet, the same as are worn by the Hottentots. The commissary-general hastened to meet and receive him, with the utmost kindness. He descended from his car, and approached with slow and measured step, presenting to our view a tall, meagre, yet venerable figure. In his serene countenance might be traced remains of former beauty, and in his eye, still full of fire, was plainly to be discerned the powers of mind which had distinguished his early years. Instead of the usual salutations, he uttered a short prayer, in which he begged a blessing upon our chief and his company, and the protection of Heaven during the remainder of our journey. He then accompanied us into the house, when he entered into conversation freely upon many subjects, without any superciliousness or affected solemnity.

"The commissary-general reminded him that they had known each other thirty-six years before at Leyden. He was then himself studying the law, and Vanderkemp was in garrison as a lieutenant of dragoons. He named to him the coffee-house where they had often met, and talked over many occurrences that had happened jointly to them. The missionary remembered these things very distinctly, observing, that he led then a very dissolute life; but he hoped it was expiated by his subsequent conversion and present course."—[This remark must have been totally misunderstood—it was in direct opposition to Vanderkemp's creed, as the reader must have observed.]—"He related many things worthy of remark during the time he lived among the Caffres, and elucidated several circumstances that happened in the late unfortunate war with them. Before we sat down to table, he again ejaculated a long prayer. He ate very little—drank no wine—had after dinner a private conference with the commissary-general—and in the evening returned to Bethelsdorp. His colleague, Read, who accompanied him, seemed a good-hearted man, but, like most of the missionaries, extremely ignorant.

"Two days after, we returned Vanderkemp's visit. It is scarcely possible to describe the wretched situation in which this establishment appeared to us, especially after having seen that of Bavian's Kloof. On a wide plain, without a tree, almost without water fit to drink, are scattered forty or fifty little huts, in the form of hemispheres, but so low that a man cannot stand upright in them. In the midst is a small clay hut, thatched with straw, which goes by the name of a church, and, close by, some smaller huts of the same materials, for the missionaries. All are so wretchedly built, and are kept with so little care and attention, that they have a perfectly ruinous appearance. For a great way round, not a bush is to be seen; for what there might have been originally have long ago been used for fire-wood. The ground all about is perfectly naked, and hard trodden down, nowhere the least trace of human industry: wherever the eye is cast, nothing is presented but lean, ragged, or naked figures, with indolent sleepy countenances. The support of the missionary institution in England and Holland, the favour of the government, the chase, and the keeping a few cattle, the produce of which is scarcely worth mentioning;—these are the means to which two hundred and fifty men have to look for their support.

"It cannot be matter of astonishment to any body, that they are found wholly insufficient: and Vanderkemp complained bitterly that he had already been forced to sacrifice the greatest part of his own property. So much the more extraordinary does it appear, that he had never turned his thoughts seriously to instilling habits of industry into his disciples; but all idea of their temporal welfare appears with him to be wholly lost in his anxiety for their eternal salvation. His own hut is totally destitute of all comfort,—even of any approach to neatness, and is perfectly consistent with the negligence of earthly cares which he preaches. He remarked, not without great self-satisfaction, how little was necessary to the support of life. But he surely would have done much better, when he drew these Hottentots around him, to have inspired them with some sort of taste for the refinements of civilization, rather than to have levelled himself with them, and adopted their habits of negligence and filth. It appears to me, that Vanderkemp is of little value as a missionary, partly because he is a mere enthusiast, and too much absorbed in the idea of conversion; partly because he is too learned—that is to say—too little acquainted with the common concerns of life—to turn the attention even of a raw Hottentot to them. Thence comes his total neglect of husbandry, and all mechanical employments, though these are the arts in which his disciples must be instructed, if he would make them really happy. Thence also the perverted view he takes of the conduct which the colonists ought to observe with regard to his institution, since he considers them as bound to assist in its support."

Such appeared the rude elements of Bethelsdorp! Could the doctor see it now, with its cultivated grounds, its manufactories, its printing-presses, its free and enlightened population, what a different account would he write! unless the dislike which he evinces to a religion without show, should incline him to give a caricature of its subjects, through which those only acquainted with the original could detect the resemblance, though violently outraged. This he has done in giving a view of the religious character of the inhabitants of the institution.—"It is true," he says, "that these Hottentots were now nominally quiet, and kept in some order; yet often, under pretence of the chase, they wandered about armed;—the government (then English) not merely having allowed them a small quantity of powder and shot to kill game for the purpose of food, but having supplied them with it very abundantly,—a favour, if favour it is to be called, which was too often misused. They were certainly daily instructed for some hours in the Christian religion; but these instructions made much more impression upon their memory than their understanding. They could sing and pray, and be heartily penitent for their sins, and talk of the Lamb of Atonement; but none were really the better for all this specious appearance. No attention was paid to giving them proper occupation, and, excepting in the hours of prayer, they might be as indolent as they chose.

"This convenient mode of life attracted many of the most worthless and idle among these people, and all who applied were received indiscriminately into the establishment. The consequence was, the colonists soon made heavy complaints of the want of servants, since the Hottentots were much better pleased with leading an indolent life in Vanderkemp's school, than with gaining their bread by labour."

It has been well remarked, that the prejudice such statements have a tendency to excite against missions, is perhaps one of the least evils to which they ordinarily give rise. The tendency of indiscriminate censure, unqualified abuse, and studied misrepresentation, is to render such as are friendly to missions incredulous as it respects all statements made by strangers, which give an unfavourable view of particular missions; and under the shade of a scepticism, generated in this way, abuse and corruption will in many cases creep in, and produce irreparable injury, before their supporters will allow themselves to suppose them in any danger, or that unfavourable reports are anything else than calumnies propagated against them by their enemies; while unfaithful or incompetent missionaries will never be at a loss for an excuse, when they can ascribe all that is said against them to the enmity of the human heart against the gospel.

In contrast with this representation, an instance or two of what the missionaries considered conversion, may be mentioned.—Cupido, (noticed page 328) was, before he believed the truth, notorious as a sinner, even among the heathen, famous for swearing, lying, fighting, but especially drunkenness, which often brought him upon a sick-bed, being naturally weak. At such times, he always resolved to be sober; but when health returned, his resolutions were forgot. A secret dread of God, although he knew him not, tormented him; and he anxiously inquired how he might get rid of this vice, for he thought if he could overcome it, the conquest of the rest would be easy. He was directed to witches and wizards, but they proved miserable comforters; till at length his feet were directed to Graaf Reinet, where he heard Vanderlingen declare, that Jesus Christ the Son of God could save sinners from all their sins. Then cried he out to himself—"That is what I want! that is what I want!" His convictions of sin were deepened under a discourse by Dr. Vanderkemp. This at first had only the effect of irritating him against an old woman who he imagined had exposed his character; but as he attended the means of grace, the secrets of his heart were farther laid open, and he was constrained to confess "This is not of man, but of God." He became one of the most zealous fellow-labourers of the missionaries, who, in their report, say, "It is no small pleasure to hear him recommend Christ to others as the only remedy for sin,—who can destroy it, as he had experienced, both root and branch."

Another character, eminent for his proficiency in vice, Boezak, after his conversion, became an ornament to the church of Christ, not only in the settlement but among his old connexions and the world at large, with whom he was often called to mingle, being a great buffalo and elephant hunter. He was amazingly intrepid, and often had wonderful escapes. On one occasion, when, assisted by two others, he had killed a female elephant, and they were engaged in cutting her up, the male approached, but so secretly, through the bushes, that they did not observe him before he had got within the distance of twenty paces. Boezak then fired at him, and wounded him in the breast. The animal thus rendered furious, ran with a dreadful shriek upon him, and his fate seemed inevitable; when, in this critical moment, the two others, who had fled under the first impulse of terror, turned, and fired, and the elephant fell. In all his journeys, he spoke freely to the colonists and Hottentots on the subject of their eternal interests; and as his courage was indisputable, and his conduct as a Christian irreproachable, his exhortations made deep, and in some cases, indelible impressions.

Hannes Trompleton, the captain of a horde of plundering Hottentots, who, with his father and sisters, became all obedient to the faith, and, from murderers, and plunderers, and thieves, have proved humble and diligent members of the church,—may be added to the roll. Examples might be multiplied, but what unequivocally shows that Lichtenstein's allegations were ill-founded, is the testimony of General Jansen, who, in a letter to Dr. Vanderkemp, bore strong evidence to the superiority of the Hottentots from Bethelsdorp above their untrained brethren. He signified that such of them as had voluntarily engaged to serve in the armed corps of that nation, "were to be highly commended for their exemplary conduct, and excelled the rest of their countrymen." The commissary-general, after leaving Algoa bay, visited Graaf Reinet, and made some arrangements with the Caffres; but the news of war having again broken out in Europe, and the possibility of the Cape once more changing masters, hastened his return to the capital of the colony, whence he soon after departed for Europe.

CHAP. IX.

HOTTENTOT CORPS.

Hottentot corps raises the native charater—Recruited from the Moravian settlement—Brother Rose and his wife visit the camp—Commandant's testimony to their good conduct—Government invites a missionary to remain with the soldiers—Conference—they consent—Brother Korhammer goes to the station—Reformation among the troops—Commences a school—Method of preaching—The camp broken up—Soldier's wives remove to Gnadenthal—Their reception—Followed by the missionaries—Their parting address to the Hottentots—Increase of the settlement—Hottentots move to the vineyards—Missionaries recalled—State of the mission—Severe drought—Scarcity—Remarkable incidents—Escape from a tiger—Heroism of a Farmer's wife—Impositions of stranger Hottentots—Death and burial of Brother Rose—Korhammer's labours among the troops—Annoyed by their disputes—The violin player—The soldier's wife—Attention of the officers—Solemn festivals—Close of the year—the Cape taken by Sir David Baird.

Among the subsidiary causes which have tended to promote the civilization of South Africa, the formations of Hottentot corps is not to be overlooked. They gave an elevation to this degraded race which they had not heretofore known,—and the first step to make a man be respected by others, is to teach him to respect himself. From the time when they had ceased to be possessors of the soil, they had been taught to consider themselves as a distinct inferior species of beings; and even when Christian instruction had raised them to their proper level in moral existence, they were not allowed by the uncultivated Boors to hold any rank in civil society; till, marshalled as defenders of their country, they were treated by the government as citizens and as men. It is true, the government was ungrateful for the assistance they had received in the hour of danger, but they had unwittingly conferred a favour which even their ingratitude could not efface.

When general Jansen returned from his journey, and was called upon, by the renewal of the war in Europe, to put the Cape in a state of defence, the troops in the colony were wholly inadequate, and as the British had possession of the sea, their reinforcement was very doubtful. He therefore set himself to re-organize Hottentot regiments, and in doing so, he showed a respect and tenderness for that people, in providing for their religious instruction as well as personal comfort, which entitle his conduct to the highest praise. The governor preferred Christian Hottentots, or Hottentots resident in missionary establishments; and he sent captain Lesueur to Gnadenthal with an order to enlist a corps of volunteer Hottentots in that establishment, to serve along with the regular military, and requesting the missionaries to give him all the assistance in their power, assuring them that care should be taken to preserve their people in the doctrines and Christian practices to which they had been directed in the settlement. In consequence, all the Hottentot men were required to appear in the church, when brother Rose explained to them the aim of the meeting; after which, captain Lesueur read the order of government, explaining each sentence particularly. Being asked whether they perfectly understood what was said, and having answered in the affirmative, the captain desired them to take the matter into consideration, and come individually and give him their answers. Next day, they were called and asked what was their determination, when twenty-two volunteered; but requested that during their absence, provision might be made for their wives and children. Before they set out, the missionaries exhorted them earnestly to approve themselves faithful to the doctrines they had heard, in every situation in which they might be placed; and they parted with much affection and many tears on both sides. "This affair, however," say the missionaries, "brought us into no small dilemma, for we could neither encourage our Hottentots to engage in a business from which great danger might accrue to their souls, nor could we do anything to oppose the wishes of our rulers, who, because they place more especial confidence in the honesty and faithfulness of our people, wish to have as many of them as possible in the army, and employ them chiefly as sergeants and corporals."

Another requisition was made shortly after, for the young unmarried men to enlist as volunteers. They all declared their unwillingness to leave the settlement, but their readiness to turn out at a moment's notice in case of attack. As the Hottentots, however, who had enlisted, were occasionally permitted to visit Gnadenthal, they succeeded in persuading, from time to time, several of their companions to follow their example.

About half a year after, brother Rose, with his wife, and brother Kuhnel paid a visit to Cape-Town, for the purpose of obtaining surgical aid for Mrs. Rose, who was troubled with an excrescence on her head. Immediately on their arrival, they waited upon M. Von Mist and the governor, who received them with great politeness, and after inquiring minutely into the progress of the mission, requested them to pay a visit to the Hottentot camp; which they gladly complied with, as they were anxious to see such of their own people as were engaged in military service, and had, besides, received a friendly invitation from Captain Lesueur the commandant of the whole Hottentot corps. The camp had the appearance of a regular village, consisting of twenty-two well built cottages. After going over it, the missionaries met with the greater part of the Hottentots from Gnadenthal, who, with the exception of a few absent on duty, were drawn up in front of the Captain's house. They addressed them in a short discourse, reminding them of what they had heard and learned at Bavian's Kloof, and what the Lord had done for them; and they, in turn, expressed their joy and thankfulness, for their teachers' visit, with tears of gratitude. Captain Lesueur bore testimony to their good conduct, and said, that while others employed their leisure in idleness and folly, they assembled themselves to speak of spiritual things and to sing hyms. He added,—being once desired by their officers to declare if they were satisfied with their treatment, they answered in the affirmative, and observed there was only one thing which they found hard to bear, which was their being obliged to hear the continual cursing and swearing of the soldiers,—a thing they had never been accustomed to before.

When the missionaries were preparing to return home, they received an invitation to a conference with the governor and M. Von Mist, in which they told them that they intended to augment the Hottentot corps to one thousand men, and wished much that one of the missionaries from Gnadenthal would accept the office of Chaplain to the corps,—live in the camp, and instruct the Hottentots in the Christian religion,—that he should have a dwelling and a proper salary provided by government, and that, in due time, a church should be built, for it was their intention, even in the event of peace, to retain this body of Hottentots. They added, that they conceived such a proposal could not but be agreeable to their wishes, as they should thereby obtain an opportunity of preaching the gospel to a considerable number of heathen, which was the object of their residence in that country. They, at the same time, expressed their apprehensions, lest by a long absence from the means of grace, their own people, now in camp, might, by degrees, forget what they had learned, and the weeds choke the good seed sown in their heart. The baptized Hottentots also had frequently declared to their officers, that they could not live without hearing the word of God. Brother Rose thanked the governor and commissary for the many favours they had received, especially for the confidence placed in them and their missionary labours, and granted that the whole aim of their living in that country was the instruction of the Hottentots in the knowledge of their Creator and Redeemer, and in the way of salvation, and that, therefore, the proposal was quite consistent with their calling. But then the age and infirmities of the missionaries at Gnadenthal, each of whom had full employment in that settlement, would render the execution of the plan very difficult; besides which, they could not well undertake anything new without a direction from the bishops and elders of the church in Europe; and therefore begged them to have patience till they should write home and obtain such advice and assistance as might enable them to comply with their wishes.

The commissary-general, taking the missionary affectionately by the hand, replied,—"My dear father Rose, all you say is true; but if even your letters reach your friends soon, and they immediately find the men you wish, yet a year and more will elapse before the assistance you speak of can arrive; and we are very intent upon immediately making such regulations that the Hottentots be instructed in the word of God, and become partakers of the blessings of civilization, which cannot be obtained but by their becoming Christians in truth, as is sufficiently exemplified at Gnadenthal. And as this plan is meant for the benefit of the whole colony, and of vast importance to the state, I have acquainted all the gentlemen in government with it, and it has received their most cordial approbation. We, therefore, wish that you would help us to execute it, by immediately consulting with your brethren at Gnadenthal." They promised to do so, and were dismissed with expressions of much friendship.

On consulting with their brethren, they unanimously agreed that it was their duty not to refuse complying with the wishes of government, especially as they were expressly called to improve every opportunity of instructing the Hottentots, and preaching the gospel to them. Brother Rose was, in consequence, empowered to write to the commissary-general, and express the willingness of the brethren to comply with the desire of government, and to appoint a missionary to attend the Hottentot settlers, and preach the gospel to them; but requesting that the name of chaplain might not be given him, and that he might be considered only as a missionary of the *Unitas Fratrum*, with permission to regulate his pastoral labours according to the manner usual in their church, and to be subject to their own rules, so as to be called home in case the plan did not answer the proposed end; with all which the government agreed; and brother Korhammer having received and accepted this call, committed the care of the school to brother Kuhnel, and with his wife set out for the station, —which is remarked by Dr. Vanderkemp, in his journal, as a very providential interference, the Batavian republic having determined to send two Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, at the public expense, to preach in the Cape army.

The first text he preached from in camp was the one which occurred in the Word-Book for the day—"And it shall come to pass, that in that place where it was said unto them, ye are not my people, there they shall be called the children of the living God." At half-past nine, the drums beat, and the whole corps assembled at the missionary's dwelling, where they were ranged in three divisions, and at ten marched off to the place where the service was to be performed; the officers and several ladies and gentlemen sat under an awning, and the Hottentot corps stood around in military order. The greatest silence prevailed during the whole time; and after the service was concluded, many of the strangers came up to the preacher and wished him God's blessing. The commandant, in a conversation which he held with him, pointed out a disposition to get drunk as the besetting sin of the Hottentots, and wished him particularly to direct his efforts against a vice so destructive to soul and body. This he willingly promised, but observed, that he thought the best method was to speak against this evil in private meetings, to which the captain assented. The missionary gave notice, that all those who wished to attend the particular meetings for Christian instruction, should come to him, that he might write down their names. Next evening, sixty more met, with whom, kneeling down, he commended the host of heathen then assembled, in fervent prayer, unto the Lord, and entreated that he would have mercy upon them, and convert their hearts. He then delivered the salutations of the brethren, and of their countrymen at Bavian's-Kloof, and explained the aim of their coming thither. As soon as the meeting closed, most of those who were present came forward and expressed their thankfulness for the favour to be instructed in the word of God. On the day following, forty-six women came to their separate meeting; and almost every day afterwards numbers desired their names to be written down. And such were the happy effects of these private conferences, that on next pay-day the commandant reported, greatly to the satisfaction of the missionaries, that not one of the Hottentots had been confined for drunkenness.

Korhammer and his wife also commenced a school with the children, which promised well; but what gave them the greatest pleasure was, that the preaching of the gospel appeared to create much concern in the hearts of some of the Hottentots, for their soul's salvation. They visited them of their own accord,—spoke confidentially about the state of their minds, and confessed that they were yet under the power of sin, by which their hearts were chained and bound to evil. Some, who in former years had heard something of God and his word, expressed their regret that they had paid so little attention to it. "During the whole of our stay," says the missionaries, "we endeavoured to omit no opportunity of extolling the great mercy of God our Saviour, 'who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his way and live;' and for this purpose visited the Hottentots in their dwellings." But their residence in military quarters was shortened by preparations for active hostilities. The Dutch government had received intelligence that a large British fleet lay at St. Helena; and an order arrived, (October 1,) for the whole Hottentot corps to leave their cantonments at the vineyards, and march to a camp nearer the shore. And as the missionaries were averse to making a campaign, they obtained leave from General Jansen to retire.

With a laudable anxiety for the improvement of the Hottentots, the governor was desirous to provide a safe retreat for the women and children belonging to the corps, where they might be comfortably lodged and provided for; and, at the same time, be under the means of instruction. He therefore proposed to the brethren that they should be accommodated at Gnadenthal, and government would defray the expense, and gratefully acknowledge the kind service done to these forsaken people. The brethren, although aware that their compliance would be attended with much inconvenience, and were also afraid that much moral evil might ensue by the admission of so many people, who were chiefly in a wild unconverted state, into a missionary settlement, willingly complied with the request; and on the day the camp broke up nearly two hundred women and children set out for Gnadenthal,—the mothers, many of them, besides four days' provisions, being obliged to carry their young infants on their backs. They arrived at the settlement in rags, and half starved. The good folk received them with Christian hospitality. Being seated in rows before their dwellings, each of them, young and old, received a good slice of bread, previously baked in prospect of their arrival, which they seized and eat with all the greediness of hunger. After this meal and suitable exhortations, they were distributed partly in the empty houses, and partly among the Hottentot families. "We felt great support, was the missionaries' remark, "under all the inconveniences occasioned by such an unusual number of guests, from the enlivening consideration, that perhaps, through the Lord's blessing, many of these people may hear the Gospel, in this place, for their everlasting salvation." It was likewise a new and a pleasant trait in the Hottentot character, to perceive their absent relatives did not forget them,—captain Leusneur having sent twenty dollars, collected by the soldiers for the use of their wives.

Room was made for the reception of the new comers, by a fresh draught upon the regular inhabitants. All those men who had promised to come forward in defence of the country, in case of actual danger, were required to make ready, and join the army by degrees, as it was the intention of government that they should be completely drilled before the enemy made their appearance. Several officers therefore called, and carried with them the most able-bodied of the young men, to the amount of thirty, besides ten appointed to the service of the powder magazine in Zoete Melks valley. They parted with sorrow from their teachers, who blessed and sent them away, not without some painful apprehensions lest the good word they had heard, and which in the hearts of many seemed to promise good seed, should be forgotten amid the hurry and dissipation of a military life.

Brother Korhammer and his wife remained at the vineyards for some days, till wagons arrived from Gnadenthal to fetch them home. As the commandant had desired them to pay him a visit, they took the new camp in their way. He was much occupied himself, so that they could have little conversation; but he requested Korhammer to deliver a discourse to the Hottentots, with which he gladly complied. The corps were just returning from exercise when he met them, and their officers immediately ordered them to halt, and attend to their minister. He exhorted them to keep in their hearts what they had heard of the word of God, and particularly to consider what our Saviour had done to redeem their poor souls, by the shedding of his precious blood: that they were therefore bound to surrender themselves up to Him, and to obey his Holy Spirit: that if they followed this advice, it would appear in their outward conduct,—they would obey their rulers and officers,—be faithful in their calling; and that he should rejoice exceedingly to hear so good an account of them. When he had closed they all took off their hats and exclaimed,—"We thank our teacher! God preserve our teacher in health!" Being dismissed, they all came up and took leave; many shook hands with them, and "thanked them because they had come to them out of pure love!" and this they continued to do till they got into the wagon. "All stood around and wept," add the affectionate missionaries, "and our own hearts were so penetrated with concern and love for these dear people, that we were obliged to give full vent to our tears." After a journey of three days and two nights they arrived safe at Gnadenthal.

Notwithstanding all these changes, the settlement continued to increase; and at the close of 1804, the congregation consisted of two hundred and forty-five baptized adults, of whom ninety-four were communicants, one hundred and twenty-nine baptized children, and ninety-nine candidates for baptism,—four hundred and seventy-three persons; besides inhabitants in two hundred and seventeen houses,—one hundred and eighty-six men, three hundred and six women, sixty children—total, one thousand and ninety-five, exclusive of the missionaries.

When the Hottentots had moved back to the vineyards, Governor Jansen sent a pressing invitation to the brethren, to allow one of their number to come again, and attend to the religious instructions of the native soldiers. The infirm state of brother Rose's health rendered this extremely inconvenient; yet the importance of the station, and the urgency of the governor and commandant, induced them to submit to the personal sacrifice, and brother Korhammer and his wife agreed to repair to their former post. The internal condition of the mission proceeded gradually in a kind of equal course, increasing in numbers, though several of their old members were removed by death; and, in general, upon their festival days, they gratefully commemorate the grace their Lord had bestowed upon them. Repeatedly they remark, that, in speaking with their communicants, they found, to the praise of our Saviour, most of them in a state of mind which proved their faith and love to him, and their dependence on him for every good; and in all they could discern an earnest desire to live to him, and be delivered from the power of sin. The missionaries also entered into cordial conversations among themselves, about their own disposition of heart and devotion to the Saviour, and united in prayer to him, that he would pardon all he saw amiss, strengthen their faith and love, and bless them with a comfortable sense of his presence.

Owing to their having had long droughts, their temporal affairs were not equally prosperous: a general scarcity prevailed throughout the colony, and they were not exempted from the common calamity, which was heightened by the necessity of providing government stores in the present emergency; and it was with difficulty they were suffered to retain a few sacks of corn for bread, besides the quantity necessary for seed. Their garden, likewise, was over-run with a vast number of slugs and vermin, which destroyed their young plants as soon as ever they appeared above ground, owing to their having had two mild winters in succession. Many of their people who went to the farmers in hopes of getting work and food, were disappointed. In former years, they got part of their wages in corn, which helped them on to the next harvest; but, according to the regulations in force, for first supplying the army and the capital, they might earn money, but corn was not to be had. Added to which, the wild roots, to which they used to have recourse in times of scarcity, had failed, as had also the wild almonds. The cold, too, set in intensely, which with the floods, interrupted their communication with the Cape; and to add to their disasters, a musk-cat got into their dove-cot, and destroyed almost the whole of their pigeons.

There were not, however, wanting instances of the providential care of the Lord towards these people in the midst of their distresses. A party had gone to hunt wild boars, but saw none. One of them, however, espying an antelope, was crawling towards it on his belly, dragging his gun after him, till he could get near enough to take aim unobserved; but just as he was going to fire, the animal began to run, and at that moment a tiger sprung out of the thicket and seized the poor fugitive. The Hottentot jumped up, fired, and the tiger, quitting his prey, fled into the wood;—a circumstance quite contrary to the custom of these savage animals, who, if not shot dead immediately, generally turn and attack the huntsman, springing at his face with the agility of a cat, and soon destroying him, which makes even the most expert marksman hesitate before he fires at a tiger, lest he should not kill him with the first shot. One of these animals having thus sprung upon a white man, in the neighbourhood of Gnadenthal, and knocked him down, his wife, who was at no great distance, when she saw it, seized an assagai, and killed the monster on the body of her husband.

Inhabitants of the Moravian settlement beginning now to be properly appreciated, were sought after by the farmers, in preference to any of the other Hottentots, which gave rise to frequent imposition. Field-cornet Peter Ditoy, brought the missionaries a letter from the landrost, desiring that they would give certificates to all their people when they went into any farmer's service; for it had become a practice with many Hottentots, to give themselves out as inmates of Bavian's Kloof, although they had never seen the place. The missionaries had anticipated the wish of government, and, with prudent caution, had for more than a year previous, furnished certificates to all men, women, and children, who were often reminded never to leave the place without them. But perhaps a stronger reason still may be assigned for the many impositions,—the inhabitants of missionary institutions had peculiar protections, and were not liable to be so forcibly detained and cruelly used as their other countrymen.

On the 12th of October, the mission suffered a severe loss in the death of brother Rose. He had been ill for about a year, but as he had frequently recovered so far as to be able to take an airing on horseback, or visit the Hottentots, his brethren expected that he might still survive the present attack. When they came to him on the morning of that day, they found him seized with one fainting fit after another, yet still he spoke with apparent strength. At eleven o'clock, he conversed with one of the missionaries in a lively manner; but while they were at dinner at twelve, they were unexpectedly called, and found him in the agonies of death. They kneeled down around his bed, and commended his departing spirit to his Creator and Redeemer,—thanked our Saviour for the labours of his faithful servant, now about to be concluded,—and fervently entreated him to comfort and strengthen those who were left behind, especially sister Rose; and soon to supply the place of their brother in the mission. Some verses were then sung, and the blessing of the Lord pronounced over him; shortly after which, his breath ceased. They immediately announced a public meeting in the church in the evening, in which they informed the mourning congregation of the peaceful departure of their faithful friend and teacher. On the third day, the corpse being put into the coffin, the Hottentots were indulged in their wish to see it once more. They came in companies into the room, and placing themselves around the body, sung hymns descriptive of the happiness of those who are with the Lord for ever. Those who stood without joined in the singing, and were admitted in small companies as the others retired. This lasted for about an hour and a half, and was a very affecting scene. A number of the particular friends of the mission were invited to the funeral, which took place two days after. The corpse was carried into the church, and placed in the middle, when a suitable discourse was delivered, after which they went in procession to the burying-ground, the congregation singing verses all the way. The silence and order prevailing among the large number of people assembled, rendered the service very solemn, and greatly surprised many strangers.

Brother Korhammer's labours at the camp were unwearied, and were attended with an evident blessing. He kept a school for children four times a week; and as often as the military exercises allowed, he met with the grown-up people on the evenings of the week-days, to instruct them in the Christian doctrine. On Lord's-days, he had regular public worship; and the remainder of his time was employed in visiting the people in their huts and attending the sick. The regularity of his engagements was, however, sometimes broken in upon by the people, who applied to him respecting their disputes and other unpleasant occurrences. On one occasion, a corporal came and complained to him, that he could get no rest in his hut for "an everlasting fiddling." A man, he said, had procured an old violin, on which he kept scraping day and night, and no sooner did he lay it down but another took it up, till he could bear it no longer, and would positively put a stop to it. The missionary asked him, if he had never calmly expostulated with the man, and endeavoured to silence him by fair speaking? He replied, he had done so frequently, and now he was determined to try some other method, and went away. In about an hour he returned with another corporal, and the obnoxious instrument, and they sat down together in Korhammer's cottage. After remaining some little time, he asked his comrade whether the violin belonged to him; and being answered in the affirmative, he snatched it up, then threw it violently down, and stamped it to pieces. The missionary was afraid of mischievous consequences from this disagreeable interview, but it passed over without more harm.

His temper, too, was occasionally tried by those who came to him under the pretext of mental distress. A soldier's wife, who, as she said, wished to disclose to him the state of her soul, complained of her sinfulness: but for every evil propensity she lamented, she made some sort of excuse; and after every part of her report, always found some apology for herself, till the missionary was forced to interrupt her, and tell her that this conduct was a plain proof she was still in bondage to sin and Satan, and she seemed to love and excuse the practice of sin; and thus dismissed her.

But it was a most encouraging circumstance, that the commandant, Lesueur, and his lady, and several of the superior officers, gave the best example to their inferiors, never allowing themselves to be absent on the Sunday meetings, nor, if possible, on the week days. Perhaps the neighbourhood of the British fleet might quicken their devotions: but whatever was the secondary cause, their solemn festivals, at the close of the year 1805, were attended with uncommon seriousness. Christmas-day, a large company assembled for worship, when the preacher discoursed on the angel's song. While he was speaking, a young man rose, and seizing his hand, whispered in his ear—"I have nothing of the peace you mention, and yet you say the angels proclaimed peace!" Undisturbed, the speaker stopped for a moment, and replied softly—"Go, then, my son, and seek peace with that Jesus whom I now preach unto you!" After the service, the missionary visited all the huts, and spoke with the people concerning the end of our Lord's incarnation, sufferings, and death, and that peace which he thereby procured for men. On the Lord's-day, the weather not permitting them to meet out of doors, Mr. Korhammer now cleared out the whole of his cottage, which was crowded with hearers, many of whom, probably, ere that day twice returned, were in internity. He spoke of the inexpressible happiness of seeing Jesus with the eye of faith, and knowing him as their salvation; and all listened with deep attention. Next day being the last of the year, he again visited all the huts, and endeavoured to explain to the heathen, that as they were now on the eve of entering into a new year, they, as well as he, ought to examine themselves, as to how they had spent the time past, and how they were prepared to leave the world. At eight in the evening, a large company of men, women and children, assembled in his cottage. The officers having commanded that strict order should be observed, all was silence, while their teacher addressed them from the words of our Saviour—"Be ye like unto men that wait for their Lord,"—expatiating on the happiness of those who love him and wait for his glorious appearing, and describing the misery of all who know him not. They then fell on their knees, and entreated *him* to pardon all their numerous sins, known and unknown, commending themselves, and all his people everywhere, among Christians and heathen, to his mercy and protection. During this prayer he was obliged to stop more than once, on account of the loud weeping of the people, and to give vent to his own feelings. "Thus," adds the journal, "we entered into the new year with prayer and praise, in reliance upon the pardon, love, and support of God our Saviour, to whom be glory for ever and ever."

A general review took place on the 2d January, 1806, at which the report was current, that a British fleet was in sight, which was fully confirmed next day, when sixty sail came into the roads. Alarm-guns were immediately fired over the whole country: and the Hottentot corps marched, leaving only a few sick, which, together with the colonel's house, and his most valuable effects, were given in charge to the missionaries, under a small guard of a lieutenant-corporal and six men. On the 7th, the invading troops landed, under a heavy cannonade, and on the 8th the battle was fought, which decided the fate of the Cape. Towards evening, the deserted camp was threatened by some of the fugitives, who entered and plundered, in an unruly manner, and were proposing to set it on fire, when the arrival of a detachment of the British dispersed them.

"We spent," say the missionaries, "the day in terror and dread of these wicked men, and kept on the watch till ten at night, when sleep overpowered us, and we went, though under great apprehensions for our safety, to bed, only keeping a candle burning. Between eleven and twelve there came a thundering rap at the door. A Hottentot maid wakened us, crying out—'Get up immediately, for there is a terrible host of people descending from the mountain towards us, and they are certainly the English.' We were somewhat frightened, rose, and dressed in some haste, and commended ourselves in prayer to God. We said,—'O Lord, we wait with resignation to see what is thy will concerning us poor helpless sheep. We are in thy hands.' We then placed two lighted candles upon the table, and set our door wide open. In a short time, about five hundred men arrived; and having occupied all the streets, began, by two and two, to enter the huts, and make prisoners of whoever they found in them. A corporal and a private stepped into the missionaries' dwelling, who bade them good evening, in English, which the corporal answered by a shake of the hand. Mr. Korhammer informed him, that he was one of the brethren from Bavian's Kloof, and that the mission had enjoyed the favour and protection of both the English and Dutch governments; on which the corporal said—'That's well. I know something of your people.' The missionary asked whether he came as an enemy or a friend, and he replied—'We come as friends. The Cape-Town and colony have this night surrendered, and therefore you are now British subjects, and our friends. And as you were not afraid, but kept your doors open to receive us, we consider you as an honest man and you have nothing to fear.' But he inquired whether they had any Frenchmen, or others, with them; and being told there were no other persons in the cottage, besides himself, his wife, and servant, he replied—'Your word is enough. I will not search.' He now asked for some bread, which they set before him, with meat and wine, for which he offered to pay; and it was with difficulty they could prevail upon him to take back the money he had put down. He then withdrew, and the party left the camp, which was again taken possession of by vagabonds; and the missionaries left it for the house of a friend, where they remained till they heard that General Jansen had accepted of the capitulation proposed by General Sir David Baird, and the colony reverted to the dominion of his Britannic majesty. They then returned to Gnadenthal, where, through the good hand of God upon them, the labours of the brethren had continued to prosper, unchequered by any very remarkable occurrence.

CHAP. X.

Difficulties of the Dutch government—General Jansen interferes with the mission—His proclamation—Mr. Kicherer returns to Zak river—Deteriorated condition of that station—Given up—Settlement on the Orange river—Carelessness of the natives—Small-pox—Concern of the people—Plague subsides—Their apathy returns—Mr. Anderson's address—Happy effects—He is seized with a fever—When recovering, visited by a deputation from government—Their report—Description of the village at Klaar Water—He is summoned to the Cape—Aversion of the Boors to the instruction of the Hottentots—They influence General Jansen—Hate Vanderkemp for his efforts in favour of the Aborigines—He remonstrates with the governor against the cruelty of the Boors—Government favour the farmers—Caffres—Their contests—General respect for Vanderkemp—A party seek refuge at Bethelsdorp—Chiefs leave their sons for education—New missionaries arrive—Dr. Vanderkemp ordered to Cape-Town—His farewell address—He and Mr. Read leave Bethelsdorp—The parting—Mrs. Smith—Her effective services in the mission—Vanderkemp and Read propose leaving the colony—British arrive—They return to their station.

Placed in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, by the renewal of the war, the Dutch government of the Cape had all their efforts for ameliorating the condition of the aborigines paralyzed, by the necessity they were placed under of preparing against an expected attack, with very inadequate means of defence. There can be little doubt but that Governor Jansen, at one time at least, was sincerely desirous of promoting the cause of missions as a means of civilization; but there appears to be as little doubt that he did not understand it. When he saw the industry and regularity of Gnadenthal, and felt its beneficial effects in the brave and docile members it could furnish for the defence of the country, he looked upon the religion taught there as an excellent political system, and as highly conducive to the temporal prosperity of its professors: but he knew not the secret springs which moved the missionaries, directed and sustained their unwearied efforts, and rendered them the efficient mediums of communicating to the savage an energy similar to their own. He therefore thought that their movements, like any other part of state machinery, were to be regulated and controlled by the proclamations and edicts of the magistrates.

This erroneous opinion he had commenced to act upon, when the reins of government were snatched from his hands. Mr. Kicherer having returned from Europe, with a number of additional labourers, the governor took that opportunity of promulgating his orders upon the subject, in the following important ordinance, which shows how much a residence in the country, and the constant misrepresentations of the Boors, had altered his judgment.

The return of the commissary-general De Mist, to Europe, was an unfortunate circumstance, as both his habits and the general turn of his mind, would have led him to inquire more minutely into the civil state of the community, and perhaps enabled him to correct these misstatements, although it is doubtful, whether, when the defence of the colony required the unanimous efforts of all the colonists, either of them would have ventured to displease the Boors, by protecting the Hottentots.

Having noticed the arrival of Mr. Kicherer and the other missionaries, he states, that in order to protect the interests of the colony, and promote the object of the mission—

"1st, All missionaries, who are upon a legal authority, shall have freedom to proceed into the interior of the Cape, for the purpose of teaching and promoting religion and cultivation among the heathen nations. 2d, That this, however, be done at such a distance beyond the boundaries of the colony, that their schools have no communication with the inhabitants upon these boundaries, much less with those that live within them, Christians or Hottentots. 3d, That in the schools and meetings to be formed by the missionaries, for the natives, no person who has residence within the colony, and belonging to the common population, be permitted, unless he has obtained express leave for it from the governor; which leave can never be obtained but in the case of absolute necessity. 4th, That all missionaries, before they proceed to the interior of the country, make themselves known to the governor and commander-in-chief, and also mention the place where they intend to settle themselves; in which case they shall obtain a certificate from him, in which the name of the place or district is expressed, that government may know at all times where the missionaries are labouring. 5th, That missionaries shall be obliged to send to government, at every convenient opportunity, a written account of the state of their schools, in order to show what effect has been produced in the cultivation of the natives under their care,—from what they get their subsistence,—what cattle and other things they possess,—the nature of the soil they occupy,—if fit for agriculture,—the climate. 6th, That the limits of the colony be provisionally established for this purpose; thus—The utmost point of the colony shall be, to the north, the west coast at the mouth of the Coussie river, about 29° 30′ north latitude; the course of this river, to its springs at the commencement of the Copper mountains, shall be the northern limit. This limit shall go farther south, eastwardly, in a straight line, following, however, the natural course of the mountains, and including the utmost habitations of the colonists, to that part of the Zak river, where it unites itself with the Reed river. The Zak river, from hence to its sources, and the mountains of the Newfields, shall be the further limit, which shall continue the course of the mountains, along the north part of the great Karroo, due east and west, to the foot of the Snow mountains. The limit to the north shall include the great mountain called Tafelberg, and continue to the Sea-Cow river, where the beacon of Plettenberg is placed, further proceeding along the west part of the Bamboo mountains, including the whole Tarka Hoek. Finally, the Tarka and Kaka mountains, to the confluence of the Bareaans and great Fish river; and this river, continuing to the mouth, shall separate the colony from the country of the Caffres. 7th, That the missionaries who proceed to the places of their destination, or return from them, as well regularly ordained ministers as others, be prohibited to officiate within the colony, without having leave from the governor and commander-in-chief, or from the vestry of the district in which they intend to officiate.

"8th, That Mr. Kicherer one of the missionaries, having established a school for the natives on this side of the Zak river, shall be permitted to continue his institution upon the following terms:—That the landrost of Talbach be directed to show him the circumference in which the school must be confined,—that, concerning this circumference, the same arrangements must take place, respecting the surrounding inhabitants of the colony, as are established in the 2d, 3d, and 5th articles of this proclamation, respecting those that are beyond the limits of the colony.

"The Moravian establishment at the Bavian's Kloof, which has endeavoured to act in all respects according to the intention of the government, may continue there also, with the recommendation to impress upon the natives, as much as possible, industry, and to convince them of the bad consequences proceeding from idleness. The Moravians, however, must take care not to seduce any native or Bastard, from the service of their masters, to their instruction.

"The institution of Dr. Vanderkemp, established upon legal authority, at Bethelsdorp, shall be also permitted to remain within the foregoing limits, but upon the following conditions:—That neither the missionary Vanderkemp, nor any of his fellow-missionaries belonging to the institution of Bethelsdorp, shall be permitted to go, without a special consent from the governor, commander-in-chief, or landrost of Wittenhage, out of the limits of the colony: that only wandering Hottentots, or others, who from this institution have gone into the service of the inhabitants, shall be permitted to receive instruction; but no Hottentots who are actually serving the inhabitants, or have served them in the course of the preceding year, be permitted to be received within it."

"11th. No instruction in writing, as this is not absolutely necessary in the commencement of cultivation, shall be permitted in the schools already established, or that may be established hereafter; but this instruction shall be postponed till express license from the governor, or the commander-in-chief, be obtained for it.

"12th. As far as the capacity of the natives is fit for comprehending the first ideas of social order, such as exists in the mother-country, and in this colony, the missionaries shall be obliged to teach them. The missionaries are prohibited to pray openly in the institutions already established, or that may be established hereafter, for any other power or government, than for that of the Batavian republic, and the colony of the Cape.

"Upon these conditions, which the present state of the colony has made necessary to establish, and are only established as having a tendency to promote the intention of the missionary institution, all possible aid and assistance shall be given to the missionaries in the colony; and," it was added, "we expect that each of them will endeavour to act accordingly, because a conduct contrary to these regulations would compel government to take serious measures to enforce them."

This edict, which was in a great measure calculated to destroy the efforts making for the civilization of South Africa, was quietly acquiesced in by all the missionary establishments, except that of Dr. Vanderkemp. Mr. Kicherer, accompanied by Mr. Voss, prepared, under every restriction, to proceed to Zak river; but during his absence, a variety of untoward incidents, together with the depredations of the Bushmen, had reduced the settlement to a very low ebb, although Mr. Botma, who supplied his place, had expended considerable sums from his private fortune for its support. A deputation from Government visited it in the end of 1805, and their report was extremely unfavourable. The number of pupils amounted to forty; but the majority of these consisted of Bastard Hottentots,—the Bushmen having mostly left the settlement: their stock of cattle and sheep was greatly reduced, and was always decreasing: the kraals where they lodged at night, were fallen into ruins: the cattle lay among the huts, or were left to run about at pleasure; in consequence of which, the garden which Kicherer had formed, was trodden down, the springs fouled, and everything bore the marks of dilapidation. Mr. Botma had made some attempts to correct these abuses, by setting a good example himself. He had enclosed a piece of land, about an acre and a half, with a hedge, for growing corn and vegetables for the kitchen; but more than once, a whole side of his hedge had been carried away by his pupils to save themselves the trouble of going farther for firewood.

Although greatly overcharged, this description had some foundation, from the causes mentioned, which eventually obliged the station to be removed. Indeed, Mr. Kicherer, after he had laboured there some time, finding the difficulties of the mission increase, either from the obstructions of government, or the wretchedness of the situation, accepted of the charge of a church at Graaf-Reinet, but without withdrawing from the superintendence of the mission.

Government, in consequence of the bad report respecting the institution at Zak river, instructed their commission to inspect that among the Corrannas. They found it in a much more satisfactory state. Mr. Anderson having experienced the bad effects of journeying from place to place, resolved to form an establishment which might serve as a centre for the operations among the surrounding tribes. Having found a convenient situation near an excellent spring, Klaar Fontein, about thirty-one days' distance from Cape-Town, he intimated his intention to the people, assuring them, that unless called away in the providence of God, he determined to remain where he then was; and if any did not approve of his design, they were at liberty to leave him. To his agreeable surprise, they all consented to his proposal. He then proceeded to fix them at their different stations, where they should abide and work; and also disposed of their cattle and sheep on suitable grounds. Their husbandry, owing to the climate, was very limited. In the winter and spring they have little or no rain; and at the latter end of summer, the showers, accompanied with thunder, were partial. The agricultural produce, in consequence, depended on the strength of the spring, and was very precarious. They reared, however, corn for their own use; but their chief reliance was upon their gardens for vegetables, and their only profit arose from breeding cattle and sheep. The difficulties he had to encounter, in introducing anything like habits of settled industry among them, may be judged of from the following trait which he gives us of their carelessness:—A number of them having bought horses, rode about as if they had been mad, regarding nothing but their diversion. The missionary, Kramer being at that time absent, represented to them their folly, assuring them it was all the result of their pride, which was sin, and would, with their ingratitude, sooner or later, be punished, as most of them were scarcely able to maintain themselves and their families. But the more he reproved them, both privately and publicly, the more they appeared to be hardened and disobedient. Anxiety and fatigue brought on the missionary weakness and indisposition of body, which increased daily, and his appetite failed. "Still," he remarks, "my Lord enabled me to go through the different parts of my missionary work with delight, as his work, and with much desire to be made useful to their souls, although it appeared at present as if it were in vain."

About the beginning of March, 1805, one person died of the small-pox, which, being attributed to his going abroad too soon, occasioned little alarm, especially as several others, who had been attacked, recovered. In April, the disease began to assume a very alarming appearance: every other day there was a burial, and it appeared as if the Lord were about to visit them in anger, and sweep them away from the face of the earth. Mr. Anderson, although his indisposition had increased, was unceasingly employed in visiting the abodes of the sick—the wretchedness of which was beyond description—administering to them all the help he could, and speaking to them about the things concerning their peace. One woman he heard praying, and her husband said that she had exhorted them to attend to the preached word, and told them, —"What I have heard, I know that it is the truth." Another departed under circumstances of horror: she had lived a most licentious life, and had often disregarded the faithful warnings of the missionaries, and of her brother, who, it was hoped, had been made a partaker of grace. Her body was noisome; her mind was distracted; she appeared to have no hope, but rather a foretaste of eternal misery; she screamed and groaned, and was unwilling to die. The scene was appalling.

Now there sat a gloom upon every countenance,—each began to fear the approach of death; they attended diligently to the preacher, who endeavoured to impress upon their minds the importance of the visitation, and the effect that it ought to have upon them, if they wished or expected that God would in mercy return. About the middle of May, the distemper had greatly abated, and, along with it, that great solemnity and concern among the people respecting their souls; and the most of them began again to neglect attending on the worship of God. Grieved at this sad indifference, Mr. Anderson, himself now exceedingly weak, and looking forward to his own speedy dissolution, invited them particularly to attend a meeting in his house, which they did, when he addressed them from Amos iv. 6, to the end—"I have sent among you the pestilence, after the manner of Egypt, and I have made the stink of your camps to come up into your nostrils; yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord;" and this was apparently attended with a divine blessing.

Soon after, he was attacked with a bilious fever, and could neither eat nor sleep. As he did not know the nature of his disease, nor the method of treatment, nor could receive the smallest assistance from any person around him, he despaired of life; but having an emetic lying beside him, he took it, and it produced the desired effect, so that he became able to take a little milk, which had for some time been his principal support. Relapsing, however, he became delirious, and was found in this state by some of his missionary brethren, with their wives, who providentially came to see him. One of them being a medical man, took charge of him, and by the blessing of God on his prescriptions, and the tender nursing of the sisters, he was restored, though not rapidly, to health.

Ere he was yet quite convalescent, when the commission visited him, his appearance was peculiarly interesting. "We were now," says Lichtenstein, who was with the landrost, "at the dwelling-place of the missionary Anderson in the largest of the villages, which contained between three and four hundred inhabitants. We paid our visit to the patriarch, who was very ill, and so weak that he could not quit his hut. His habitation was a Coran hut, only somewhat larger than the usual size. It was very poor within, but kept perfectly clean. The bed was shut up from the rest of the room by a curtain; in the middle was a table, and round about some chests and coffers, instead of chairs. Some small English prints were hanging about the roof, such as the apotheosis of a child's soul, with portraits of Vanderkemp and other celebrated missionaries. We found in Anderson an amiable appearing man, about thirty years of age, with great serenity and piety in his whole deportment. His features were fine, and his eye beamed with a spirit of religion and resignation: this, combined with the evident traces of a long standing sickness, gave him wholly the aspect of a saint, and could not fail, at the first glance, to win the heart of every one who approached him. He spoke the Dutch language tolerably well,—sufficiently so to make himself perfectly intelligible to the Hottentots; but he was not a little rejoiced in being able to talk with us in his mother-tongue. He assured us, our arrival was most gratifying to him, for he had long wished to see the attention of the government turned towards his institution, that he might with the greater confidence address his petitions to them for support. He was sensible, many obstacles must exist to this assistance being granted, and his penetration did not go far enough to meet all that might be urged by evil-minded persons against the interests of the government and of the institution.

"Our missionary had already been four years in the country, yet he complained, notwithstanding his most strenuous exertions in his vocation, he had accomplished but little. This, he thought, was partly to be ascribed to the successive years of drought which had intervened, and which obliged them perpetually to move from one place to another, and partly also to the high degree of indocility which unfortunately characterized most of his pupils. It was only since their being permanently fixed in that spot that he could see any prospect of his efforts being attended with the happy consequences which his wishes had anticipated. Since that time, he could perceive among them an increasing spirit of industry, of docility, and of desire of improvement. The example of the best among the Bastard Hottentots seemed to make some impression on their wholly savage brethren. His great object at present was to keep the institution fixed; and for this purpose he was endeavouring by all possible means to excite a spirit of attention to agriculture, and wean them from their attachment to the nomade life. He had already persuaded some of his people to build themselves permanent houses, instead of movable huts. He was even occupied with having a large building erected, partly as a habitation for himself, and partly as a place of assemblage for divine worship. He had canals dug in some of the low grounds to drain them, they being too marshy for use; and he hoped by this means that they would next year be fit for cultivation; he hoped also by such exertion to increase the spirit of agriculture, as one of the best means of rendering the people stationary. For this purpose he divided the whole population into six parts, who were distributed in the like number of villages; and persons of the most distinction among the Bastard Hottentots were appointed magistrates, to inspect and take care of the rest.

"The Leeuwenkuil,—where the Klaar water is situated—is a long valley between two ridges of flat-topped hills. At the upper end of the valley is a copious spring, which renders the whole a sort of morass. Further down, the waters are collected into a bed, and the slopes on both sides are amazingly fertile. This part has been particularly devoted to agricultural purposes. Equal shares, from five to six acres, are portioned out and allotted to those who have industry to cultivate them. On the slopes of the hills which border the great valley, some small stone houses are already erected; and somewhat lower down is a very neat house, built of wood and bricks, with a kitchen garden adjoining, which belongs to the most distinguished among the Bastards, by name Moses. The greatest industry and spirit of order reigned in this household,—more than is often to be found in African farms. Maize and tobacco were cultivated in the garden, with the usual vegetables for culinary purposes. Not far from the spring was the half-finished building designed for a church."

Mr. Anderson in his journal, acknowledges gratefully the respect paid him by these gentlemen; he considered it as a great honour conferred upon him in the sight of the heathen. The people from this time became more obedient; and his health daily advancing, his outward situation became as life from the dead. His missionary labours were also blessed, and he was successfully engaged in instructing his people, when a copy of General Jansen's proclamation reached him, forbidding him to teach his pupils to write, without express permission. And some time after, he received a summons to repair to the Cape, as the governor wished to have a personal interview with him. This order he obeyed; but when he arrived at Cape-Town, he found it in possession of the British, and Sir David Baird at the head of the government. The station at that time was in a flourishing situation; the number of inhabitants, men, women, and children, was seven hundred and eighty-four, of whom eighty could read. All expressed a great desire to hear the word of life, and many were brought to a saving knowledge of divine things.

Whatever tended to elevate the character or rank of the aborigines, was an object of hatred and dread to the Boors. Their dislike to General Dundas arose from his being an uniform friend to their improvement, and a steady and determined enemy to their oppression. This dislike extended to the whole system of British government during the time he was at the head of it; and by keeping a number of farmers at a distance from their rulers, allowed the situation of the poor Hottentots to be more freely represented, and more fairly, than if these gentlemen had been upon friendly terms with the governor. To him, therefore, any proposal for obstructing the progress of knowledge among the natives would have been hopeless. But with the Dutch governor their conduct was entirely different; they surrounded him the moment he landed; and, having first gained his ear, succeeded in exciting his prejudices against all missionary attempts, but particularly those of Dr. Vanderkemp, because, while he endeavoured to instruct the Hottentots in the principles of religion, he could not be a silent spectator of their enormous wrongs. Whether the Doctor was equally well fitted with the Moravian brethren for founding a missionary settlement, or whether his previous habits, his highly cultivated mind, and great literary talents did not in some degree tend to hinder his practical efforts in teaching a savage nation the first rudiments of arts and manufactures, as the Dutch Governor and his advisers appear to have imagined, we shall not stop to inquire; but his unconquerable love of justice, and his unmitigated abhorrence of oppression, rendered him exactly the person calculated to open the road for obtaining a redress of those grievances under which the Hottentots groaned. In addition to this unpardonable offence, he had early begun to teach his pupils writing; and as the Boors knew no way of rivalling the race they abused and despised, but by keeping them still in ignorance, they deprecated strongly this outrage against their established superiority. By what method of reasoning they contrived to bend General Jansen to their purpose, it is not easy to conceive: but he appears early to have imbibed their antipathy to Hottentot penmanship; for in his very first interview with Dr. Vanderkemp, he endeavoured to persuade the Doctor that it was unnecessary, if not improper, to teach persons just emerging from barbarism, the art of writing. The missionary could not see the subject in the same light—he considered it an advantage which he could not conscientiously withhold without a positive prohibition; and that the governor did not at that time think it proper to impose.

Not only did these savages, the colonists, wish to keep the Hottentots in the grossest ignorance and the most debasing degradation, but they treated them with a cruelty beyond what they would have exercised towards their slaves, or even their cattle. Among the articles in the charter granted to the institution at Bethelsdorp, was one requiring the missionaries to promote their entering into the service of the farmers; but, familiar as Vanderkemp was with the treatment they experienced, his soul revolted at such an injunction, and in 1804, he repeatedly remonstrated against it. "We thought it our duty," says the journal, "to declare, in a letter written April — to the governor, by brother Vanderkemp, that our consciences would not permit us longer to observe that hard article of the settlement granted to our institution, by which we were recommended to encourage the voluntary engagement of the Hottentots into the service of the colonists, on account of the cruelty and injustice with which those who entered into their service were treated, without any justice being done to them by the magistrates. In answer to this, the governor ordered the landrost of this district to take the necessary steps. This not being done, and the oppression of these inhuman wretches, who call themselves Christians, for the greatest part continuing unpunished, we find ourselves constrained to persist in our declaration, trusting that the Lord, to whose tribunal we have appealed, will do what is right and consistent with the honour of his name, as he has in some respects visibly shown. These Christians we have mentioned, seem equally devoid of common sense and humanity. One of them out of our neighbourhood went lately to the Cape, where he, without any ceremony, applied to the governor to destroy us; to which the governor replied by asking him whether he had not seen the gallows since he arrived at the Cape? Reiterated applications, however, and slanders frequently repeated, had their usual effect. The righteous complaints of the missionary were neglected; but he was not so readily forgiven for having made them."

For the concurrence of the Dutch government in the means proposed by the farmers to rivet the bonds of ignorance, and vassalage upon the Hottentots, some apology, or shadow of apology, may be sought in the supposed necessity that existed in their then critical situation of cultivating their friendship, though at the expense of their own interest, and the true and permanent interest of the colony. But what object they could propose by obstructing the civilization of the Caffres and neighbouring tribes, and joining the wicked and foolish plans of the Boors, to shut out knowledge from them, exceeds all rational comprehension. Yet were the missionaries in the most peremptory manner forbid to enter the bounds of Caffraria. The Caffres, however, still retained a strong veneration for the character of Tinkhanna, and parties of them frequently visited Bethelsdorp. At the commencement of the year, two of the rebel chiefs, Slambi and Conga, having quarrelled among themselves, had recourse to hostile operations against each other, when the latter being worsted, was pursued pretty far into the colony, and many of his adherents, among whom were an uncle and sister, took refuge in the institution;—Slambi did not follow, but he sent a white ox as a present to Dr. Vanderkemp, with a request that he would procure rain, of which he stood greatly in need. The ox was sent back, with an answer suitable to the foolish demand, and he soon after left the place. But some of his people stole one of the cows belonging to the establishment. They were traced by their footsteps to the horde of Kamma, one of his subordinate captains, to whom some Hottentots were sent to reclaim the cow, or demand another in its stead. The cow was slaughtered and eaten, but the horde was condemned to pay as many head of cattle as would satisfy the claimants. Upon which the Hottentots contented themselves with taking five beasts, and were assured that the thieves, if taken, would be exemplarily punished. Kamma likewise sent his staff to brother Vanderkemp, with a message purporting how sorry he was that he could not write to express the feelings of his heart towards them.

Within one short month the rebel chiefs were reconciled and joined in confederacy against Gika. The visit, however, of Conga's people to the institution was attended by most important consequences: Tzjaatzoe, a brave chieftain belonging to that tribe, requested the missionaries to take charge of the education of his son, which they cheerfully agreed to, and not long after, Conga himself paid them a visit, and after staying some days, committed two of his sons to their care. Thus unexpectedly, by these occurrences, was the hand of God defeating the machinations of his enemies, and preparing the way for the entrance of the gospel of the kingdom into the heart of Caffraria, and raising up missionaries from among the people themselves, with whom the colonists could have no pretext for interfering, to proclaim to their countrymen the glad tidings of salvation.

These proceedings raised such a clamour against Dr. Vanderkemp, that in April 1805 he was summoned to the Cape to answer for his conduct. During the first quarter of the year the hearts of the missionaries had been gladdened by the apparent manifestation of the Redeemer's grace to some poor heathens, so that from the 1st of January to the day they left the institution, eight adults were baptized, besides five young children. Five or six others, among whom was a Caffre women, gave pleasing evidence of sincere conversion. They also experienced an increasing blessing attending the ordinances, and it happened more than once that Mr. Read's voice was drowned while preaching, by the crying of the people: their emotion was especially perceptible at the love-feasts and at the Lord's-supper, which they partook of every Sabbath. Mr. Ulbricht, who had arrived from Europe with Mr. Kicherer, joined the institution on the 3d of March, to the great joy of the previous labourers, who received him as a third missionary. He was followed by Mr. Tromp, with his wife, and Tetje Bakker, who had laboured for some time before at the Cape, and at Wagon-maker's valley, where, from the new regulations adopted by the government, he had met with many difficulties, which had often induced Dr. Vanderkemp to invite him to come to Bethelsdorp, where he might reside till another way should open to him; and now the effect of the late proclamation was to oblige him to comply. These brethren immediately commenced assisting the seniors. Mrs. Tromp was a most valuable acquisition, both by discoursing experimentally with the women, and by erecting a knitting-school for the young girls.

Scarcely had these been initiated into the duties of the place, when it became evident that they had been providentially directed thither, to supply to the Hottentots the loss of their teachers, of whom they were about to be bereaved. Three days after their arrival, Dr. Vanderkemp received an order from the governor to repair to the Cape without delay, —Mr. Reid to accompany him. The direction of the institution was then committed to Mr. Ulbricht, with the assistance of the other missionaries; and the two brethren prepared to obey the summons. The day before their departure, Dr. Vanderkemp baptized a Hottentot sister, and spoke, at the last love-feast they held together, from 2 Sam. xv. 25.—"If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and show me both it and his habitation; but if he thus say, I have no delight in thee; behold here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him." Mr. Read spoke to the people on the same evening from Rev. xxi. 6.—"It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." The impression that was made upon both these occasions is not easy to describe. Next morning, 29th April, they departed, after Mr. Tromp had recommended them to God in prayer; in a heart-breaking manner taking leave of those who, to use their own expression, "were dearer to them than the light of their eyes." The greater part followed as long as they could; and when all of them had returned, one after another, a little girl stopped, and refused to depart: her they took with them. They had likewise the son of the Caffre chief who had been intrusted to their care. On their way to the Cape they met another missionary, Smith, who had obtained leave to reside at Bethelsdorp: and thanked the Lord who had cared for their dear congregation, now provided with three missionaries. They completed their journey in five weeks, and arrived at their ultimate destination on the 2d of June.

While they were detained at the Cape, soliciting either a trial or a release, they were greatly encouraged and strengthened by Mrs. Smith, a widow, now in the fifty-fifth year of her age, and in a weak state of health, whose life had been devoted to useful and philanthropic objects. Apprehensive that the missionaries might not be permitted to resume their labours, this heroic woman disposed of her property, and relinquished the comforts of civilized life, that she might supply their lack of service. The importance she attached to the education of youth, the success which had attended her labours in Cape-Town in that department, the talents for which she was distinguished, the high respectability of her character, and her affectionate zeal, qualified her in an eminent degree for the duties of her new station. Her efforts succeeded in bringing together many of the children of the people, with their parents, to the reading school. She formed a school of industry; both which she constantly superintended. And while she was exerting her influence to impart to the minds of the people a taste for instruction, reviving and improving the reading school, and conducting the school of industry, she was no less assiduous in visiting them in their houses, and teaching them the decencies of life; conversing with the females apart; and endeavouring to impress their minds with the power of religion, assembling with them in their social meetings, and expounding to them the word of God. And she had the satisfaction of seeing several females under her tuition, receive the first principles of the Christian character, who afterwards became members of the mission church.

Worn out by eight months' detention in Cape-Town, and finding all their applications for permission to return to Bethelsdorp, or to continue their missionary work in any other district of the colony, or to traverse it, in order to undertake an exploratory excursion into the adjacent countries beyond its limits, the brethren Vanderkemp and Read began to revolve in their minds the propriety of attempting a new mission beyond the reach of their persecutors, and turned their eyes to Madagascar and the coast of Mozambique. Besides, as they saw no prospect of the violent opposition to their labours within the colony ceasing, but rather, owing to the harmony established between the governor and the Boors, that it would extend to every missionary establishment, the Doctor proposed that the London Society should send to Africa, two companies of well-chosen and resolved missionaries, of at least five or six each; the one to be disembarked on the western shore, out of the reach of the colony, between the Orange river and the tropic; the other on the east coast, N.E. of Caffraria, among the Tambookies; with a view of forming, through time, intermediate missionary settlements from the one extremity to the other, by means of which a communication between the two coasts might be opened, and a chain of missionary posts formed, encircling the colony, at a convenient distance: That the Dutch Society, in concert with the Asiatic Council in Holland, should arrange a regular plan, according to which their missionaries in the colony might be admitted and protected, which, if approved by the Asiatic Council, would be sufficient to give them a claim to the protection of government, which would then find missionary settlements within the colony necessary to prevent emigrations, of the natives towards the settlements without. Should these proposals have been acceded to, it was the intention of the two missionaries to proceed to Madagascar, whence they could easily have joined either of the settlements; but the time of their deliverance was drawing near, when they were to be allowed to return to their beloved Bethelsdorp. In less than a month after the above the plan was sent off, the British obtained possession of the Cape, and they were restored to their affectionate people.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NAMAQUAS

Description of the Namaqua country—Great decrease of the inhabitants—Their cruel treatment by the Boors and the Dutch Government—Their own cruelty to their parents and women—The first missionaries arrive among them—Begin a station at the Happy Deliverance—Numbers of natives flock to them—Extraordinary spirit of inquiry among them—British obtain possession of the Cape—Concluding recapitulation of what had been done for civilizing the savage tribes, and the obstacles opposed at that time to their improvement.

The last attempt for civilizing the aborigines, which took place while the Dutch held the Cape, was that to the Naquama people—a Hottentot tribe, divided into the Great and Little Naquamas. The country they inhabit stretches along the south-western coast from the boundaries of the colony to about 27° south latitude. The Orange river runs through part of the southern quarter, and further North it is watered by several streams; yet owing to the sandy nature of the soil, the district is in general barren, and even the lofty mountains are sterile and bare. Some scattered, but not very considerable fountains yield a supply of water during the whole year, but few of these are sweet, the others being brackish, mineralogic, or warm. Here there are no regular succession of seasons, nor can rainy months be calculated upon, as in other parts of the colony,—their only dependence being the thunder storms, by which the land is occasionally watered. There are no large trees or timber, and even the mimosa are scarce,—a few roots and bulbs are the only edible vegetables,—of wild fruit there is none. There is, however, wild honey in the mountains, and plenty of game. The antelope species is abundant.

Barrow thus describes this people, when the British first took possessisn of the Cape—"In that part of the Namaqua country lying between the Khamies and the Groote or Orange river, water is rarely to be met with, except in the periodical streams that flow from the mountains, under beds of sand, in which the natives, when such existed, used to dig deep wells, and cover them over to prevent evaporation. These plains are now desolate and uninhabited. All those numerous tribes of Namaquas, once possessed of vast herds of cattle, are, in the course of a century, dwindled away to four hordes, which are not very numerous, and in a great measure are subservient to the Dutch peasantry who dwell among them. The latter, who have seized upon the choicest part of their country, allow them to erect their huts in the neighbourhood of their farms, on condition of their furnishing a certain number of people to protect their cattle against the attacks of Bushmen or wild beasts of prey. A dozen years more, and probably a shorter period, will see the remains of the Naquama nation in a state of entire servitude." Such are the effects of an encroaching peasantry, sanctioned by the low policy of a government, that could descend to employ agents to effect the purchase of whole herds of cattle for a cask of brandy. To this government was so little a concern of such great magnitude, that it authorized these agents, for the greater convenience of transporting their brandy, to make an expensive road across a point of the Kamies-berg, which still bears the honourable name of the Company's Road. The government having fixed no limits to their colony, nor their subjects to their avarice, the latter found it still more convenient to settle themselves in the midst of the harmless Namaquas, who considered them as the most acceptable neighbours in the world. For a bottle of brandy, which cost sixpence, they willingly exchanged an ox; and such is the infatuation of this people for the noxious liquor, that they will even now exchange a sheep for the same quantity of it. Yet they produced among themselves a strong and intoxicating liquor from honey. Their language and customs are similar to those of the Hottentots already described; and notwithstanding the epithet of "harmless" bestowed upon them by this traveller, their cruelty to their parents and to their women was unnatural and barbarous.

On the arrival of a missionary at one of their kraals, he observed a young man, about sixteen years of age, dragging his mother along by the hair of her head.—the people all the while looking on with the utmost indifference; and when asked how they could witness such a scene, replied with the greatest coolness—"It is no more than our common practice."

When another, after two years' residence among them, was about to take a temporary leave, the women, who had felt the beneficial effects of his instructions in ameliorating their condition, and entreating him to remain, thus portrayed their former state: "Before you came among us, we were in the most wretched condition; we were treated by the men as brutes, and worse than they treated brutes. When we were at home we had all our houses to build and keep in repair; we had every day to go abroad to seek for roots and honey, and firewood. During the time we were employed in this kind of labour, the men were generally idle. When we returned at night with what we had gathered for their subsistence and our own, we dared not sit down in their presence, without their permission; and if we had been unsuccessful, as was often the case, we were generally beaten. When they went to hunt, in addition to our cooking utensils and our young children, we were compelled to carry what they wanted for their own use, while they walked before us, and left us to follow, as if we had been beasts of burden. When they had killed their game, we had to cook for them, and we were not allowed to taste a morsel till they had satisfied themselves: and when they had eaten, we were obliged to retire from their presence, to consume the offals given to us. Should you depart, we shall be worse than if you had never come among us."

The first missionaries who visited the great Namaquas did not estimate that tribe at more than five thousand souls, and their accounts of the circumstances in which they were, agree pretty nearly with that above quoted. These missionaries were three in number, Messrs. C. and A. Ulbricht, and M. Sydenfaden, who had been sent by the Netherland Society. They left Cape-Town in May, and after encountering the hunger, thirst, weariness, and alarm that a few defenceless, and not very experienced travellers were naturally exposed to in crossing a desert, whose only inhabitants were the wild beasts, and hardly less wild men, they reached the Orange river, where they remained three months. By means of the youngest son of Cornelius Kok, who acted as interpreter, they were enabled to preach to the Little Namaquas; and it was matter of joy that this youth not only understood, but himself preached the gospel to the heathen. At the recommendation of the old man, they removed further east, visited another of his sons, Adam Kok, with whom they remained for some time, cultivating the acquaintance of the natives on the opposite side of the river; while one of the brethren, C. Ulbricht, made an excursion into the great Namaqua country, to spy out the land. In the beginning of November, he returned with intelligence that he had found two large fountains,—one he named "the Silent Hope," and the other "the Happy Deliverance:" near which he thought a settlement might be formed. Messengers from different quarters followed, earnestly entreating the missionaries to come among them, and instruct them in the way of salvation.

Cheered by these exhilarating prospects, they left Kok's on the 31st of January, and about midnight reached the Silent Hope. Next day, the heathen who had assembled requested him to perform divine service, with which they readily complied,—thanking God for having preserved them during their journey, and brought them safely to this people; and prayed that he would qualify them for their work and make them useful: that He himself would open the hearts of the heathen, and that his Word might find entrance. At noon, departing thence, they arrived at the Happy Deliverance, four miles distant, where they proposed to fix their abode. Here they immediately began to prepare houses and to lay out their gardens; and had the happiness of being soon surrounded by numbers of Namaquas who understood Dutch, and to whom they could at once announce the glad tidings they brought. At first they had been discouraged from settling on this spot, because Africaner had his kraal at no great distance, and his son frequently resided at "the Silent Hope;" but there was no other part in that district that afforded any promise of supporting an establishment except where they were; they therefore committed themselves to God, and went forward; and at no distant date they had the pleasure of seeing many of his people, and even the dreaded "monster" himself, come to hear the word of God. Of the faith and courage displayed by the missionaries upon this occasion, some idea may be formed by reverting to the character of Africaner, the terror not only of the natives, but of the colonists,—proscribed, desperate, and stained with the most atrocious crimes. Besides these, upwards of three hundred Hottentots, Oorlams, *i. e.* those who had resided among the Christians, and River Hottentots, *i. e.* those who inhabited the banks of the Orange river,—had an opportunity of being instructed in the truths of the Gospel, and showed every inclination to settle and improve their advantages. Sometimes the wandering Bushmen visited them, and listened to "the good words." "It appears to us," say they in their letters, "that the heathen have a desire to be acquainted with the word of salvation; and we, though we suffer poverty and are in want of all earthly comforts, which we could have enjoyed in our native country, yet we are satisfied if we perceive that our feeble endeavours are not without a blessing from on high."

Indeed, throughout the whole of South Africa, there seemed to be an extraordinary spirit of inquiry and desire for instruction excited; and over these desert regions, so long without the showers of heaven which water the earth and make it fruitful, there now hung a little cloud like a man's hand, while others seemed gathering on the distant horizon. The hope of the missionaries accepted the sign, and their souls were cheered by anticipating the sound of abundance of rain.

When the British again obtained possession of the Cape, their arrival was hailed as a new era, and the friends of the aborigines greeted them as the deliverers of the oppressed. How they fulfilled these high and honourable expectations, forms a section not the least interesting in the history of the civilization of South Africa, which we hope shortly to lay before our readers. But in bringing the present to a close, we shall briefly recapitulate what had been previously accomplished, and the obstacles that had to be overcome. Before the Moravians attempted the civilization of the natives, it had been given up in despair; and when they had shown what was practicable, they had to encounter the violent opposition of the Boors, which acquired strength from the imbecility of the Dutch government in revolutionary times. While the colony remained in the possession of their East India Company, though the cruel selfishness of the colonists making daily aggressions on the property and liberty of the Hottentots, and although the colonial government winked at, and even partook of the unhallowed spoliations, yet there was no public recognition of the right of the farmers to oppress; and if any complaint reached the mother-country, the charges were evaded, not met; while the freedom of the natives and their property in the soil were fully acknowledged. The opposition, therefore, which was raised to the instruction of the heathen, appeared to proceed entirely from the hatred which the world has ever shown to the progress of the gospel. It was not till the scattered remnants of the original possessors of the soil began to be treated with common justice; and the formation of one village of industrious inhabitants showed, not only the possibility but the probability that they might again obtain a status in their own land, and enjoy in fact, what they had in name—personal liberty,—perhaps political freedom. It was not till then, that the indignation of the farmer declared the interest he had in maintaining the thraldom of the natives, and opposing their civilization.

The Dutch Company's government had, greatly to their credit, protected and encouraged the rising settlement of Bavian's Kloof, till it attained a degree of internal strength, and exhibited an example of order, utility, and beauty, which would have rendered its open destruction a dishonourable, if not a dangerous attempt, by any of their servants, especially in the face of their reiterated professions of regard for the welfare and religious instruction of the heathen. Self-interest, however, is a wonderfully acute casuist, and corporations are almost uniformly insensible to shame: the Company had greatly declined, and, although never remarkably scrupulous in their dealings with their uncultivated neighbours, their agents had latterly become more extensively rapacious; the missionary settlement was a powerful check upon them, and there were strong symptoms that they would have joined in getting it gradually removed, when the British first obtained possession of the country, and was providentially the means of preserving, at that time, this precious germ of civilization among a degraded race.

Most happily, during the few years the British had possession of the Cape, its government was intrusted to men who had no common feeling with the Boors, and no interest in the country beyond its welfare. The names of Craig, Macartney, and Dundas, will ever be held in grateful remembrance, for the humanity, equity, and wisdom, of their rule,—the attention they paid to the rights of the aborigines, and the regard they showed for their moral elevation. The restrictions which, during the last years of the late government, had been laid upon the "free" Hottentots, were suspended; and the missionary establishment of the United Brethren was not only not checked, but received every encouragement which a religious society ought to receive from the civil power,—protection in the unfettered exercise of their duty, and occasional assistance to aid them in their distress. Impressed with the importance of missionary labours, none of the British governors ever dreamed of prohibiting their extension among the savages without the bounds of the colony, while Governor Dundas promoted and excited their exertions within it.

The dissatisfaction of the Boors with the British was favourable to the civilization of the Hottentots. Rough, uncultivated, lazy, and tyrannical, these men, little removed from the first stage of barbarous society, were miserable agriculturists, and led, in general, a kind of nomade life, subsisting almost entirely upon the produce of their herds and flocks; to support which, immense tracks of country were necessary, for, unacquainted with the production of artificial grasses, they trusted to the spontaneous and natural herbage; and when one pasture-field was exhausted, they removed their cattle to another, till the periodical rains had called into life a new vegetation. To them, unfeeling, unthinking, and injudicious governors, granted thousands of acres,* including often the ground on which native kraals were situated, and the only springs within a district. As a peasant himself was incapable, had he been even inclined, to manage his herds, the first settlers procured slaves; but this required capital, and many of them had nothing. The Hottentots, in this case, presented an easy and cheap substitute; such, therefore, as were not driven off the lands, or did not flee to the deserts, became serfs of the soil, and were compelled to act as herdsmen to the usurpers of their own ground. In consequence, the Boors endeavoured, by every method of intimidation and cruelty, to prevent their receiving the first elements of civilization; and a general combination was raised against Christianity and its missionaries.

This the British governors did something to counteract; but their time was so short, and the tenure by which the colony was held so uncertain, that they did not attempt so much as they ought. The insurrectional movements of the Boors in part supplied this deficiency, and drove the oppressed Hottentots to seek refuge under the British, against whom the peasants wished them to fight. Numbers thus came under instruction; and numbers were formed into corps to aid in crushing the rebellion; while all who wished it were at liberty to join any Christian missionary station. Of this many availed themselves. And when the colony was restored to the Dutch, Bavian's Kloof was in a flourishing condition. There was a promising station at Graaf-Reinet; and Dr. Vanderkemp had collected around him a number of inquirers. There were also stations without the colony among the Bushmen, the Corrannas, and the Bastard tribes.

Civilization had advanced considerably, while the British retained possession, both without and within the bounds of the colony; but unfortunately nothing was done to secure the advantages already gained, or to assist its progress. There were no decisive steps taken to repress the tyranny of the Boors,—to punish their cruelties and their crimes against the aborigines, nor to establish the supremacy of the laws. It is true, the overflowings of oppression were suspended, and the damage they had done partially repaired, but no mounds were raised to prevent their recurrence, and save the fields that were beginning to blossom from their future ravages. The sullen stream was suffered to roll darkly in its rugged channel, while the British, like temporary tenants, did not think themselves warranted to expend much treasure in cultivating a country on an uncertain lease.

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* One insatiable landrost had upwards of 70,000 acres granted him.

When the Dutch received the colony in 1802–3, they found it in a state of disorganization. The finances were deranged; and although our countrymen had expended immense sums. (about fifteen millions, it is said,) yet the people, except the traders in Cape-Town, were discontented, and the wrongs of the Hottentots were yet to be redressed. The commissary-general, De Mist, instantly commenced the arduous task of reducing to order the internal affairs, and drew up regulations for their management, which would probably have led to the amelioration of the condition of the natives within the boundary line, had time been allowed for consolidating the system. And Governor Jansen, acting in a similar spirit of equity, settled a peace with the Caffres and Bushmen, on terms which, if observed, would have preserved their territories inviolate, and their persons secure; but these amicable adjustments were also deranged, by the renewal of hostilities in Europe, which deprived the colonial government of power to enforce obedience, and threw it once more into the arms of the farmers.

Had De Mist remained, he might have seen and checked the evils of the colonial system, for he uniformly acted upon the acknowledgment of the Hottentots as a free people, and upon the principle that religion alone could reclaim from the wilds of barbarism a savage population.* But Jansen was a soldier,—the country required to be defended,—and he needed the assistance of the Boors. They thus obtained an undue influence, and it was exerted to retard civilization. The consequences were, retrograde movements on the part of the government,—a prohibition to instruct the Caffres,—and restrictions and limitations upon all missionary exertions. The Moravians were the most favoured; that is to say, they suffered least. Their institution, from the longer time it had been in existence, and its excellent situation, presented an appearance of civilization equal to the villages of Europe, while the unfortunate circumstances in which Dr. Vanderkemp was placed, retarded the progress of his people. The governor most unfairly comparing and contrasting the two together,—and imagining that the brethren had first induced the heathen to be laborious and diligent, before they communicated to them the doctrines of the Gospel,—conceived a prejudice against the other, as being but little calculated for training the people to industrious habits; and, without examining the subject, hastily concluded that the Doctor misunderstood the process, and had commenced where he should have ended, by teaching the doctrines of Christianity, when he ought to have been teaching the arts of life.

Jansen was too well acquainted with the world to use his old friend impolitely, and allowed him the frank liberty of former acquaintanceship; but he had no sympathy in his philanthropic exertions, and never encouraged or entered fully into his views. He condescended, however, to argue the matter in a private correspondence, which afforded the missionary the fairest opportunity for displaying the warmth of his feeling, and the risings of his heart, in the cause of oppressed humanity. "You acknowledge," says the venerable man in one of his letters, "the great wrong that the colonists, perhaps here and there, do to the Hottentots. This expression, governor, shows that you are still uninformed of the true situation of things in this country, or at least in the Wittenhage district. Not perhaps here and there, but very certainly, and pretty nearly in all parts, does this oppression prevail. Nor is it only particular inhabitants, but the landrosts themselves,—from whom the oppressed ought to find protection,—who make themselves guilty in this respect. The landrost Alberti has thought it fit to oblige the Hottentots who were free, and settled here [Bethelsdorp] with their wives and children, to hire themselves to the inhabitants; and with the violence of corporeal punishment, by an armed force, to drag away out of their houses at Bethelsdorp others who had declared themselves not inclined to the military service: Hottentots, who, according to your own words, are free-born, and on the ground which originally belonged to them, should be able to find freedom, security, and the means of subsistence. This freedom, violated in both instances, I reclaim with that confidence which your own hand-writing gives me, for those who, without your interference, are in danger of losing it; and when complaints can in no other way reach your ear of their wrongs and cruelties,—the account of which, in case I might bring to light a history of my time, would fill a middling book,—I will not here speak.

"I readily acknowledge the duty which I lie under as their teacher, as much as possible, to bind the Hottentots to the government of the land. All the reciprocal duties between rulers and subjects are grounded in religion; and the disowning and neglecting this truth is just what makes our befooled mother-country unhappy. It is one part of a Christian subject's duty, in subordination to God and in all that is not contrary to his command, to obey and love the government. Christ having brought me into these parts of the world to promote his religion among the heathen, I hope in enforcing his duty I have not been wanting. But with all this, no one possessing a sound understanding, and who is acquainted with the human heart, can expect among the Hottentots, who are yet deaf to the voice of the Gospel, that there should be brought about by the persuasion of missionaries alone, an attachment to the welfare of the government, so long as these Hottentots are deprived of the priviliges of citizens, which the colonists enjoy,—particularly while the government of the country, by treating them worse than Pharoah did the children of Israel in Egypt, appears to set everything to work, which are sure to break this attachment."

Plain dealing is usually very unpalatable to people in power: what answer the general returned in private to this noble and manly expostulation, we know not,—his public answer was the summons to the Cape, which has been already noticed. Yet this very circumstance accelerated the process it was intended to retard, by causing the care of the rude but rising institution to be committed to Mrs. Smith, who introduced among the females the occupations becoming their sex, with an effect which no other person upon the spot at the time possessed the requisite talents for producing.

As the Batavian republic had the Cape under their management so short a time, it were needless to expatiate upon what would have been the consequence had they retained possession; but of one serious evil they were sufficiently aware,—an evil which threatened alike the colony and the natives,—the one with demoralizing ruin, the other with extermination, or a more dreadful and horrid savagism than that from which the missionaries were destined to rescue them,—the illimited extension of the boundaries of the colony. Since the portentous epoch when the revolution of France shook the world to its basis, no nation ever possessed the power that was committed into the hands of Britain for doing good; but till lately they had done little for the poor Africans, and much yet remains for them to do.

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* It is strange that this principle should be denied by "philosophers," when we have no record of any savage race being ever reduced to civilization but by the influence of that bond which, borrowing the word from their first conquerors, the natives of our island have termed "religion." Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, asked its aid.

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER;

OR,

SHORT REFLECTIONS UPON THE FAITH, LIFE, AND CONDUCT, OF A REAL CHRISTIAN.

BY AMBROSE SERLE.

OF THESE THINGS PUT THEM IN REMEMBRANCE.—2. TIM. II. 14.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

ON THE ENTRANCE INTO SPIRITUAL LIFE.

"WHEREWITH shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God?" How shall I, a sinner, approach the eyes of that Majesty, which cannot look upon sin without abhorrence? My iniquities are more in number than the hairs of my head; and my heart sinks within me on their remembrance. My affections are naturally all inclined to the world, and worldly things. My judgment is depraved; my will is perverse; my understanding is darkened; my knowledge vain; and I see nothing within me, or about me, but what by guilt is altogether defiled. I have sore proof of that Scripture, "that every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is only evil continually," and that "from the sole of the foot, even to the head, there is no soundness" in my nature; but only "the wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores" of sin.

How then can I please God? How shall such a worm, such a lump of perverse ungodliness, obtain his favour? Shall I seek to deserve it by my own good thoughts? Alas! I am not sufficient of myself to think even one. Shall I by excellency of words approach my offended Maker? He regards not words, but the spirit and the heart; and my spirit and heart are wholly defiled. Shall I then by good works attempt to render him propitious? O my God, where shall I find them? How can I begin to act, before I have begun to think, what is right? How can the exercises of the body be pure and free, when the soul is unholy, and enslaved by sin? And if, from this day, I could cease from evil, and do perfectly what is just and right, which the experience of all men tells me is impossible; yet what will become of the long black catalogue of iniquities, both in heart and life, which are already written against me? How shall I wipe off the sins of my nature and my life, respecting the times that are past?

O Lord, thou hast revealed thyself, as a holy God, and a just. Thou hast declared, that thou wilt not spare the guilty. And I have offended thy righteous law in every hour, and every action of my life. How then can I be saved? How is it possible for me to escape the wrath to come? My anxieties, like my sins, might justly overwhelm me; and I ought to tremble at the righteous judgment, which I know I deserve. There are but a few days, at the most, for me to live upon earth; and I am not sure of one. O, how shall I flee from the wrath to come? how shall I avoid eternal burnings, in which no man can dwell but with misery, and of which no man can think strictly without horror? Lord, can such a sinner as I escape? Canst thou have mercy upon me?

Such are the breathings of the heart when it first begins to awake, and live, and feel that there is an evil, and a curse in sin, and that sin, with all its evils, lieth at the door.

CHAP. II.

THE METHOD OF MERCY.

SUCH a flowing from the heart, as that just mentioned, gladdens all heaven. It is the motion of the divine Spirit upon the troubled deep, and will ere long produce both life and peace.

Soul, dost thou feel the power of thy own corruption? Are these thy meek, yet bitter cries? O hear, and may thy God enable thee to believe, the glad tidings of his own salvation!

Thou art a sinner, it is true; and thy mercy it is, to see, in due measure, how great a sinner thou art. It is the first line in the large book of humiliation, which thou must be reading all thy life long. But Christ died for sinners such as thee; for all sinners that come unto God by him; for the vilest of sinners, that see the vileness of sin, and bemoan it, as thou dost. He saved Mary Magdalene the harlot, Matthew the publican, Paul the persecutor, Peter the swearer, liar, and denier of his Master, the malefactor on the cross, who had been a thief and a murderer, and ten thousand more like thee; and he hath just the same power, means, and mercy to save thy soul, even thine.

He saves graciously, that is, freely; because no wisdom nor worth of man could have contrived or obtained his greatness of salvation. It was planned in grace, and performed by grace. It is all of grace, and bounty, and love, from beginning to end.

For this purpose he came into the world, and took our nature upon him. He took it in its meanest and humblest form; and was content to be born in a stable, to be brought up by a labouring man, to labour with him too, to suffer the worst evils of human life, and the sorest pains of human death, that so he might be an oblation or sacrifice in the stead of his people, and render an atonement to the justice of God for them. These sufferings, and this atonement, are the debt due to the law and holiness of God, without which, consistently with his attributes, he could not spare the sinner; but by which he can be both "just," and yet "the Justifier" of him who taketh refuge in Jesus. Yea, this dear Saviour having paid the penalty due to his transgressions, God is now faithful and just to forgive him his sins; or rather more faithful and just to forgive them, than he could be in laying on the punishment again, which Christ endured in that behalf.

Christ also lived upon earth to fulfil all righteousness; and he fulfilled it completely for his redeemed. He makes himself over to them; and all he hath is theirs, through faith in him. Thus they have a right to call him, what he is, "The Lord our righteousness." God is well pleased for his righteousness' sake, and beholds every poor sinner who trusts in Christ, and lives in him, as unblamable and unreprovable in his own most piercing sight; yea, without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing. This righteousness is that garment of salvation, which covers them wholly, and fits them perfectly for the kingdom of heaven.

Contrite soul, believest thou this? Is this good news, the very gospel, or good news of God? Search and see. Read and pray over thy Bible, and thou wilt find, that it is the very voice and will of thy Lord. O that the fallow, the hard and barren ground of thy heart, may be so broken up by his power, as to welcome this joyful news, like the thirsty soil receiving the showers from the skies!

CHAP. III.

THE SOUL'S DIFFICULTY IN EMBRACING MERCY.

These are glad tidings indeed (the soul may say) to one weary and heavy laden with sin as I am, could they be apprehended rightly, and maintained constantly, in the strivings of sin, and the doubtings of nature. I am, therefore, earnest to know these two things: 1. How shall I embrace this mercy of Christ proposed in the gospel? And, 2. How shall I keep up the spirit and intentions of it in my heart and life, so as to endure to the end, and be saved?

I know not how it is with others, but I find myself very unable, nay, most unable when I have the greatest occasion, to lay hold upon this mighty mercy of God; to rest upon it, and make it my own; and to use it for my consolation and support. I long for this with the full purpose of my heart; and my groans and tears in secret are well known unto God. But I have also an evil heart of unbelief, which suggests a thousand doubts and fears, sometimes of God's willingness to save me particularly, who am so very vile and faithless; and, sometimes of my own reality of desire towards him, which is often dreadfully mixed with the desire of other things, and overwhelmed with cares and sorrows, difficulties and temptations. O what great troubles and adversities hath God shown me! How shall I be delivered from the body of this death? How shall I lay hold on eternal life? How shall I know that I have fast hold; or be assured, that none shall be able to pluck me from it? O Lord, to be assured of this thy favour, is, both in life and death, of more worth to me than a thousand times ten thousand worlds. For I might have these, and be wretched; but, with thee, I can have nothing but life and peace for evermore.

CHAP. IV.

THE NATURE AND EXERCISE OF FAITH.

Faith is the gift and the operation of God. It comes by the Holy Spirit's power, moving and strengthening the sublimest faculties of the soul, and is really a regeneration, a re-begetting, a revival of life from the dead. Thus the believer is said to be "born of the Spirit;" because it is the Spirit's office in the covenant of grace to regenerate, and because it is the promise concerning the Spirit to "all, even as many as God shall call." And thus also the Christian is said to be "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

When this principle of divine life and light is given to the soul, it enables that soul to feel its own loss and misery, and to see its own sin and darkness. A man can have no true sight of the nature of sin, but by this grace. He is, therefore, in some sense, a believer, before he knows himself to be one. Faith acts in him, before he can be sensible of the reflex act of faith. He first lives; then he feels his misery; and cries for mercy. He is then enabled to see the way of mercy in the word of mercy. He is next enlightened to behold the free welcome and rich bounty of his mercy to all returning sinners, and is enabled to view the fitness of God's mercy for him, and his fitness, as a convinced sinner, for it. He is then strengthened to embrace it, like a poor creature who must perish without it, but who shall never perish with it. And, at length, God seals it upon the soul, by giving a true taste of joy and peace in believing; insomuch that the broken drooping heart revives, and is able to say, "I do humbly venture to believe, that Christ died for me, and will save me for evermore."

Now, through all the course of this gracious work, which, according to the will of God, is slower in some than in other's, there is often much doubting and disputing in the man's own conscience. It is a sore struggle, at times, to quell the clamours of unbelief, and the suggestions of Satan; and at last, perhaps, the soul embraces the reality of God's love in Christ, with a trembling kind of hopeless hope and doubting believing. These things often puzzle the understanding, and perplex the whole will and affections. A true believer is like Rebecca labouring with twins, a faithless Esau and a trusting Jacob; and so, like her, he cries out, "If it be so, why am I thus?" Whereas, if it were not so, if he were not of God, it could not be thus. Nature alone would not struggle; nor can what is dead strive against the stream. The whole bent of nature is against grace. So again, if he were all grace and no sin, he would feel no trouble; for the opposition of grace is made to nature, and to the sin which is in it. And it is a good sign, though not a pleasant feeling, that there is this conflict: It demonstrates the life of God to be within.

In this way, the Christian embraces the gospel. He is enabled in hope against hope, to believe it, as the grand charter of his salvation. And this very act of believing is the evidence within, concurring with the evidence of the written word without, that his name is enrolled in the charter, and that he is consequently entitled to all its blessings.

Take heart, therefore, thou child of God, and fear not. Thou hast the promise, the power, the mercy, and the truth of Jehovah on thy side; and who can prevail against him? If thou dost not wholly believe, or art not perfectly cleared from all doubts, be not however dismayed. The faithfulness of thy Lord is not grounded upon the perfect exercise of thy faith, but upon his own sovereign grace and love. Thou desirest to trust him with thy whole heart; but thou never couldest have desired this, if he had not wrought that disposition within thee. He was the Author, and he will be the Finisher, of all in thee, as well as of all for thee. If God did not spare his own son for thy sake, what will he spare beside? Who shall, or who can, lay anything to the charge of God's elect?—It is God himself, with whom there is neither evil nor folly, that justifieth thee from both. Who can condemn thee?—It is Christ, who blotteth out thy sins by his precious blood, or rather is risen again to present thee faultless in his righteousness before the throne, and to plead for thee as that advocate who never lost a cause. Who shall separate thee from the love of Christ? Shall the evils of life, all the distresses of time, and all the rage of the devil? Nay, in all these things thine Almighty Saviour will render thee a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, because he hath loved thee. Oh divine words that follow! From thine inmost affections, from the very ardour and spirit of faith, mayest thou breathe them forth! "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate *me* from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord."

CHAP. V.

ON COMMUNION WITH THE DIVINE PERSONS IN JEHOVAH.

Curious speculations upon the Trinity profit not. There is a sort of knowledge in this, as in other things, which betrays its own falsehood by puffing up the soul. Much time hath been lost, and many hurtful disputes have been raised, concerning the mode of the Son's generation from the Father, and the manner of the Spirit's procession from both; points which have not been revealed, and which therefore are not necessary to faith. It is sufficient for us to apprehend, that there are three Persons in one Jehovah, or self-existent Godhead, and that this Godhead is one; that we are privileged to have communion with these divine Persons in their several offices of salvation; and that, by the unction of the Spirit, we come into the grace of the Son, and possess the love of the Father, now and for evermore. "Through Christ," says the apostle, "we both (*i. e.* Jews and Gentiles) have an access, by one Spirit unto the Father. And thus the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, are with all true believers in every age of the world." He therefore that doth not thus apprehend the doctrine of the Trinity, only apprehendeth the phantom of his own imagination, and is never the better for his speculation, be it ever so abstruse or refined.

Of what avail to my soul are all the nicest disquisitions of men? I want food and light, reality and enjoyment. These do thy word. O Lord, afford in plentiful measure, when thy grace opens the well-spring to my heart. I am there taught to pray for that anointing of the Holy One, which shall lead and guide me into all thy saving truth. By him I am both instructed and enabled to renounce myself, to put on Christ, and to cleave to my Redeemer as my only portion and hope. By the Spirit and Son of God. I am led up to fellowship with the Father, and to call upon him as my Father, even mine. O my blessed God, my Abba, my Father, my Life, and my all, what hast thou revealed to my poor soul; and how much more hast thou done and prepared, than thou hast hitherto revealed to men; or than men in this state are able to conceive! O thou Fountain of unutterable blessedness, thou unfathomable height and depth of love, help me thus to know thee in the secret of my soul; and may all thy works of providence and grace increase this inward knowledge to the end! While others dispute, let me enjoy. Manifest thy precepts to my mind, and say to my longing spirit, "Peace be unto thee, for I am thy salvation."

One spark of this life is of more worth than the whole universe of notions; for this not only brings an understanding of divine things superior to all speculations, but gives with it a fulness of satisfaction, arising from the very taste and perception of the things themselves. Faith takes them for realities, hope is enkindled by them as such, and love finds them to be so, and embraces them with joy to the end.

CHAP. VI.

ON THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST, BY WHICH HE BECAME IMMANUEL.

Who shall unfold this mystery, or unfathom this love of my God? The Ancient of days became a child of days, and the Lord of all would be the servant of all, that he might be a Redeemer, a Brother, a Friend, of poor unworthy mortals, of vile apostates and rebels, such as I am, and such as, without him, I and all others for ever must have been.

He took our nature without sin, that he might bear our sin. If sin had been in that which he took for himself, it would not have been possible that one, who was sinful, should have taken off sinfulness from others. Thus he, who was not, and could not be a sinner by nature, did, by imputation, become the greatest of sinners: "He bare our sins in his own body on the tree;" and Jehovah "laid upon him the iniquities of us all, when he once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust." This dear Immanuel was a Lamb without spot, and therefore meet to be slain for an atonement; and a scape-goat, or strong-one going off, laden with iniquities; and so able to bear them away into everlasting forgetfulness.

He was very God and very man in one Christ. As Christ he is Immanuel, or God with us. What his name implies, that he truly is. He is God with us, able to save and to succour, able to bless and to enliven, in all our pilgrimage from earth to heaven. "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

And is this thy promise, O thou meek and lowly Jesus? and shall I be still slow of heart to believe it! Shall I always be hanging my head like a bulrush; and shall my eyes be still gushing out their faithless tears; when thou hast promised not only the best of creatures in earth and heaven, but thine own blessed self to be with me, who art Lord of all? O my dear Redeemer, be so with me by thy gracious power, that I may be deeply sensible of thy continual presence; manifest thyself to me as thou dost not unto the world; for I am thine, and I desire to give up myself, and all I am and have, to thy blessed will for evermore. Be, indeed, according to thy name, my Immanuel, my God, with me and in me of a truth, that I may walk with thee as one agreed, and draw from thee all those supplies of grace, life, and peace, without which I can neither be happy, nor alive to thy glory. O hear and answer, for mine eyes are upon thee!

CHAP. VII.

ON CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO EGYPT.

It behoved this Immanuel in all things to be made like unto his brethren; therefore he went down into Egypt. All he did upon earth had some use and meaning. By some facts he testified what he was doing, and by others, what he would continually do, for his people.

"Out of Egypt have I called my Son," saith the Lord. His redeemed were spiritually in Egypt, the house of bondage. They were there under the service of a cruel king, a prince who ruleth in the world by usurpation till the time appointed. Grievous are the tasks, and sad are the wages, of this tyrant of souls. Jesus went down, and came up again for a sign. As the head of his people, he did this, preaching their redemption from bondage in himself. In their order and times, they come up out of Egypt too, by the strong hand of this Captain of salvation. He is great in might, and therefore not one of them faileth. The prince of the air loseth his dominion over them; and though he follow them like Pharaoh, and chase them all the way, he cannot hinder their course of faith, nor rob them of their Canaan in glory.

Oh marvellous love of my Saviour! Was it not enough for thee to take up my nature in its best estate, without submitting to a manger, to contempt, to persecution, to banishment, and all the wrongs of men? O how low must I be fallen, that it should be needful for thee, (for, if it had not been needful, this act had been spared.) to endure poverty, wretchedness, and shame, that I might be delivered from all! I was in Egypt, and thou camest to me. Thy grace preached liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound. Thy power performed what thy love proclaimed; and thou broughtest the prisoners from the prison, and those that sat in darkness out of the prison-house. I, Oh wonderful to tell! I, among thy ransomed, have followed thee in the regeneration out of this dismal Egypt, and have tasted a little of the glorious liberty of thy children. Not unto me, my dear Saviour, not unto me, but unto thy name be all the praise. I was wallowing in the mire of Egypt, and in the mud of the Nile; I was entirely given up to the filth and pollutions of this world, and should have remained therein, till I had been sunk for ever in its woe; unless thy mighty arm had wrought my deliverance, and set me free. Glory to the, Jehovah-Jesus, thou Saviour all-divine, for mercy unmeasurable like this, for grace and glory yet before me, to which there is no end! O how shall I show forth thy praise for all which thou hast done for my soul!

CHAP. VIII.

ON THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

We see but little into the true worth and importance of the miracles of Jesus, if we look no farther than the outward facts. These indeed speak aloud the glory of his divine Person to the carnal sense of man, and did so even to those who hated and blasphemed him; but the grandeur of these works consisted in this, that they were only outward testimonies of the far more noble operations of his grace within the soul, which were not to endure for a time only, like their outward signs, but throughout eternity.

He gave sight to the blind, that he might testify unto men his sovereign power in giving light and understanding to the mind. He opened the deaf ear, that men might know, by whom alone they can hear aright the good news of salvation, and live for ever. The lame he caused, in a moment, to walk, that his people might learn, that they can only move, as well as live by him, and that without him they can do nothing. He cured the foul leprosy of the body, in order to show that only by him can be healed the far more deplorable leprosy of sin, which covers and defiles the mind. All sicknesses vanished at his command, that we might have hope in him, as the only restorer of our souls. The poor, or meek among men, were made rich for eternity. He cast out unclean spirits, and suffered them to possess the swine, who were thereby lost, that he might teach his redeemed, that he only delivered and can deliver them from the powers of darkness, which, being let loose upon the world, drive them violently and swiftly down the steep course of time, into a gulf of inextricable woe. The hungry multitudes were fed by his miraculous power, to explain this great truth, that he is not only the giver of spiritual life, but the constant sustainer and nourisher of it from day to day: and he did this by small means, that the excellency of the power might be known to be his, and not in the creatures, however sanctified, blessed, and used. The winds and waves were instantly obedient to his word. that his beloved might rejoice in him, as the stiller of all spiritual waves, the tumultuous madness of this world, the ragings of Satan, and the confusion of all things. These can roar and foam no longer than it pleaseth him; and when they foam and roar at all, it shall turn out in the end for the good of his people. The dead were raised, to proclaim his rising power, and to declare, that the issues also of spiritual life and of endless death are altogether in his hands. Whatever he did, was an act of mercy, under which he revealed, as in a parable, innumerable lessons of grace and love. All his works proclaimed him to be both the Creator of all, (and what seems more comforting to his chosen,) the Redeemer and Restorer of millions that were lost.

Learn from these things, O believer, what thy Lord God hath done for thy soul. He quickened thee from the death of trespasses and sins; he giveth light and peace to thy mind; he feedeth thee with the bread of life; he cureth all thy spiritual diseases; he quelleth all thy manifold enemies and temptations; he strengthened thee with strength in thy soul; he doeth all that is done in thee by grace; and he will never cease working in the both to will and to do, no, not even when he hath brought thee to his kingdom in heaven.

O pray fervently, my soul, rightly to apprehend these precious things. If thou teach me, blessed Lord, then shall I know them, in some measure at least, according to my capacity, as they ought to be known. Such knowledge, indeed, is too excellent for my clouded faculties of nature; they cannot, if left to themselves, attain unto it. I, therefore, seek not to obtain the apprehension of these truths, as fallen man can teach or attain them, but as thou dost teach and enforce them. In thy teaching, though the substance of the truths be the same, there is a wide difference from all the teaching of men. Man, by his own study, gropeth in the dark, and wearieth himself in vain to reach up to the perception of thine excellent wisdom; but thou art light in thyself, and sendest down both illumination and influence at once to such as are taught by thee, by which they not only know thy truth as a truth in itself, but feel the blessings of it, as a truth applied and made their own. They find strength and nourishment in what thou givest for food, and not airy words, or unprofitable speculations, which, without thee, are all that can be found in the best and wiseth instructions of men. O raise me up, then, my blessed Teacher, above the picture of things, which may be gained by words, to the true enjoyment of the things themselves. So shall I not hear, or give discourse only of thy spiritual feast, like a man in a dream, but shall taste and see indeed how good and gracious thou art, and that all life, power, and consolation are entirely free from thee.

CHAP. IX.

ON THE WORD OF CHRIST.

"For ever," O Lord, "thy word is settled in heaven:" and upon earth "it runneth very swiftly. The righteousness of thy testimonies is everlasting; give me understanding and I shall live."

Such is the word, and the end of the word, of my gracious Redeemer. It is called a word, because it is a revelation; all words being only the revelation or expression of things. This revealed word is settled in heaven upon the throne of God, is ordered by the Divine Persons in all things, and is sure, because ordered by them in a covenant which cannot be broken.

It is a word too of testimony, because it testifieth of my Saviour throughout, either directly by the institutions and declarations of his grace, or indirectly by the course and actions of his providence, meeting in one and the same end, which is the guidance and salvation of his people.

This word, in the conduct of the Divine Spirit, is also a word of power, and the fit instrument of all his work. It is his spiritual sword, by which he divides asunder the soul and spirit, and effects that circumcision of the heart, whereby his people are enabled to live no longer unto themselves, but unto God. The operation is painful indeed to the flesh, or to nature; but it causeth the spirit to rejoice in Christ Jesus, and to give up his confidence in all things beside.

For this purpose, then, of testifying for Christ, and of acting by the Spirit in the redeemed, is all the written word calculated and given. Hence, the institutions of the law preached Jesus and his salvation, the prophecies declared the same truth, the histories are records of God's conduct towards his people from age to age, the gospels are evidences of the accomplishment of all these things in Christ, and the epistles are explanations and enforcements of these things to believers. In short, all the holy writings relate to Christ, and to the redeemed in him. Jesus is the Alpha and the Omega of the whole word and work of the Most High.

In this word and its experience consist all the wisdom and comfort of a Christian. Here is truth without error; so that he may read without fear, and trust without danger. All other books, as they come from men, have more or less of folly or vanity in them, and often are looked over with little true satisfaction and improvement. But, in this volume, grace not only discovers something new, but brings new force out of old truths, which have charmed the soul a thousand times. It discovers the multiform and manifold wisdom of God, in what he hath spoken; insomuch that, from under the vail of one precious instruction, another and another shall arise, as the soul is improved to bear them. These are the steps of the kingdom; and the higher the renewed can ascend, it not only understands better what it hath already passed over, but sees farther and wider into the glories yet before it, till it is ravished with unspeakable delight in the infinite knowledge and love of God.

The right understanding of this word doth not puff up, but humbleth. He hath not a true apprehension of its sense, who is lifted up by it in himself. The lowly reader is the only learner. To him it is not a word lettered or sounded, so much as a living and lively word engrafted. It enters into his heart more than his ears, and it diffuseth its sweet savour through all the faculties, setting them into delightful exercise for the divine glory.

The great depth of the word of God keeps the real Christian ever a learner. He knows that it is impossible to reach the utmost of God's wisdom. There will be always mysteries to be unfolded, because man's capacity is finite; at the bound of which, how wide soever it may extend, remaineth ignorance. One, who had been in the third heaven, and in spirit caught up into paradise itself, where he heard unspeakable words, could only say, when he talked of the divine counsels, "Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" He could stand on the shore, and see; but all beyond was an infinite ocean.

The true disciple, however, knows enough to make him see the vanity and unprofitableness of all learning and wisdom (if so they may be called) out of Christ. The speculations of men are but dreams, and their pursuits but idle labours at the best, which begin and end in self, and have no higher object than this evil world. The poor simple countryman, who hath learned Christ, (and many such, blessed be God, there are,) can pity the pompous ignorance of those, who know almost everything but God, and the proper value of their own souls. By a logic, far beyond that of the schools, he hath been led to this conclusion, that God is his Father, that Christ is his Saviour, that the Holy Spirit is his Guide, that the Bible is his charter and his library, that the devil, and the world, and the flesh are his foes, that the earth is the wilderness of his banishment, that heaven is his home, and that all the favour, love, and power of the Godhead are engaged to bring him thither. The worldly wise can only value this (if at all) when carnal knowledge is dying with their bodies, and all their trifling thoughts are about to perish. Hence it is, that the poor man's knowledge being sound and true, though ever so small, can stand the onset of trials in the world, and death at last; while the learned and knowing, with none or small degrees of the true understanding, fall into errors, fail in their course, or die doubting and almost despairing.

O my soul, seek thou the substantial wisdom which cometh from God, and which time, or rather eternity itself, cannot diminish, but will only brighten and improve. Though other knowledge may be valuable for the purposes of this world, yet this alone can ripen for heaven, and is therefore most earnestly to be sought for, by thee, whose business and calling, whose citizenship and hope, are principally there.

And, O thou, who art the living and life-giving Word itself, through whom and for whom all the written word was given, come and possess my soul! I long for nothing, and I would always long for nothing, but for thy wisdom and thee. O forgive my unsettled heart, which hath so often been taken up with a multitude of unprofitable things, instead of being fixed wholly upon thee, who art the only Way, the Truth, and the Life! I can have no rest, no firm establishment, but upon thee. My nature is unstable as water; and I live moreover in a slippery world. Leave, O leave me, therefore, not to myself, nor to the power of the evils, which are above, beneath, and on every side. Set me upon thyself, my blessed Rock, and order thou my goings in the way, and lead me into the way everlasting. Who is sufficient for these things but thou, who art all-sufficient? How can I, so poor a creature, hope either to stand or to prevail, but through that strength which is made perfect in weakness, through that wisdom, which cannot be deceived by fraud, and that love, which is stronger than death, and durable as the days of heaven. O Lord, be on my side, and then neither my own flesh, nor the corruption of the flesh in others, no, nor all the powers of darkness, shall be able in the least to hurt me. I am thine, O save me now, save me to the end, and save me for ever.

CHAP. X.

ON THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

Though my Redeemer was to be, and was, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; though he was to have, and had, all our iniquities in his own body ~~on the~~ cross; though he was to bear the curse, and was cursed, for the transgression of his people, and, for a token of it, was hanged upon a tree; yet, in his own person, he was pure, harmless, and undefiled, and so was called typically, the holy Lamb of God, without blemish, or any possible defect. He was perfectly without sin, from the manger to the cross. When Satan tried him in the desert, he found nothing in him of weakness of mind or defilement of body; and therefore his temptations had nothing to lay hold of, but fell to the ground. His enemies among men, stirred up by the malice of the adversary, could not, when he challenged them, convince him of sin; nor was anything like guile to be found in his mouth. All his words were wisdom itself, and all his actions were purity and love.

There are three principal reasons why such a Redeemer "became us;" and these are to be found only in Christ.

A sacrifice, in the first place, was necessary for our iniquities; for, "without shedding of blood, there is no remission" of sins. The justice of God required atonement; because it is inconsistent with the holiness of his nature to spare the guilty. No truth, in all his word, is more plain than this. But nothing could be substituted in the room of sinners, which was sinful in itself; for this would only increase the wrath of the Most High. And, therefore, as his love was pleased to provide and accept a substitute; such a one appeared, as was without spot, or defect of any kind, in himself, and had nothing to answer for of his own.—This is the signification of all the pure sacrifices under the law, which speak aloud, that they are altogether vicarious, or one offered in the stead of another.

In the next place, the redeemed, as sinners, wanted a righteousness, without which they cannot appear with acceptance before God: and, as a perfect righteousness can only be pleasing to him, and all men are incapable of producing such a one, and as therefore it can only be obtained by accounting the righteousness of a substitute for their own; Jesus Christ was Jehovah in our nature, in order to be Jehovah in our Righteousness. God is well pleased for his righteousness' sake, which is infinite and everlasting, capable of justifying from all things, and through all times, even into eternity. Christ, not for himself but for his people, fulfilled all righteousness, and upon their account magnified the law of their God. It was for this end that he lived so many years upon earth, and went through all the stages of human life to manhood; by which his people of all ages might have, through faith, a right of acceptance in him.

And, thirdly, the merit of the sacrifice for sin, and the substitution of righteousness for sinners, required some person to intervene, or to stand between God and sinners, and to offer these exchanges in their behalf. This office is the office of a priest, who is a mediator between God and man, and who must therefore be holy in himself. Christ was this perfect person; and so was "such an High-priest as became us, holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens," having "an unchangeable priesthood," to which he is "consecrated for evermore."

These are the reasons of all his labours in love and righteousness: and he was able to merit and go through them, being Jehovah in man; as well as to suffer what he took upon him, being man in Jehovah.

Oh what a task of unparalleled grace and humility is here! Who could have done such unimpeachable works; but he who is perfect in himself? Who could have done them to render others perfect for ever before God; but one so much above all created perfection, as to have for others an unbounded perfection to spare?

Lord, help me to meditate upon thee, and upon all that thou hast done for my soul! O put on this garment of salvation, this robe of righteousness, which thy blessed hands have perfectly wrought, that it may be my wedding garment in the day of my espousals, when I shall leave the world, and appear before the Majesty on high! This is the righteousness of saints, pure, white, and shining, in which they walk with thee in glory, and in which I also hope to walk, unworthy creature as I am, both with thee and with them. O then shall I appear without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, all-acceptable to God, all-illustrious in thee! Lord, "what hast thou wrought" indeed? Thou hast wrought for me to entitle me to heaven; and thou hast wrought in me to fit me for heaven; a work, as it seems to me, no less difficult than the other; so stubborn and vile am I, and so opposite to thy pure nature is mine. I marvel, and with tears of joy I marvel, at all the mysterious wonders of thy redemption, at thy plain and clear yet unsearchable love, at thine awful justice magnified even by grace itself, at the kindness thou hast shown, and the goodness thou hast promised, at the never-ending line of wisdom in thy holy word, and at the unbounded scene of glory yet before me. I am overwhelmed, I am astonished, at the weight and grandeur of thy divine benevolence. Accept the faculties of my body and soul, all I am and all I have; and let them be found to thy praise, and honour, and glory, both now, and at the day of thine appearing! Amen!

CHAP. XI.

ON THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

"Behold, and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger."

No, my Jesus, never was sorrow like thine. Thou barest the griefs of millions; griefs, which would have sunk those millions into unutterable woe. Omnipotence, itself groaned under the tremendous load, which forced from thy pure and perfect body, not common sweat, (the curse, inflicted with human labour,) but a dreadful sweat, bursting forth in great drops of agonizing blood. Oh, what a doleful cry didst thou utter; and who but thyself can conceive those to us unknown pangs and sufferings, which forced from thy sacred lips, the cry, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

The meditation of thy sufferings and death is painful in the sympathy of nature: yet I cannot wish that thou hadst not endured them, nor didst thou fully wish it for thyself. Thou was contented to be betrayed into the hands of sinful men for this very purpose. It was by the determinate counsel and fore-knowledge of God, that all the parts of this solemn event were transacted. And it is for the everlasting interest of me and of thousands, that all the Scriptures concerning thee were awfully fulfilled.

Lord, what is sin, that thou thyself couldest not be spared, when from the souls of thy people it was taken off, and laid upon thee? Can anything more solemnly describe the hatred of the divine nature to sin, and the severity of the divine justice upon account of it, than the pangs, the horrors, the cries of thee, my Jesus, thou suffering Son of God? And if thou wert sacrificed for sin, who in thyself knowest no sin, what shall become of those who reject thy saving sacrifice, and yet all the while have nothing but sin in themselves?

Who could support such excruciating tortures, unassisted and uncomforted as thou wert, even upon a just account? It was not in the power of a creature to sustain thine inward griefs, thine outward torments, and the entire dereliction or forsaking of God, of men, and of nature, all together and at once, as thou didst sustain them, upon any account or motive in the world. But thou enduredst the whole with dignified complacency and satisfaction, even for thine enemies to convert them into friends, and to make rebels and apostates, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with thyself of an eternal weight of glory. May I not turn thine own words, and say, "Behold, and see, was there ever love like thy love, which thou showedst for thy people, when the Lord afflicted thee in the day of his fierce anger?"

Lord, how shall I speak, and what shall I say to these things? Shall my incredulous heart be still backward to believe? If Jesus died for my sins, can I die for them too? If he freely bare the curse for my sake, will the justice of my God still require the curse at my hands? If my iniquities were taken by my Saviour, and he made a full and perfect atonement for them; can I dare to affront the divine Majesty by supposing, that he is yet so unrighteous as to charge them all again upon me? O forgive my hard and impenitent heart, that I should ever imagine such blasphemy against thy faithfulness and love; that I should even think, that thou canst be so unjust and untrue, even in contradiction to thine own word, as to lay that still upon myself, which, for my sake, was entirely laid upon my dearest and most blessed Redeemer! Lord, I melt into tears of shame at myself, and into tears of of comfort upon the remembrance of all this thy kindness to my soul. Thy blood, O my Jesus, cleanseth from all sin; and if from all, what sin shall remain to be now charged home upon me? O help me, thou mighty God, thou Prince of peace, that I may not be faithless, but believing!

CHAP. XII.

ON THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

No fact was ever more strongly and undeniably established than this. Divine Providence ordained, that it should be so, because upon this great truth depend all the assurance and efficacy of our redemption: "If Christ be not raised (says the Apostle) your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins."

But is there no proof of Christ's resurrection, but the historical evidence?—Yes, blessed Lord, as thou givest thy people to know of the doctrine of salvation, that it is thine, by the demonstration of the Spirit; so thou affordest to them a most convincing testimony, that thou art indeed risen from the dead, by their super-resurrection from the death of trespasses and sins. If thou hadst not been raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father it would have been impossible for any of them to have either received or walked in the newness of life. Their being spiritually quickened with thee, is a proof in itself of thy glorious resurrection, and a confirmation to their souls, that they are thine own unalienable inheritance, and that they shall also live with thee for ever.

Thou hast truly and graciously said, "I am the Resurrection and the Life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." Lord, I was long, too long, dead to God and dead to thee, shut up under the curse of thy law through sin, yet insensibly, as a dead carcass is of all outward impressions, to my alienation and separation from thy life and peace. I was dead also to my own true interest and everlasting concerns, and alive only to sin, and to the service of the lord of sin, without perceiving his bitter tyranny and horrible designs. "So foolish was I and ignorant, yea, even as a beast before thee." The beasts indeed follow the end of their being, but I neglected mine. In tender mercy didst thou open mine eyes, that I might know myself and my misery, and that I might behold thee as the only refuge and hope of my soul. Thou gavest me the powers of a new and spiritual life; and then I ran towards thee with an affection I had never felt before, and desire to know more and more of thee, and the power of thy resurrection; that so I might no longer live in or for myself, but in thy faith and for thy glory. All this was thy work, and thine alone. I might as easily have created a world, as thus have new-created myself, in opposition to the millions of hinderances from within and from without. No; it was thou, my dearest Redeemer, it was thou that restorest my soul, and didst lead me in the paths of righteousness for thy name's sake; and therefore I trust, (and though I am sometimes afraid, yet still do I trust, and would trust again,) that "Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and that I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever."

Oh what an evidence of thy resurrection hast thou thus brought home to my heart! Confirmed, as it is, by thy holy written word, it is demonstration itself, and is not be argued away by all the corrupt reasonings of men. It is a demonstration both of word and of deed, of spirit and of life, of understanding and experience, of thy faithfulness and truth, and of all my blessed and joyful interest therein. "Sing, O ye heavens, for the Lord hath done it: shout, ye lower parts of the earth: break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein; for Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified himself in Israel."

Thomas doubted, that I might believe more strongly. He was suffered to fail in his faith, that my faith, and that of all thy children after him, might be improved and confirmed. But the mere evidence of sense can draw no blessing. His bodily view of thy resurrection was indeed followed by faith; but, from hence thou tookest occasion, most happily for thy people, to say, "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." Through thy mercy I have believed, and, according to thy word, have tasted thy blessing. Joy and peace in believing, quietness and assurance of mind, peace and resignation of soul, some holiness and strong desires after more, contempt of this world and foretaste of a better, preparation for death, and views of a transporting eternity, are among the many proofs that thou art risen and livest, that thou art gracious and true. O that these proofs may increase in number and measure, that my faith may be more and more lively, and that my hopes may continually abound!

CHAP. XIII.

ON THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST.

"THOU hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts," in thy human nature, "for men; yea for the rebellions also, that the Lord God might dwell among them," or "that they might become an habitation of God through the Spirit."

This was prophesied of Jesus long before his advent in the flesh. It was so prophesied, as though it were a fact already past; because the things to come are, as it were, present with God, being foreknown by his omniscient mind, and ordained in his holy will, which must be accomplished in all its purpose and decree.

He ascended to the throne of the Highest, with the full merits of his blood and righteousness, which were a sweet smelling savour, or a savour of rest, to the everlasting THREE. By this gracious ascension, Jehovah is become propitious to the redeemed, receives them in Christ, loves them for Christ's sake, favours them with his peace in their hearts, carries them on by his providence and grace, makes all things work together for their good, bears them through life and death, and finally receives them to glory.

The ascension of Christ brought down gifts from above, and, as the greatest of all, the power and presence of the Holy Spirit, for his people. It was thus expedient for them, that he went away from the earth; for if he had not carried up his merits before the throne, the Comforter could not have come down to have led them into all the truth of God and of Christ, and to have made that truth effectual in their salvation. By his holy influence they are brought to believe, and are kept in believing to the end.

Jesus ascended likewise to prepare a place for his chosen. In a short time they are to be dismissed from these wretched houses of clay, standing in the waste wilderness of this world; and then they are to have in heaven everlasting mansions of beauty and glory, fitted and furnished by Christ himself. They are soon to leave their bodies, now thoroughly defiled by sin, and to put on some spiritual fabric appointed for them, in which they are to remain with Christ, and the blessed, till the final consummation of all things.

Oh what gifts, my blessed Redeemer, has thou procured and purchased for my unworthy soul! What hast not thou brought down of grace for time, and of promise for eternity to me, and to helpless sinners like me; Yea, thou hast given thine own self for thy brethren, that in thee they might be given up to God, and like thee be a sweet-smelling savour, ascending by thy merits to the highest heaven. Oh what shall I, what can I, render for mercies like these? I can give, poor as the gift is, only my heart and soul to thy dear glory; and I would not, surely I would not, restrain these. Yet I cannot offer these, so weak and so corrupt am I, without the assistance of thy strength. Favour me, then, more and more, with thy gracious power, that my affections may be constantly mounting upward, longing for the place of my everlasting residence, and counting all things worse than dung, that would stop my progress thither. Where thou art, dear Lord, soon do I hope to be. I am tired of this earth, and of all its shifting miserable scenes; I am weary of this body, full of disorder and sin; I loathe the husks, which the swine of this world quarrel for and devour; and can be satisfied with nothing less than thee and thy presence for ever. O my Beloved, when shall I ascend up after thee? All below is Mesech and Kedar: but, "with thee there is the fulness," not the mere shadow, "of joy; and, at thy right hand, there are pleasures," not for a moment only, but "for ever more." Thou hast said, "Surely, I come quickly." Amen, (reply the hearts of thy people, and my poor heart among them,) yea, come, Lord Jesus!

CHAP. XIV.

ON THE GLORIFICATION OF CHRIST.

The mission and work of Jesus for our salvation was completed in the eternal glorification of his person in heaven. His body was spiritually, though not substantially changed in this great event, and thus, with his human soul, as one complete and perfect manhood, was taken into God. He now shines in the brightness of the divine glory, far above all principality and power, and every name that is named, whether in heaven or in earth; and he thus shines as the Head of our redeemed nature, that his people may also be glorified with him, and be so united to him and to each other, as to become a holy temple, and a glorious habitation of God through the Spirit.

"I pray, (said the gracious Redeemer,) that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; and the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

O what a transcendent height of glory is this, to which such creatures as myself, believing in Jesus, shall shortly be raised! What mind could have been sublime enough so much as to have thought of these wonders, if the Lord of glory himself had not revealed them?

The glory of Christ is not like the airy phantom which men call glory, but hath everlasting weight and solidity; it not only sends forth light, but is light; and all that can be conceived of splendour, excellency, durability, and bliss, meets in this glory, as its sole and substantial essence. The believer, therefore, is said to enjoy in Christ "an exceeding and eternal weight of glory"—exceeding all conception and comparison; eternal in its enjoyment and duration.

"It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know, than when Christ shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is:" so that "with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, we shall be changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us!" O that my heart may feel the thanks, which no tongue can utter, and, in humble adoration, bless my God "for his unspeakable gift!"

CHAP. XV.

ON THE INTERCESSION OF CHRIST.

When the high-priest, once a year, entered into the most holy place, he carried the fume of the sweet incense, and the blood of the sin-offering, with him. The fume was to cover the mercy-seat upon the ark of the testimony, and the blood was to be sprinkled before it. This shadowed forth the interceding office of the great High-Priest of our profession, in the holiest of all. He is entered there with his own blood, by which he hath made a perfect atonement for his people, and with his own righteousness, which both covers himself as the propitiation, and his whole church under him, so as to render all, and all together, acceptable to the pure attributes of Jehovah.

Hence my Redeemer received his name of Angel, Interpreter, Advocate, or Intercessor. He pleadeth for me, and for all poor sinners who come unto God by him, before the throne of the Highest. By the merit of his blood, and the excellent perfection of his righteousness, he fills all heaven (as it were) with the fragrance of that, which is unutterably delightful to God himself. No broken-hearted rebel, who cometh unto God by this High-Priest, Jesus, shall ever bewail the insufficiency of his Advocate, but rather shall bless the Lord for his mercy in laying his help upon One who is almighty. If he look to this Saviour, then certainly he will be with him as his "Angel Interpreter," or Advocate, "one among a thousand to show unto him his uprightness; and he is gracious unto him, and saith, Redeem him from going down to the pit, I have found a ransom." Then "his soul is brought back from the pit, and enlightened with the light of the living."

Our High-Priest, bearing our nature, "can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities," though without their sin; and he is "able to save us to the uttermost," or, "for evermore, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us." O that I may come therefore boldly, with liberty of speech and with confidence of heart, to the throne of grace, that I may obtain the mercy I want, and find grace to help in the time of my need!

Blessed Lord, thou hast showed me what thou hast done for me on earth, and what thou art now doing for the interests of my soul in thy kingdom. Thou settest before me, in both respects, grounds of the most sure and the most strong consolation; so that, in thee, I might have the fullest assurance of faith and of hope. O work, if it be thy will, this rich consolation within me; for, without the effectual aid of thy power, I may reason upon these grounds, but I cannot apprehend them; I may conclude in my mind that they are true, but I shall not be able to apply their sweetness, strength, or truth, to my heart. Lord, take thy poor servant's cause into thine own hand; plead it for him in the court of heaven; urge it upon him in the court of his own conscience on earth; let him feel the comfort of both in all the sorrows of his present state, so that no trial nor outrage from his enemies, no humbling sense of his own infirmities, may be able to stagger his confidence in thee.

Though thou art in heaven, my Jesus, yet thou knowest where I am, and whereof I am made; and thou rememberest, that I am but dust. O leave me not, neither forsake me; lest my own heart without anything else, and especially my own heart with ten thousand evil ones beside, draw me off from my only true hope, to some wretched, stupid, corrupting refuge of lies! Intercede for me, as for Peter, that my faith fail not. He needed an advocate not more than I. O thou, that didst plead his cause with everlasting success, plead and take care of mine; that I, together with him, and all the clients of thy grace, may rejoice in thy goodness to my soul, and bless thy holy name for ever and ever!

CHAP. XVI.

THE LOVE OF THE FATHER.

"In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." We could have had no life but through the Redeemer; and we could not have had him, but through the tender love of the Father. Nothing can more forcibly show the love of God towards us than this, that he should give up Christ to the deepest humiliation and sufferings, for our rescue and redemption. Had there been any possible method of salvation beside this, consistent with the divine attributes, surely the bitter cup would have passed away from the blessed Jesus, and God would not have permitted him to drink it. But God did not, and therefore could not, in this case, spare his Son, but delivered him up to death for our sakes; and thus, in a most admirable manner and degree "commendeth his love towards us, while we were yet sinners," who therefore as such, could have done nothing to deserve it. "Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins."

All this ensued according to the covenant of grace, which was settled between the divine Persons on the throne of heaven; and when the Lord Jesus was sacrificed, then was this covenant ratified and established, Jehovah interposing himself therein, and through the divided flesh and spirit of the Messiah, satisfying his law and justice for the remission of sins.

By this new testament in the blood of the Saviour, his people are not only admitted into fellowship with himself as their brother, yea, as flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, in more than espoused nearness; but they are also entitled, by a gracious right, to approach unto God as their father. They are adopted into his family; and the covenant, established in the hands of the Mediator, is the testimony and the seal of it. Hence, they are no more strangers and foreigners, much less slaves and enemies, but sons and heirs, children and heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ Jesus; and so when they look up and pray, they do not take God's name in vain and speak falsely, when they call Jehovah himself, Abba, Father; but they utter what they have a right and privilege to utter, and what the Lord delights to hear.

O my soul, thou canst not be in a ten thousandth part so ready to be joyful in this matter, as thy God is to rejoice over thee. If he could regard thee so much when thou wert dead in condemnation, and an alien, as to give up his Son for thy sake; how much more, when thou art reconciled by this very means, will he pour forth his compassion upon thee! If he was kind to thee, when he stood as thy Judge, and smote thy substitute for thy sins; will he, can he, cease to be kind under the character of thy Father, thy merciful and gracious Father, in Christ Jesus!—Lord, remove so wicked a thought, so diabolical a notion, of unbelief from my mind! It is treason against thy love, thy justice, thy truth, and all those attributes in thee, which are the shining rays of thy nature, to harbour so foul an opinion: it is atheism, madness, yea, the very falsehood and blasphemy of hell. Holy Father, drive by thy Spirit such base and abominable suggestions from my heart; and let me claim the privilege of my adoption, let me call myself thy child, though an unworthy child, and thus honour thy faithfulness and truth by living in the sense of my nearness and dearness to thee!

When my soul can most ascend to this its proper station, then time, and the things of time, are most under my feet; the world and all its bustles, annoy me less; my heart beats freely for heaven; and I can look down from the hill, seeing the vanities, and pitying the follies beneath, which carry men away from God, and too often "drown them in ruin and perdition."

CHAP. XVII.

THE LOVE OF THE SPIRIT.

If God be love, then the Spirit is love, because the Spirit is God. He manifests himself as the God of love, by unfolding and bestowing such love, as only God himself could have, and from himself could pour forth unto others.

The Holy Spirit, as one of the parties in the everlasting covenant, loveth his people with an everlasting love. By him also they are made sensible of the love of the Father and of the Son, when he sheddeth forth his own love upon their hearts; for it is He, who enables each of them to cry Abba, Father, under the taste of his mercy, and to say to Christ, "Thou art my Saviour, my Lord, and my God," in the rich experience of his grace. Without the love of the Spirit, as they could not know, so they could not come up to, the love of the whole Trinity; for by him alone it is shed abundantly upon all that are his, both in earth and heaven.

If I were left to love God by my own fallen powers, and had not the continual help of the Spirit of love, I should fear, that I could do nothing soon, but hate him entirely. "The carnal mind is enmity" itself "against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." The law of God is the pure life and love of God; and only by his Spirit can I delight therein, and then only "after the inner man." Hence it must follow, that, "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Without him, every man must remain, as he was born, "earthly, sensual, devilish."

O how deeply, then, am I indebted to this divine Agent, for taking up his holy residence in my unworthy soul! What loving-kindness and mercy have I not felt and enjoyed by his blessed power within me!

How is it, that He, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, should vouchsafe to take up his abode in a poor sinner's breast? What marvellous love is this, that he should stoop to dwell with one, whose heart hath been the residence of the evil spirit, and the cage of every unclean bird! Surely it must be infinite love, which could cleanse so unholy a tenement, and keep it in any degree clean for himself, against the manifold attempts to pollute it on every side.

Whatever I may lose then, O thou blessed Spirit, may I never lose the love of thee! The loss of fame, of riches, and all things here, are but of small account in themselves, and can soon be made up by thy power; but the loss of thee is the loss of more than life itself, the parting with the very anchor of my soul, and turning me adrift into a dark ocean of doubt and despair. O then forsake not thine own, who could never have been thine own but from thy mere love and bounty; and perfect all the work of grace in me, that, before men and angels, I may give indubitable proof, that indeed I am thine!

CHAP. XVIII.

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT.

The nature of man, since the fall, is carnal, and prone to evil; nor hath it power or inclination to raise up itself to the desire and enjoyment of heavenly things, but, on the contrary, shuns and abhors them. It "savoureth not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men," and of the world.

Now, as whatsoever is born of the flesh is flesh, and as flesh and blood cannot inherit, nor even know, the kingdom or grace of God, it is not marvellous that Christ should say, "Ye must be born again," or that it is absolutely necessary for a man to be "renewed in the spirit of his mind," before he can apprehend or enjoy the things of God. We see this plain necessity proved by the case of all men; for no man seeks and knows God by his own natural abilities; and every one, who doth know him, freely confesses, that it is by grace alone he obtained that knowledge.

The first work of the Spirit, then, in a sinner, is a "new birth unto righteousness." As this is the Spirit's office in the covenant of grace, so believers under it are said to be "born of the Spirit." This is their entrance into the knowledge of themselves and of God. They are united unto God in Christ by the act of his Spirit, and so partake of a new life, with new functions, faculties and affections; which life is in all things opposite to the carnal life of their fallen nature, and creates, from the time of its birth, a constant warfare in them against the being and power of evil.

As this generation in its essence is the sole work of the Spirit; so it is likewise in all its effects. When the Christian begins to live spiritually, he is soon enabled to think and act spiritually. And as the views and objects of this life are beyond the creature, and rest in God and in Christ, the Holy Spirit leads up the heart to a dependence on the divine Persons for the attainment of them. This is faith: and thus it appears, that it is the gift and operation of the Spirit.

By this faith, the Christian desires, and attains what he desires: by this he prays, and hopes, and waits, and expects: by this he wrestles against sin, and Satan, and the world: by this he looks with a holy contempt on all dying things, and beholds those delightful realities which are invisible to sense: by this he knows himself to be a child of God, and the purchase of Christ: by this he sees a glorious immortality provided for him, and longs often to enjoy it: by this he suffers the will of God, as well as obeys it, knowing that it must work together for his good: by this he welcomes death itself, and at length obtains the victory over it through Jesus Christ his Lord. All this work of faith is carried on by the effectual agency of the Holy Spirit. It is an action upon the spirit of a man, which none but the God of spirits either would or could perform. And where this work is not thus inwardly performed, there may indeed be the notions of truth, and the forms of godliness, but they have no life or power in them. The heart, in that case, may be as dead to God, and as much in and of the world, as ever.

He is called "the Spirit of Christ," because he not only is one with him in Jehovah, but also takes of the things of Christ, and shows them to his people. Thus, where his Spirit dwells, Christ is said to dwell, because of their inseparable union. If Christ dwell in our hearts by faith, it is because the Spirit of Christ is in us, and God is in us of a truth. It was the Spirit of Christ in the apostle which enabled him to say, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

To thee, then, O thou Holy Spirit of truth, and by thine own power, do I look up for faith and hope, and for the increase of faith and hope, and every blessing! O work in me to will and to do what is right; for, without thee, I can neither will nor do anything but evil. I am all depravity; but thou art grace itself, and the God of all grace. I am weakness, instability, and want; but thou art everlasting strength, the rock of ages, the fulness which filleth all in all. I have nothing, but thou has all things. O behold thy poor servant, whom thou hast made willing to serve thee; and let all the good pleasure of thy will be done in me, and by me. Abate my pride, subdue my unbelief, mortify my corruptions, strengthen my soul. All that I need, supply, according to thy riches in glory by Christ Jesus. So shall I be steadfast in thy steadfastness, lively in thy life, active in thy power, faithful in thy grace, wise in thy wisdom, holy in thine holiness, happy in thy love, perserving to the end by thy care, comfort, and preservation. O, who and what am I, that thou hast so tenderly brought hitherto; when, like millions around me, I might have been justly cut off, and left silent in darkness! Help, O help me to adore thee, and to testify of thy goodness and grace, in heart, in mind, in lip, and in life, both now and for ever!

CHAP. XIX.

ON THE EQUAL OBLIGATION OF BELIEVERS TO THE THREE PERSONS IN JEHOVAH.

It is an error to suppose, that we are indebted to one more than another of the divine Persons; for their love is but one and the same love, as their essence or nature is one and the same; and there could not exist such a difference or inequality of kindness to men, unless there was such a difference or inequality in themselves, as would not stand with the unity of the Godhead.

The love of the three Persons formed the covenant of grace from everlasting, in which they were equally and undividedly concerned; and though the fulfilment of this covenant had necessarily an order and distinction, according to the several engagements of the three distinct Persons, yet the mind and will of the Godhead were but one, and the object of their power but one, even Jehovah's glory in the salvation of sinners.

The Father loved, and concurred in the redemption of his chosen by Christ; the Son loved, and bare their sins in their nature, glorifying in that nature all the attributes of the Godhead; the Spirit loved, and engaged to make effectual the whole plan, by fitting the heart to receive, and by carrying to the heart the benefits of eternal salvation. Thus God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself; Christ fulfilled all that was given him to do; the Spirit enlivens, enlightens, and seals to the day of redemption. This is the order of the covenant; beginning with the Father, and, through the Son and Spirit, descending from heaven, to the salvation of his people; but, in the order of their enjoyment of this covenant, the Spirit begins with them, and they ascend by him next to the Son, and then to the Father. This is a blessed mystery of faith, which (however plain in the Scriptures) can only be understood truly in the course of a gracious experience. No mere notions, and especially of the carnal mind, can possibly reach it. The tuition, or rather intuition, is altogether divine.

What a blessed thing is it to believe and to know assuredly, that the wisdom, will, affection, and power, of all the Persons in Jehovah, are concerned in the salvation of every poor sinner that repenteth! What a confidence of spirit ought not this to inspire in the children of God! If their Lord be thus engaged, and concerned for their welfare; how can any of them be lost, or fail of what he hath prepared for them! O my soul, rejoice in the love of the Father, Son and Spirit, that one God, who hath done such great things for thee, and who will yet do more, yea, more than eye hath seen, or ear heard, or it hath entered into the heart of man to conceive. To this ONE God be glory. Amen. Hallelujah!

CHAP. XX.

ON THE PARTICULAR DESIGN AND USE OF THE SEVERAL HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Blessed Lord, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path!" Without this glorious revelation, I must have remained as I was born, a poor, helpless, hopeless, and miserable sinner.

By this is thy servant taught the order and excellency of thy first creation, when man was made in righteousness and true holiness, and lived therefore in tranquillity and peace. Hence I learn how he fell from thee, and, in falling, became spiritually dead, and cut off from thy life in his soul; while his body received the seeds of dissolution, and began to die from that very hour. I also am instructed to see thy mercy, proclaiming a Redeemer in the midst of thy justice, which otherwise must have destroyed, or made wretched without remedy, my whole race. Thou ordaindest a covenant by sacrifice with the first believers, showing thereby in type and shadow the great atonement of Jesus Christ, who, by thine own everlasting covenant, was "the Lamb slain from before the foundation of the world. By faith in this propitiation, they offered up their spiritual sacrifices, when they presented before thee the appointed creatures; and "according to this faith they died, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth."

By this holy word, I also learn, how, for the dreadful impieties of the old world, thou broughtest on a flood upon the earth, destroying all mankind but the small remnant of one family. My eyes have seen abundant testimonies of this truth, within the bowels, as well as upon the face, of this globe; in beholding, what once lived upon the surface at great depths beneath, and what once inhabited the seas upon the tops of the highest mountains.

By thy blessed record I understand, that thou madest a covenant with Noah, and Abraham, and the other patriarchs, promising the great Saviour to them and their seed. Thou didst suffer their offspring to go down into Egypt, and broughtest them up again with thy mighty hand, that by this thou mightest proclaim a more glorious deliverance to thy people. The plagues of Egypt were strong emblems of the curses and evils which sin brings upon the souls of all men by nature; and thy visitations of Israel were likewise representations of thy conduct in grace towards all thy redeemed. Thou deliveredst to this day thy people from the world and the devil by the blood of the paschal Lamb, and sendest them forth from their power, to become sojourners as in a wilderness, "and to seek a better country, even a heavenly."

Thou didst appoint all the rites and ceremonies of the holy law to show forth a Saviour's love, life, and death, till he should come. They are lively prophecies, and wise memorials, of what he was to be, and to do, and to suffer, for the salvation of poor sinners. No mind, but thine, could have contrived such a long train of mysterious truths, which were all to be fulfilled; no power, but thine, could have established and accomplished them all from age to age; no love, but thine, could have undertaken salvation at so costly an expense as the sufferings and death of thy blessed Son.

In this sacred volume, I further read the conduct of thy providence, in preserving the chosen remnant, and in punishing the ungodly and profane. The histories of men are composed by prejudice, and are full of falsehoods. What passeth in my own time is so differently represented by different men; nay, what I have seen myself hath been so variously seen and understood by others; that, were we alike-minded to report the truth, our misapprehensions and errors are so many, that through them the same facts would scarcely appear to be the same things. But thy record is faithful and true, and spareth not the faults and evils of any man, either of thy chosen people as a nation, or of thy dearest children as individuals. Here I see thy constant love of holiness and hatred of sin. Here I read many great lessons of human infirmity, and many strong proofs of thy forbearance, thy justice, or thy mercy. O let me, while I read, remember and understand.

In this book of books, I am also instructed by large and various prophecies given forth in deep and mysterious words. By thy holy prophets thou hast indeed spoken at sundry times, and in divers manners or figures; but all their prophecies, whether by symbol, type, vision, inspiration, or voice, declare but one final purpose, even the salvation of souls by Jesus Christ. His testimony was the very life and spirit of all their predictions.

By other parts of this blessed volume, I am edified and built up in my most holy faith. The final patience and self-renunciation wrought in Job, under thy visitation, instruct me in the way of thy righteousness. The proverbs or similitudes, full of mystic sense under moral ideas, teach me to look unto thee for all my wisdom, grace, and strength. By one book, I am convinced of the vanity and vexation of all worldly things; and, by another, of the mysterious heighth and depth of the love of Christ. I am also taught what to sing, and how to sing, of thy wonderful praises, by words which thine own Spirit hath revealed, which millions of thy children have graciously communed with, and which infinitely exceed all the compositions of men. They are words, full of prophecy and vigorous sense, and full of sober joy in the faithful foresight of the prophecy fulfilled. The love of Christ is the substance, the form, yea, the very life and breath, of all thy holy psalms.

In thy gracious Gospels, dear Lord, I am taught the accomplishment of every mystery, and of the great work of salvation, covenanted and foretold, in the person, life, death, resurrection, ascension, and intercession, of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. O what a picture do they hold forth, of the meekness, wisdom, grace, and compassion of that dear Redeemer! Lord, thou knowest how often my heart hath burned within me, when thou hast talked with me by these records, and while thou hast opened to me the Scriptures. And yet thou knowest, too, how often I have been one of the fools and slow of heart to believe all that thy prophets have spoken. O give me an understanding that is true; and so shall I be taught thy word!

The life, deeds, and writings of the holy apostles are, in thy blessed hands, most glorious and lively demonstrations of thine everlasting truth. They show me how thy saints have walked; and they encourage me to be a follower of them, who now through faith and patience inherit the promises. O my gracious Master, strengthen me, as thou wert pleased to strengthen them, with might by thy Spirit in the inner man! and so shall I hold on and hold out, till I receive, as they have received, the blessed end of my faith, in the salvation of my soul! Thou hast also been pleased to close thy prophesy, and to seal the vision, with an awful revelation, which reacheth onward to the very end of time, and almost unveils the mighty majesty of eternity itself. I read this mystic book with solemn awe, and often tremble as I read. Thy grace hath unfolded some little of this important mystery to my mind; O grant me more understanding, so far as may be proper for my welfare, or as my weakness in grace may be able to bear it. Keep me from reading with my own eyes, which are but carnal, and cannot profit me, and let me be thy disciple, and thy humble disciple alone! The ideas of this solemn book are all framed upon the principle of the ancient part of thy volume, and can only be apprehended at all through the intimate analogy of the whole.

O Lord, I bless thee, I daily bless thee, for this wonderful record of life and peace, which, if all men could spiritually read, all men would confess, that it is, and could be, of no origination but thine. The impressions of divinity are so glorious and evident, that he that runs, if he hath but eyes, may read and own them. And yet in nothing is this record more true, and in nothing is human experience of it more strong and striking, than in this, that no man can believe or understand a word of it, to the salvation of his soul, unless it be given him from above, unless all his instruction be imparted by thee. Not that in thy book there is any defect indeed, but wholly in the gross, sensual, and sinful apprehensions of fallen man.

Open thou mine eyes, O Lord, and then shall I behold wondrous things from thy law! Things hidden to carnal sense, but clear and obvious to the view of that faith, which thou givest to thy children. I wait upon thee for this end. While I read and while I write, while I praise and while I pray, I seek for thine instruction. I am a fool, without thee; but, by thee, I am made wise for eternity. Speak then in thy holy word, for thy servant heareth; and enable me to lay up what I hear, like Mary, within my heart, that I may be a true “scribe indeed, instructed in the kingdom of heaven, bringing forth, out of the treasure of my heart, things new and old!”

CHAP. XXI.

THE RECOLLECTION OF THIS FIRST PART IN PRAYER TO GOD.

O THOU ever-blessed Jehovah, three persons in one Godhead, full of grace, and full of glory, have mercy upon me a miserable sinner! I am not worthy so much as to look up to the throne of thy holiness, being polluted in my nature, wicked in my life, and covered entirely with innumerable transgressions. But, O, whither, whither, shall I go for help and succour, but unto thee, O Lord, who, for these my manifold abominations, are most justly displeased!

Wonderful goodness! Thou hast commanded me to come, and invited me to present myself before thee, with most astonishing testimonies of favour and acceptance. Thou hast found a way to make satisfaction to thine offended majesty and justice, not by my punishment and ruin so fully deserved, but by the sufferings and death of thy dear Son. By him thou hast magnified thy law and made it honourable, through an infinite and perfect righteousness, which he hath completed for it. For these wonderful ends, by thine everlasting covenant, he took into his divinity our human flesh, and became our Immanuel, or God with us: And so he became capable of suffering, doing, and substituting for his people, whom thus he purchased, all that was given him from thee. Having completed this whole work of salvation, he is now ascended up on high, pleading and interceding for poor sinners, that they might be partakers of his glory. Oh how great was his love; stronger indeed than death; mightier than sin and satan; yea, almighty to redeem!

Holy Father, how great also was thy love in sparing thine own Son from heaven for guilty worms, and yet not sparing him upon earth, when bearing their nature and transgressions! I am overwhelmed with a sense of thine unutterable benignity and compassion, joined as it is with everlasting justice, purity and truth.

And, thou blessed Spirit, what do I owe unto thee, for all thy gracious work in my poor heart, enslaved as it was by sin, and by nature departed as it is from all righteousness! Thou has taken of the things of Jesus, and explained and enforced, and enlivened them, into my soul. By thee alone, I have heard, and believed, all the mysteries of redemption needful for me to know. By thee I have experienced some of them; and by thine aid I hope to experience more. Be with me throughout my pilgrimage, and, in these days of rebuke and blasphemy against thy person, O grant me the evidence of thy presence, by enabling me to abound in every good word and work for thy glory.

O thou blessed Trinity! Thou Three-One Jehovah! God in covenant for redeemed sinners! God in truth over all the world! hear and regard my prayer. Accept and sanctify my praise. I adore thee for all thine abundant mercy. I glorify thee, O Father, Son, and Spirit, equal in nature, love, and majesty, with earnest, though poor, returns of gratitude and praise. Receive me, and whatever I am and have, graciously, for Jesus's sake, who is my Master, my Saviour, my Priest, my Prophet, my King, my Lord, and my all, and also thine only Son, in whom thou art well pleased for ever.

Lord, I am frail, and full of wants. I am a poor, weak, despised, and despicable man; and yet thine own adopted child notwithstanding. Give, O give me the bread of life; lighten my dim eyes with the light of life; and supply all my need, great and various as it truly is, according to thy riches in glory by Christ Jesus! I bring a thousand and a thousand wants, imperfections, and cares before thee; and, Lord, I can bring no other. These, and such as these, are all I have both in body and in soul. O then take me as I am, and make me what thou wouldest have me to be. I know not of myself what is right, or good, or wise; but thou knowest. Therefore, I beseech thee, my blessed God, undertake even for me! I have no refuge, but in thy power; I have no hope, but in thy promises; and I desire nothing in this world, no, nor in the world to come, but the sweetness, the testimony, the possession, the glory of thy great salvation.

O let the evidence of this salvation be made more and more clear to my mind, and the experience of it more and more firm and solid to my soul, through thy word and by thy Spirit. May I read, and understand; may I understand and grow; till I come to the stature and measure appointed for me. Keep me from leaning on myself, lest I fall into error. Help me to depend upon thee, that I may be led into all the truth. So shall I praise thee with joyful lips, and, through my gracious Saviour, bless and adore thee, O God, my God, for ever and ever!

PART II.

CHAP. I.

UPON UNBELIEF.

THE corruption of our nature renders the life and exercise of faith the most difficult affair in the world. It is indeed far beyond ourselves. The Apostle, therefore, ascribes our believing to “the exceeding greatness of God's power,” even to “the effectual working of his mighty power.”

Many talk of this believing, and yet but few have attained it. The assenting to a chain of principles is easy; but the grounding of the heart in these principles upon Christ, and especially in the time of trial; the giving up a man's self as nothing; the patient waiting of the soul upon the truth and promise of God; the cool and deliberate parting with the things of sense for the things of the Spirit; the discovery and suppression of carnal and corrupt motives in the heart; all these are matters, which are neither in the compass, nor taste, nor inclination, of flesh and blood. Hence it is, that, when men are made serious by affliction, sickness, or the approach of death, they find themselves so much at a loss for the use of that faith, which perhaps, from a long profession, they did not suspect they had wanted. Oh, it is dreadful to be in the dark, when we want the most light, and to have no assurance of everlasting things, when we are called to part for ever with the things of time.

The soul, indeed, that never doubted, hath never yet believed. The office of faith being to subdue unbelief in all its activities; this often makes a sore and difficult conflict in the soul. Carnal reason looks for the demonstrations of sense, and cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God; for these being in their nature out of its comprehension, they appear foolishness unto it; and therefore this weak and fleshly reason cannot bring a strong and living confidence to the soul. Faith is chiefly occupied in things above animal sense, and often against it; but reason, beginning with ignorance, and proceeding upon doubt, seeks its rest in sensation, and can rise no higher. A man, therefore, cannot be reasoned by logical deductions and convictions out of unbelief into faith, but must be saved, through the gift and working of the divine power, first to possess faith, and afterwards to use it.

The mind likewise can never subdue its distressing doubts by its own exercise, but only by the gracious help of God: and the very looking for this help is from faith. Faith brings indeed its proper evidences with it; but these are all in the divine record, which, by the demonstration of the Spirit, answers the ignorant objections of carnal reason, and (what is vastly beyond the power of all the reason in the world) at once silences, satisfies, comforts, and renews the mind. Thus faith relies, and the Spirit testifies; and this conjunction of what the soul is enabled to yield, with what in that act it immediately receives, constitutes that full abundance of certitude, which should be the grand aim of the children of God. "After ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance."

This is not the work of a day. Conflicts and exercises are repeated continually; because while flesh remains in the believer, it will be unbelieving flesh, ever expecting sensation instead of faith, which is directly contrary to God's method of salvation. Man fell by disbelieving; and he is raised again through believing. He is to trust God for everything, before he can have the true enjoyment of any.

Faith doth not take away all doubting, because it doth not take away the body, nor the indwelling of sin in that body; but it subdues the reigning fury and the raging prevalence of doubting. It constantly attacks the body of sin, which is the grand cause of doubting. Sometimes, it gives the Christian such clear views, as make him wonder how he could doubt at all. And yet the doubting will again and again return, though perhaps with less frequency and strength. Its sudden attacks, however, are very distressing: and these are permitted of God, in order to show, that the soul is not to live by anything imparted to it here, but simply and continually by that faith which leads the soul out of itself to God in all its views and desires.

This is a difficult, though a daily, lesson. Lord, teach it thy servant, or the knowledge will be too excellent and sublime for him to attain it! Let it be also not a lesson of theory and notion only, but of practice and experience, that I may become skilful in the word of righteousness, that it may dwell richly in me in all wisdom, and that I may know how to repel by it the sad assaults, which, while I am here, will daily be made against me. "O let thy mercies come to me, O Lord; even thy salvation according to thy word: so shall I have wherewith to answer him that reproacheth me, for I trust in thy word!"

CHAP. II.

HOW HAVE I RECEIVED CHRIST?

The Apostle says, "As ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him." I must therefore receive him, before I can walk in him at all. It is a matter of the deepest consequence to my soul, that I should do both.

How then, Lord, did I receive thee? Did I seek thee first, by my own will? Alas! I was gone out of the way, like all other men; I was altogether become abominable, having no will for good, but only for evil. Did I resolve to seek thee by my best endeavours? I must confess, with shame and sorrow, that my resolutions were weaker to me than Samson's bands were in his full strength to him; and that the first or the least temptation led me away. Could my sincere obedience merit thy favour? I see, that if a man could sincerely obey in his natural state, but which indeed he cannot, having no love for the work, but only a slavish fear of hell; Lord, I see, that thy law requires, if I would be saved by thy law, a sinless and perfect obedience, instead of this sincere and defective one, upon pain of my utter destruction. Thou has said in thy word, that "He who offendeth in one point is guilty of all," and that "By the deeds of the law shall no flesh living be justified." How then could I, who have offended in so many points, be saved? How then didst thou, in thy righteousness, bring me to expect salvation?

Lord, I was poor, and vile, and miserable; I was helpless, yet laden with iniquities; I was wounded, and lying in my blood; my case and condition no man knew, or, knowing it, could relieve. In the midst of my misery, was the appointed moment of thy mercy. Into my deepest wounds thou didst pour thy oil and thy wine. Thou alone cheeredst my heart with thy free salvation. In the view of what Christ has done and suffered for poor sinners like me, and by thy gracious power applying his two-fold merit; joy and gladness came into my soul, yea, greater than any found by men of the earth, "when their corn, and wine, and oil, have increased."

Thy word was the instrument, and thy Spirit the worker. He new-created me in Christ Jesus; he renewed me in the spirit of my mind; he made darkness light before me, and rough places plain. By his teaching I know thy truth, by his grace I enjoy it, by his power I am kept therein, and shall be kept, I trust, to the end. Lord, all the glory of my conversion wrought in me, and of thy complete salvation wrought for me, wholly belongeth unto thee from beginning to end!

It was in this way I received Christ; and thy word, O Lord, assureth me it is the true way; because it giveth to thee all the glory, and secureth to me all the benefit. In this way of humbly receiving, I must also walk continually. I have nothing of my own, but sin. Thou hast nothing, O my Redeemer, but grace and mercy for thy people. Help me to receive out of this eternal fulness grace for grace, according to my need, that I may walk unto all well-pleasing, and adorn thy doctrine in all things. I would love much, because much hath been forgiven me. I would serve heartily, because thou hast kindly done great things indeed for me. I would live holily, because it is the way to thy kingdom, and the very happiness of thy kingdom itself. Let, let me, my Saviour, be more like unto thee; for, Lord, I would be thine, and only thine, for ever!

Thus my heart often venteth its desires; though at times it is unsteady, dull, and ready to droop under the weight and grossness of a sinful body. I have no remedy for this malady but Christ, sought for in humble prayers. And when my prayers are faint and drooping, as they too frequently are, I bewail and am sick of myself; but I dare not leave him, lest a worse evil befall me. I, therefore, in compunction of spirit, cast myself down before him as low as I can, praying for prayer, and entreating him that he will not leave me to my evil self, but enliven my soul with an answer of peace. When I can put forth this act of faith, there is often peace in the act itself which refreshes me, and usually comfort follows upon it, or (what is better) more faith to throw all upon him, and to live more by him, for the time to come.

CHAP. III.

HOW DO I LIVE UPON CHRIST?

Alas! my soul, in spiritual things, thou too often livest upon thyself. Thou seekest in frames, in forms, in creatures, and in animal life, what is only to be found in thy Redeemer, even a right inward peace, and stability of mind. Outward duties are well in their place, but they have no divine life in themselves, and can give none to thee. They are to be performed, but not trusted in; to be used with grace, but not to buy grace. They are as the scaffold to the building, a mean for carrying on the spiritual work, but not the end of the great design. In the power of Christ they are blessings; without his power, they have no life or help in them.

Many treat the ordinances as a fair substitute for a serious and constant watchfulness over themselves, for patient devotedness to God, and for real holiness of heart and life, instead of the mean, and only the mean, which the Lord hath appointed, for leading up the soul to all this, as their proper and indispensable end. By such worshippers, the holy means are turned into a profane and detestable idol (as the case was with some of old, Isaiah, lxvi. 3.) in the sight of the Lord; who doth not regard lip-service. nor any carnal or corporeal attentions only, but the poor and the contrite spirit, that can tremble at, while it hears and believes, his holy word.

Remember this for thyself, O my soul. Thy first and last trust must be in Jesus. He is the way, the truth, and the life. Without him all prayers, praises, rites, and ordinances, dwindle into carcasses without a soul. Every performance will be carnal and corporal, unless the Saviour fill it with his divine Spirit. And when this comes, then there is a sweet communion of heart, and reviving of the soul after Christ. Then there appears a delightful view behind the veil of outward ordinances, such as no carnal eye can behold, of the Lord in his goodness, beauty, grandeur, blessedness, and glory.

Mere professors stick in the flesh, and mistake the worship of the body, and the motion of the lips, for the love, taste, action, and adoration of the soul. Religion is too sentimental for those, who rather walk by a course than live in it. The road, indeed, may be a good one; but these no more travel therein, than a corpse in a hearse can be said to be making a journey.

My soul, thy life and thy liveliness are all laid up in Christ, and to be drawn from him according to thy need. Thou hast no stock left to thy own disposal. As the manna was received daily from above, so thou must live out of thyself for thy spiritual daily bread. Having pleaded thy pardon by his blood, and thy justification by his righteousness, thou must live on him for grace, still to plead both, to enjoy both, to commune with him from time to time, to deny thyself, to renounce the world and the devil, to master corruptions, to be growing wiser in his word, and more rich in its experience, and, in short, to use him for thine all in all. The whole of this is spiritual, and therefore difficult, work; and thou art quite unable to perform it in any respect, but through that strength which is made perfect in weakness. If Christ, indeed, be thy life, then, because he liveth, thou shalt live also.

In living thus upon Christ, thou art to live above thyself, and certainly above everything which thou thyself canst perform. This is the true and sublime life of the inner man, which is not corruptible, nor dependeth for vigour upon corruptible things. It is, therefore, a hidden life. "Ye are dead, (says the apostle,) and your life is hid with Christ in God." No outward or carnal eye can see it at all, except in some of its holy outward effects, the true excellence of which it cannot apprehend; and the spiritual understanding of other believers can only discern its inward truth and growth, but in proportion as they themselves are spiritually grown up in Christ Jesus the Lord.

As thou art not to live upon thyself, O my soul, so thou canst not live this true life by the aid or opinion of others. If they are instruments of good to thee, it is thy heavenly Father, who employeth them for that end. They themselves must live upon him, as well as thou, for all their wisdom, grace, and strength, and not "by the life of their own hand." Christ is, and must be, as much their life, as he is thine.

Thou sometimes waxest and wanest in thy duties, as the moon in her light. At one time, thou art full of appetite and vigour; at another, in lowness and want of strength. The cause is not in the Sun of righteousness, who is always alike; but in thee, who turnest not the same aspect always to him, and therefore hast not always the same light and heat. If thou thinkest to get brightness from the stars around thee, instead of thy sun, thou wilt be like the dark part of the moon, turned away from the natural sun, which often scarcely appears, or, when it doth, appears very dull. In all providences, ordinances, and situations, Christ must be thy point of view, thy succour, thy light, thy life, and thy all; or they will be found, however excellent in his hand, only beggarly elements in thine.

In all things that are truly divine and spiritual, the flesh soon becomes weary, and flags, and fails. When the exercise grows difficult especially; then corrupt nature soon declines, and cannot sustain or endure the toil. Hence it is, that so many seem to receive the word with joy, and to run well for a time, who, when persecutions or trials arise, having no root in themselves, begin to find dislikes and offences, and so presently fall away. Their fallow hearts have not been broken up deep enough by the gospel-plough (i. e. the law.) to cover well the gospel-seed. The seed of the word hath never been hidden in the heart; and so hath taken no root downward in humble and secret contrition, nor grown into substance, upwards, to "bring forth fruit unto perfection."

This hidden and spiritual life is often most active and strong, when the flesh is lowest, and hath least to do. "Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord; for he is raised up out of his holy habitation." When the Lord is risen upon the soul, all that is weak and carnal is as nothing before him. A sweet proof of this may sometimes be found in sick and dying believers. How do they triumph in spirit, with a glorious liveliness, over all the infirmities of a dying body! "When their heart and their flesh fail," God then appears most eminently to be the very "strength of their heart, and their portion for ever."

There is "a knowledge of Christ after the flesh," which will carry men a great way into all the splendours of religious profession. It shall make a man look and talk seriously; carry him constantly to ordinances; give him great personal zeal and confidence; enable him to be very exact in all outward discipline and form of doctrine; nay, it shall bring him with a fervent activity (if a minister) into the pulpit, help him to deliver sound discourses with seeming earnestness and able oratory, so that multitudes shall hear and admire, and perhaps be wrought upon by him; and yet in himself it may be mere flesh, and the poor low knowledge of Christ by the flesh, after all. There is sometimes a little true life in this, and then it is strengthened and refined by trials and temptations; but, when there is none, then, by time or trouble, or some other thing, it will finally fall away. "If they had really been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us."

O my soul, there are depths of Satan, as well as of God; and there is no security for thee, but in renouncing the flesh, and all the secret, as well as open, works of the flesh, and by following Jesus thoroughly in the regeneration. In the poverty of carnal nature, the Lord will manifest the riches of his grace. Thou must be poor in thine own spirit, or thou canst not be rich in his. He filleth the hungry with good things; but those, that are increased with their own goods, he will always send empty away.

O Lord, look upon me, a poor and helpless creature, who cannot so much as look up to thee for aid, without they special grace for that end. How can I live upon thee, my Saviour, unless thou come down to me in this dark and wretched world, and visit me with thy salvation! I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord; and I would still patiently wait in all the ways of thine appointment, expecting thy presence in the troubled pool to bless me. I expect thee, and only thee. None else can do me good. My soul craveth for true and immortal life; and this is thy gift: O give it unto me. In all thy means of grace, let my heart wait for thy grace by the means. "Teach me to bless thee for means, when I have them; and to trust thee for means, when I have them not; yea, to trust thee without means, when I have no hope of them." Without thy presence, all outward things are barren and dry; and my soul can find no sustenance. Lead me, O my gracious Shepherd, by thine own hand, to the green pastures, and beside the waters of thy holy rest; restoring my soul, and conducting me in the paths of righteousness for thy name's sake. So shall I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, neither fearing nor finding any evil; and at length arrive at the heavenly house of my God, in which I shall dwell for ever and ever.

CHAP. IV.

ON SELF-SEEKING.

As they that are in the flesh, cannot please God at all; so they that follow the flesh in any instance, do so far displease him. This flesh is a subtle adversary, and will creep into our duties as well as our sins; mixing itself, under a thousand forms, in almost all that we can say, or think, or do.

Who could expect to feel this deceiver in the deepest contrition of soul, or to find him in peals of groans and showers of tears? Yet self will endeavour to make a man proud of this very humility, to be plumed upon his own abasements, and be fancying himself something, in the midst of his confessions about his vileness and nothingness.

A poor soul shall own itself, with much pain and sincerity, to be a miserable sinner; and self, from this very acknowledgment, will stir up a notion of worth in the creature, and give it to believe, that there are some seeds at least of excellency within itself, which others have not, and for having of which he is higher or better than they. Self will bid some men confess themselves sinners, that they may be considered as saints. To take them at their word, would mortify and displease them.

When the heart of the believer is melted in duty, and enjoys the liveliest frame of communion and love; how often and how much is self to be found therein, either attempting to puff up with a high opinion, or to instil a carnal security, concerning its spiritual interest and welfare? If it can abate the power and watchfulness of faith, it will lay a ground of distress to the believer in the next trial; so that he will soon find himself to be yet in the flesh, and that (as one says) "He must never think to put off his armour, till he is ready for others to put on his shroud."

A man may appear excellent in religious conversation, and be eminent in public duties; he may speak and write much, and perhaps well, upon the things of God, and may recommend them with zeal to others; and yet so much of self may be in all, that, when he looks over his heart and discovers it, he will rather find reason to be ashamed of the whole, than to be satisfied with any one part of it. I know not, whether in writing these pages, there be not so much of this evil mixing itself, as to defile and almost nullify any good that may be in them. And though I can humbly look to God for the sincerity and uprightness of my general aim, yet such are my apprehensions of my own carnality, vanity, emptiness, and self-love, and of the sinfulness of giving them indulgence, in serious things especially, that I am sometimes inclined to throw the whole aside. I see this hateful principle in almost everything I can say or do, and am ashamed of myself, and of it; but still it rises again and again, though often detected; and therefore I am obliged continually to cast myself, with a redoubled sense of my mean, weak, vain, and vile condition of nature, upon the sole and free mercy of God my Saviour.

In success of duty for God, and in being the instrument of good to others, this selfishness of our hearts will endeavour, if not to rob God entirely of his glory, yet at least to share with him in it. Self will be pleased, because we ourselves have been concerned, because we have been honoured, and because by us the Lord hath been magnified in the souls of others. It is self which is vexed, when this is not the case, and when we have toiled for nothing, or others have caught the fishes. Whereas, our spirits should rejoice in the will of the Lord, and be as much pleased when his work prospers in other hands, as in our own. And thus indeed they would rejoice, if this corrupt self did not mix with, and seek its own establishment in, the most spiritual exercises of our souls. We too much forget, that we are only instruments, and that we can do no more of ourselves for God, than our pens can write down our thoughts, when not taken up by our hands.

All this may serve to show, what a severe jealousy we should hold concerning ourselves. We should not only pray, but watch unto prayer; we should both perform our religious duties with zeal, and should examine well the zeal with which we perform them; we should abound in every work and labour of love, and should entreat for wisdom and grace, that flesh and self may not abound in them too; we should ask again and again for a single eye and a simple heart, that all the glory of every good may be given to God, its right owner, that we may be kept in our true place, admiring his mercy, and showing forth entirely his honour and praise.

CHAP. V.

ON THE DIFFERENT APPEARANCES OF GRACE IN DIFFERENT PERSONS.

"There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God, who worketh all in all." Some believers are remarkable for the strength of their faith in trials even unto death; others for their livelinesss and activity in duty; others for their wisdom, conduct, and prudence, both in temporals and spirituals; others for their zeal in defence of the truth; others for their knowledge in the mysteries of the truth; others for their patience, meekness, and gentleness; others for their submission to the will of God; others for outward usefulness in the church; and others for an inward and spiritual life of communion with God. But all these are the various gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, "dividing to every man severally as he will," and not the talents or abilities of fallen nature. They are also given to every man, who hath them, to profit withal, according to his place in the church, or in the world. He, who hath one of these graces, should not undervalue or despise him who hath another; for the giver is the same, though his gifts may be granted for different ends.

Very often particular graces are bestowed, to counteract and oppose particular corruptions, of which the Lord himself can be the only true judge. Some situations of Christians require gifts of grace, which might be less necessary, or less manifestative of the divine glory in others, than they are in them. The Lord distributeth wisely and kindly to all his people, according to their day and duty, or according to his own designs in them and for them. But they are all of them his workmanship, and could not in grace, more than in nature, either create or fashion themselves.

This should teach thee, my fellow Christian, a lesson of forbearance to thy brethren. It is not right for thee to judge another by thine own pattern. He may have graces, not less pleasing to God, nor less useful in their purpose, than those which are given to thee. Art thou a warm and active Christian? Condemn not him, whose endowments may be more placid and contemplative than thine. He who now creeps as a snail, in humble silence, may, by one lift of divine power, get into heaven before thee, and perhaps be raised higher there than thou. God judgeth not like man, according to the outward show, but according to the secret riches of his love. Art thou a quiet and retired believer? Do not censure him, who is called forth to more stirring duty than thou art. Though his work may seem less spiritual to thee, it may be to introduce designs of providence and grace, which only God can foreknow, and which may be the means of carrying out his saving power far and wide. Some of the first reformers were less remarkable for a quiet and gentle spirit, than some who have followed them; but these last do not seem so fit instruments for grappling with papal outrage and tyranny, as they were. When rough work is to be done, men use the axe and the saw; but, for gentler operations, the plane, the razor, or the knife. These last would not cut down a forest; nor would the first serve to polish or smooth.

Honour, then, the work and blessing of God upon his people, in what form soever it may be found. Every member hath his appointed office from him. It is self-love and conceit, which disparage others; and these we will not call gifts from above, but rather worms from beneath, which seek to gnaw the root of the vine. Covet, indeed, and earnestly, the best gifts; but the love of God and man is, after all, the more excellent way.

CHAP. VI.

ON THE DIFFERENCE OF MYSELF FROM MYSELF.

Lord, how variable a creature am I! Unstable as water, changeable as wind, different as the weather, when I am left, in any instance or degree, to myself. One of our English kings, from his slackness, was called "The Unready;" and the same name, with respect to my best concerns, will too often serve for me.

Sometimes I have a fair day of comfort and hope; but the clouds come on again, and gather blackness over my soul. Short and sweet was the hour of my spiritual delight; but now the time of my dulness and drooping hath been frequent and long.

Blessed be thy name, O Lord, that my real state with thee doth not depend upon my vigour, liveliness, and constancy, but upon those only sure grounds, thy faithfulness, mercy, omnipotence, and truth. Whatever I am, or may be, in myself, thou art, and wilt be, always the same, and always the same to me.

The time, or rather the eternity, is at hand, when my state will be unchangeable, and my frames will be unchangeable too. The crowns of glory cannot fade, nor those that wear them alter or decay. I shall both know as I am known, and in all things shall be like to my immutable and glorious Saviour, when I get into his kingdom.

Why, then, should my present variations distress me? I live not by them, nor for them, but upon a higher principle, and for a more exalted end. This is the time of faith, in which I must wrestle, and labour, and strive, against all the disadvantages of an evil nature, and an evil world; and I am to look for strength from Christ, who will be honoured in my weakness and deficiency, which compel me to give up myself incessantly to him. He is engaged to preserve me by his own oath and unchangeable covenant; and, therefore, come fair, come foul; let me have either comfort or sorrow; all must be well at the last, for he hath promised, and most assuredly will give me, a safe and abundant entrance into heaven.

CHAP. VII.

ON BRIDLING THE TONGUE.

It hath been a frequent confession of wise and good men, that they have often lamented their speaking too much, but seldom their holding their tongue. In the multitude of words there will be some folly, something that will not tend to edification, something that may rather weary and offend, than delight nn inform.

This evil of over-speaking usually comes from an over-weening opinion of self. Unchastised and unsubdued self is fond of its own display; although it can display nothing, or, were it not deceiving and deceived, nothing but its own wretchedness and ruin. The apostle hath a striking hint for professors of religion: "If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain."

What is our end in religious conversation? If we speak without a purpose, surely it is folly. If we speak for own praise, it is a wrong to our own souls, and a robbery of God. If we speak for his honour, and the edification of others, we should look up to him for his blessing, that our words, as they ought, may be weighty and wise. In this humble dependence upon God, and with a warm and generous concern for the spiritual welfare of others, our discourse may be comfortable and edifying, both to them and to ourselves. A word in season, thus spoken, may be remembered, and blessed. The more of this kind of conference, the better; care being taken of the spirit in which we speak, of time and propriety of the speaking, and of not mixing other things (as is too often the case) with our religious discourse, which may render it trifling or unsavoury. When we have said all that we could wish to say upon things divine, it will be profitable to withdraw, that there may be a due opportunity for reflection, meditation, digestion, and prayer.

CHAP. VIII.

UPON FALSE APPEARANCES.

The whole world walketh in a masquerade, or, as the Scripture calls it, "an image," or "vain show." Scarcely any man would appear as he is, but as he is not, before others; and he loves to indulge even his own mind in the same deceitful view of himself. The more artfully he can put on the vail, the finer man he seems, often in his own esteem, generally in the esteem of others; and nothing mortifies him more than when some wind of trial blows this vail but a little aside, so that others perceive a part at least of what he hath been always very industrious to conceal.

This disguise is the handiwork of evil and corrupted nature, fallen from the truth and purity of God, into a strong love and likeness of the perplexed and foolish subtlety, which fully occupies that being, who is the father and author of lies from the beginning. To plead for this dissimulation, as some have done, is to turn advocate for the evil one, whose fees are vanity and vexation in this world, and something worse in the world to come.

Our depraved nature cannot bear to see its own wickedness, and much less to have it exposed. What shifts and turns, what labours and difficulties, will it not encounter, to obtain a great name and opinion, though it bo but a false one! And how will it be delighted, as with a prize, in the fleeting breath of dying creatures, who have only for a memorial of themselves, some filthy monument of sin or shame! To be open and sincere, is counted a weakness; because it lowers a man's power of taking those advantages for interest and fame, which all men by nature are pursuing, and which, in a state of nature, they think to be the only object worth pursuing, as the highest and greatest good.

And, alas! how much of this disguise is brought into the things and church of God! I lament, for one, how prone I am to cheat myself, and to wish more for the esteem of others, than I ought to think of, or than I can possibly deserve! I would be all fair, and valuable, and excellent, and what not, in their esteem; while I am concious to myself, that there is within me so much vanity, weakness, dulness, wretchedness, and evil, as might justly suffice to render me in their eyes, what any ef them, that can look into themselves, must appear to be in their own.

I have displeased some, whom I did not intend to displease; and others have offended me, perhaps with a contrary intention. The same persons and myself have been mutually satisfied at one time, and dissatisfied at another; and wherefore? Not because my nature or theirs was better or worse at any time, but only because it sometimes discovered itself more according to the occasion. And when it drops the disguise of goodness which we can regard, or discovers itself too plainly, sinners as we are, we cannot love it, so odious and depraved is it become since the original ruin. We cannot love it in others, nor others because of it; though we are at a world of pains to conceal, to indulge, or to dress off, the ugly monster in ourselves.

It is this depravity, which hath begotten hypocrisy, not only in the world at large, or in courts, or particular callings of men, where certainly it doth reign absolutely and universally, but also in religious profession, where surely it ought not. It hath reigned especially in this last, since it hath been esteemed a scandal not to be called a Christian. It is true, indeed, that the appearance of religion is certainly better than the appearance of evil; but, however, when men seek to appear religious, for the selfish honour or carnal comfort which may follow from others upon account of it, they only seek themselves, and are but the less truly religious, for all their professions.

Why am I grieved, if others think lightly of my gracious attainments? Because I am grown unjustly great in my own esteem for things, which are not my own, but given to me. But doth not this very grief prove, that their judgment is but too right, and that my real stature is not so tall as I think it? If I were humbled in myself, in some degree as I ought to be (for, in in the full and just degree, no man can be humbled in this life,) I should approve their sincerity towards me, and contentedly sit down before them in the lowest room. Their low opinion would not hurt me, because it would be the same as my own. The vileness of my heart, and the low progress I have made in Christian experience, are, indeed, sufficient to humble me every day I breathe; and it is only my own blindness, or a falseness to myself, that leads me to forget either my own real condition, or the place where I ought to stand.

We are not naturally honest to ourselves; and we do not wish that others should deal honestly with us. If we were truly honest and wise, (and grace only can make us so in any degree,) we should meekly hear, and even wish to hear, of our own frailties, errors, and defects, that we might grow the true Christian growth, which doth not consist in the favourable opinion of men, and of our own minds; but in lowliness of heart, and spirituality of life, respecting ourselves; in patience, quietness, good-will, with regard to others; in contrition, humiliation, and submission before God.

Professors live too much outwardly. Religion is carried often into the strong animal passions, not to subdue, but to feed them. Hence the poor anger and violence of a corrupted nature, are frequently mistaken for zeal, for life, and for power. But noise, and bustle, and tumult, and hurry; the agitations of temper, and strong desires for influence or authority, or direction among men; the parade of religion, or the superiority of a party, may all be carried on with very small degrees of real grace, and perhaps with none at all. Diotrephes loved to have the pre-eminence; but this could not suppress his inward bitterness, nor increase the signs of his Christian calling, 3 John 9. If we do not live for God in our religion, we must live outwardly, and so shall endeavour to make a "fair show in the flesh;" but if we have his presence indeed, the truest way of our life will be hidden, and we shall much and gladly retire within to enjoy it. The most certain sign of our real growth will be, the sinking into ourselves as vileness and nothing; the being thought meanly of with content, if not pleasure; and the rising up of our souls towards God with secret delight, ardour, affection, and constancy. All this may be done before Him who seeth in secret, far better than in the corners of the streets, or places of public resort. We shall aim, through grace, to *be* gracious, rather than to *appear* so.

This hidden life my soul pants for, O Lord, thou knowest; whatever becomes my outward respect among men. If I have the more of thee, for the loss of this, it will be, indeed, a rich amends. Nay, it will be better for me to be without human regards, lest I should grow more proud than I already am, and so lose that blessed sight of thee, which I always enjoy most sweetly and clearly in the deepest renunciation and depression of myself. O make me more and more dead to the opinion of even gracious men, that my poverty and meanness may ever be before me, and that in all forms and circumstances, I may constantly be relinquishing myself, so that I may have more inward and intimate fellowship, friendship, complacency, and nearness with thee!

"Careless myself, a dying man,
 Of dying men's esteem;
Happy, O Lord, if thou approve,
 Though all beside condemn."

CHAP. IX.

ON THE SPIRIT OF THE WORLD.

NOTHING more fully proves the fall of man from his original creation, than the opposition and temper of his soul, while in his natural state, to the things of God. His wishes, his hopes, his labours, his principles of action and thinking, are all turned directly to another way. "God is not really (whatever a man of the world may speculate) in all his thoughts." He is "without God," or rather, in sober truth, he is (as the apostle calls him) "an atheist in the world."

Hence it is, that the people of the world have, in all ages, reputed the people of God either to be fools, in not laying themselves out for such things as wholly engage themselves; or knavish hypocrites, who only take a pretended spiritual method to accomplish the same carnal and selfish ends. And if they can find an instance or two (as they have often done, and may do) to confirm this opinion, Oh, how do they insult over professors of all kinds, and run down religion itself, as though it were a trap or an engine for all manner of deceit, or at best, a whimsical paradise, framed by superstition for dunces and fools!

On the other hand, how wild, mad, besotted, and phrenetic, do all the agitations of these men seem to the Christian, in his retired and considerate hours! They are pursuing, in his view, lies and shadows, vapours and dreams. They grasp after something, they scarcely know what. Ever restless, they are always upon the hunt; but never finding, never satisfied. They live weary and tired lives, full of envy, disappointment, and care: and they die hopeless deaths, either in abject terror at what may come upon them hereafter, or in the stupid opinion, that God created them only to live for awhile, like maggots, upon the trash of the earth, and then, at last, to be thrown into a whole, to rot away into nothing. Such is the sordid spirit and wisdom of this world!

CHAP. X.

ON THE PRIDE OF THE HEART.

MOST of the discomforts of our lives arise from the pride of our hearts, unmortified and unsubdued. Did I think as meanly and humbly of myself, as, from the knowledge of my weakness and sinfulness, I ought, the contempt or the insult of others would not hurt or afflict me. But I am false to myself, and therefore lifted up, assuming to my vile nature what it hath no right to expect; and I am false to others, wearing appearances, to create respect and esteem; which is walking in a mask, and rendering myself foolishly proud. If men saw me, and I saw them, as we really are, we should none of us be much inclined to boast of ourselves; but our glorying must either cease, or else be wholly in the Lord.

This pride hath occasioned to my soul a world of trouble, both when it hath reigned unsubdued, and while, through grace and trials, it hath been in the act of subduing.

When it is unsubdued, the heart is open to all manner of mortifications. A look, a gesture, or a word, shall put it to pain; and when this pain rages, the passions will begin to rave, and throw the whole frame into a miserable violence and disorder. Outward opposition will make it worse. The inflammation then grows often to a degree of frenzy, which nothing hardly can soothe or allay. And it is one of the wonders of providence, that this pride of man, when combined and raging in multitudes, doth not confound all order and rules more than it doth, and utterly ruin and destroy the world.

To subdue this sore evil, *the pride of heart and life*, and all its effects, in his people, is one great end of God, in afflicting dispensations. They are high in themselves; and it is necessary for their good, that they should be brought down. Whatever answers this end, come in what shape it may, it is all a blessing.

Did such a one use me ill, or speak contemptuously of me? As David said of Shimei, it is because the Lord hath permitted him. Hath he treated me as I deserve? Why, then, am I angry? He hath been to me a messenger of truth, whatever were his intentions, with which I have nothing to do; and, therefore, let me own the truth, and fall down in abasement and contrition before God. Is the censure false? I have no right to be offended. He hath not hit me, but himself, and becomes therefore the object of my prayer. If, in this instance, his condemnation hath been wrong, my heart knoweth in how many others, and perhaps in worse, it would have been just and right. In every view, I have no fair claim to be flattered with the applauses of men, but to be humbled in myself for the constant weakness, worthlessness, and evil, that cleave to me in all things. If I felt this as I ought, and walked, as I ought, in the continual sense of it; I should be ashamed to be proud, and should abhor myself for the bold injustice and iniquity of being so, in dust and ashes.

I believe that some Christians have more trials and afflictions in the flesh than others, because there is more natural stubbornness of pride and wilfulness in them. The Lord will have thee to be subdued. And he suiteth all his chastisements, with great and unerring wisdom, to the occasion. If they thought of this aright, they would not be so much in care to get rid of the visitation, as to have the design of it answered within them. They would pray to be humbled under the mighty hand of God, that he might exalt them in the right way, and in the due time.

It is my pride, and my self-will which proceeds from pride, that render me so uneasy with God and with others. Were I truly lowly, and deeply sensible of my own condition, not the opinion and hard words of others, but my own sin, would offend me. I am imperfect, as in all other graces, so especially in humility; and therefore I fret in myself, and am inclined to speak, and to render evil for evil. O Lord, help me, a poor feeble man, and hide pride from mine eyes! Suffer me not to fall upon this stumbling-block, which hath overturned the world; but help me to follow Jesus, who was meek and lowly in heart, and by him to find rest to my soul!

CHAP. XI.

COMPARISON BETWEEN CARNAL AND SPIRITUAL WISDOM.

CARNAL wisdom is the highest attainment of the carnal mind. It is an exhibition of fallen man in his fairest and most cultivated form; and is therefore the aim and desire of the best of natural men.

This wisdom (for we will call it at present by that name,) arising from a depraved and corrupt principle, is necessarily weak and corrupt likewise. It seeks earthly and carnal things, is occupied entirely upon them, and looks no higher, and finds no more, when left to its own inclinations and powers. This wisdom, therefore, is called, in the Scripture, earthly, sensual, devilish. It acts only upon, and for, this present world: it is plunged in the sensuality and designs of it, through an earthly evil nature: it is, like Satan, in total opposition to the will and holiness of God, serving, as its last end, the creature, instead of the Creator.

Thus, the learned man is proud of his knowledge, as it gives him superiority over others: the statesman, by his political understanding, pursues and triumphs in his own grandeur: the merchant, by his skill in trade, heaps up to himself riches: the mechanic, by his art and ingenuity, assumes his peculiar distinction: the carnal divine (for such a one there may be) is learned, and zealous for his party or profession, or for his own carnal exaltation in it. In short, it is no matter whether the means be high or low, but every man of every condition employs all his understanding and all his powers for carnal views, for earthly glory, and for temporal attainments. If his plans are calculated for these, and especially if they succeed, he is admired, applauded, and admitted to be a great, a wise, or an extraordinary man.

But, alas! how vain and perishing, how delusive and unsatisfactory, is this short-lived wisdom, and all that it can seek after or find! To what purpose are eager, wearisome toils and cares, the studious anxieties, and restless pursuits, of all the millions of mortals in ages past, whose airy glory is forgotten, and whose very names are extinguished and lost? And if not lost and extinguished, yet of what value or consequence are they now, beyond the fleeting idea and imagination of mortals like themselves? And to how few, even in this last poor way, doth the remembrance extend! And how unknown and insignificant is all this to the owners, whose very image is departed from the world on which they doted!

This is the highest prize of all earthly wisdom; and is not this perfectly fanciful, fleeting, trivial, and vain? In the grave all its thoughts perish, equally with the low notions and opinions of the ignorant and the foolish, the poor and the despised.

But there is a wisdom, which (unlike the other) deserves the name, and being no production of this corrupted earth, but coming from above, is pure and spiritual in its nature, and, in all its purposes and effects, true, real, lasting and happy.

Its origin is in grace from Him who is the fountain of wisdom. And its first effect is in the renunciation and abasement of self, as that which is false and contrary. Thus, the fear of the Lord is the beginning, or first-fruits, which the soul can present, of wisdom; and thus a man must become a fool, that he may be wise. This wisdom sees the ignorance of all other pretended wisdom, detects its base and grovelling pursuits, and lifts up the soul, not to a temporary dying fame, which is often infamy with God, but to a solid and perpetual good. It discovers the deceivableness of unrighteousness in the heart, and in the world, the poorness of everything out of Christ, and the great value of Christ, and of the soul, above all other things. It doth not lift up a man in himself, as a great and glorious doctor, for human admiration; but it makes him low in his own eyes, through a view of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord; and it keeps him from aiming at vain glory, a being a kind of treason against God, and as an unjust attainment for himself, a poor, dependent, ignorant sinner. The Christian, made wise to salvation, dreads to be left to his own wisdom; because he knows that blindness is its other, and its truer name.

Christ is made, of God, wisdom to the believer. He spake as never man spake; and none teacheth like him. He often gives a poor and ignorant countryman such instructions, as render him abundantly more wise than the mere scholar by all the florid pomp of the schools. So engrafted, too, are his instructions, that the art of man, and the sophistry of Satan, cannot baffle those who possess them. His knowledge is solid, and real, and enjoyable; such as the heart can feel, the soul live by, the spirit exult in, the whole man act upon, amidst a thousand trials in the world, and in the nearest prospect of death and eternity.

Possessing this wisdom, how serenely can the Christian look down upon the bustling cares and pursuits of men, upon their honours, their pleasures, their riches; even as a man of great natural wisdom would look down upon the follies and recreations of boys! Toys and games employ the attention of children, and engage their passions, though frivolous and fleeting. And are the solicitudes of men, and of old men too, less idle or extravagant, when they lay out all their time, and strength, and souls, for that which profiteth not even here, and which none pretend to be profitable in the day of wrath? What poor things are these of the world in the hours of sickness and pain! And how much poorer still, in the hour of approaching death! Honours, titles, and estates cannot remove a pang, or give one drop of consolation; but, in many cases, afford a wish, of dismal remorse to their owners, that they had never obtained them. There is, I fear, more than one Dives, in eternity, who laments that he had not been a hundred times poorer and sorer than any Lazarus (with grace) was, or could be, in this world.

True wisdom proves its own worth, by obtaining a proper and valuable end. On the other hand, that cannot be real, but delusive, wisdom, which is always working and promising, and at last concludes in nothing, or nothing but ruin. But this is the most which is attained by the wisdom of this world, spiritually viewed. It gains air and dirt, a name and a perishing good (if a good) below; and then it ceases to act, leaving its poor possessor only misery and disappointment, except a fearful expectation of an unwished and unwelcome hereafter. Can the end of the merest idiot be more stupid and unwise?

Without a doubt, the affairs of this life must be carried on, and the Christian must, more or less, be engaged in them; but the wisdom of grace in his soul will teach him, that there are also other affairs to mind; affairs of infinitely more moment to him than all the world put together. If he should gain the utmost, or the whole of this earth, and lose himself, and the end of his being; where would be his profit and advantage? People who can speculate clearly and nicely for gains in common matters, would do well to carry their thoughts of profit and loss a little farther towards the end of time, when all things are to be balanced and settled for ever.

Lord, above all wisdom of earth, and earthly gain, may I obtain that wisdom, which leadeth to a happy immortality, and which shall abide with me beyond the bounds of time! I am a poor dying creature, going fast out of this world, and almost upon the very threshold of another. O help me to see, then, what can truly profit, or what may really hinder me; that "the loins of my mind" may be girt up with the girdle of saving wisdom, and that I may always be so running, as at length to obtain the crown! O preserve my heart from that unwise wisdom, which layeth up what must soon be lost, and squanders away what can never be regained! which thinketh much of airy trifles, and almost not at all, or not at all to purpose, of an unperishing good! of a good which thy Spirit hath called, "an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, a crown of glory that fadeth not away, a building of God, eternal in the heavens, a kingdom which cannot be shaken, a blessedness which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man; yea, rivers of joy, and pleasure for evermore!" Lord, if thou give but the wisdom to obtain these, I shall very soon cease to lament the want of all wisdom beside!

CHAP. XII.

UPON INDEPENDENCE.

Men desire what is called independent fortunes, through their natural arrogance, and fond indulgence to their flesh: and because believers are flesh as well as spirit, therefore, in proportion as that flesh is spiritually uncircumcised and unsubdued, even do these require this meat of the world for their lust. It is very irksome to a believer's carnal nature, that he lives in his spirit the life of faith; and it will be more and more irksome to nature, as this life grows in him, and is proved by trials which tend to deny or abridge his earthly desires. The flesh cannot delight in anything that doth not gratify its senses; but the life of the spirit consists greatly in "crucifying the flesh with its affections and lusts," in trusting God, through a naked promise, for what is yet unseen, and in giving up will, hope, desire, and everything within and without, to his disposal. This is all horrid and dismal, yea, death itself, to the natural man. He hates, and abhors, and scoffs, and sets all his wits and passions at work to cry down a life so strange and peculiar, that he must even die to himself and all he loves, before he can live it. But whosoever will save this life of the carnal mind, shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose it, shall, by the mercy of God, find a better, even a life of confidence and communion with Christ Jesus.

This principle of independence, or aversion to live in simple trust upon God, is the secret cause why many professors hasten to be rich, or will be rich in this world, though by it "they fall into a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in ruin and perdition." If I can get such and such a fortune, I will do so and so, (say they,) and then serve God without distraction." But the flesh is not to be laid asleep by indulgence, nor the fire to be put out by heaping up fuel. Experience shows, that large possessions do much oftener damp any little life or zeal for God, than quicken the Christian's hope and concern for a better world.

The spirit of faith teaches another lesson. It bids a man "commit all his way to the Lord," and rather to fear than to court great riches; knowing what mischief and wretchedness they have brought upon many, who once seemed to run well; and knowing also the natural desire of the carnal mind to covet these things merely for its own food and feasting.

The goodness of God, therefore, providentially keeps his children, for the most part, poor in this world, that they might live in the fuller trust and dependence upon himself. He that doth not expect much from this world, cannot be much disappointed by it. When a man hath little or nothing before him, he looks to the best help: so the poor Christian sees, that God is his best help, and therefore lives humbly upon his bounty. In this way of continual trust and daily dependence, and not by fulness of bread or independence, he is made rich in faith by additional experiences, and walks with more and more strength and sweetness of spirit as an "heir of the kingdom."

On the other hand, how many rich professors are there, who plead their very situations in life, as so many false reasons why they should be gay and splendid, why they should see all sorts of fine company, no matter of whom, why they should have pompous equipage and luxurious tables, and why, in short, they should have everything in dress, manner, and custom, which their poor, vain, foolish, unmortified flesh can desire to have! They seem not to see how in all this they are living to themselves or to earth, and not to God or his glory among men. How it is, that they support faith at any rate, with every indulgence and ease to the flesh, with full conformity to the world, and with the entire good opinion of the world, I know not: but this I know, that if the true life be supported amidst so much contagion and disease, it is because "all things are possible with God," though with men this, amongst others, is impossible. I speak not against rank and station, for these are providential appointments, and necessary in themselves; but against the abuse of these to pride, sloth, vanity, and all the common evils and excesses of a polluted world. And I believe also, that I do not speak from envy or chagrin; for I really know not the man in this world with whom I should wish, or dare to wish, an exchange of situation. Lord, let me have what is best for my true life and welfare, and that only. Make me contented in thy allotment. I have often been otherwise, and am still prone to desire unnecessary and dangerous things: O forgive me this error and blindness, and correct the madness of my proud and rebellious heart by the fervent faithful life of thy Holy Spirit. So shall I desire only what will please thee, and be content in my soul with what thou givest, or when thou deniest, however my flesh may strive to murmur and repine. O hear me; and let my whole trust, my God, be in thee!

CHAP. XIII.

ON WORLDLY GRANDEUR.

To a Christian, living and walking as becomes his heavenly calling, how poor and creeping, how idle and vain, how foolish and wretched, is the common eager pursuit after high distinctions in the world! They not only come up and are cut down like the grass, withering into dust and oblivion; but, while they appear, they are empty and fleeting shadows, or (if it can be conceived) the very "shadows of a shade." If viewed at a distance, they seem solid as a mountain; if embraced closely, they are found but a cloud. Their possessors are poor, because ever in want. One blast of honour will not serve him that wishes for two; nor a thousand, him that can hope for more. The dominion of Europe would make a natural man pant for Asia; and he that cannot be satisfied without an additional province or river, would not be satisfied with this whole world if he had it, but (like Alexander) would grasp and lament for another. Whatever a natural man hath, it is no matter: he never hath enough; he always wants more. Consequently, he is poor; and he is wretched, because he perpetually feels himself poor. He hath both miseries from his poverty, and torments from his pride.

The real Christian is enabled to pity the anxious absurdity and vexatious vanity of those things, which are the great jet and concern of the worldly-great and worldly-wise. He looketh indeed for a name, but it is for "an everlasting name, which cannot be cut off." He is not content to be happy only for a few days or years, but desires to be blessed and joyful for thousands and millions of ages to come. He longs for a crown, but it is for "a crown of glory, that fadeth not away." He pants for a kingdom, but it is for the "kingdom of Christ and of God." He is really a person of boundless ambition; for nothing less will serve him than the infinite realms of everlasting glory. Riches are much upon his heart; but they are the durable, the unsearchable riches of Christ. He cannot be put off with the paltry cares and thorny honours of wordly greatness; but nobly pursues, and with certainty too, the very happiness and grandeur of God himself, even that very glory which Christ received from the Father, and which, as their head, he will share with his members.

Compared with this, all the pride and glory of man appear but as stubble or falsehood, the mere dream of a shadow, a nothing. And if human greatness can appear thus in the believer's ideas now; what will it seem. when the earth itself shall be dissolved, and the Babylon of sin upon it shall be thrown down into perpetual ruins?

> O what is earth, if heav'n be mine,
> Or what its dying toys?
> I seek, I burn for wealth divine
> For God's immortal joys!

CHAP. XIV.

ON WORLDLY COMPANY.

All things may be lawful, but all things are not expedient. It may be lawful for a Christian to be much among the men of this world, and in some cases it may be necessary, for the discharge of lawful callings; but it is not expedient certainly to be more among them, than is thus strictly proper and necessary. Either the Christian must enter into their spirit, or they into his, before they can be agreeable companions. If he take up their spirit, surely it will soon be to his grief, and to his burden. And it is very unlikely that they should come into his, unless God might bless his faithful conversation to the good of their souls. But this is seldom the case in worldly company, and especially in the company of many worldy men together. The corruptions of one will bear up and harden the corruptions of another; and he, that perhaps would not have jeered alone, will scoff by sympathy with a mocking crowd. It is best to speak of spiritual things with carnal men by themselves; when common decency may force them to give a patient hearing, even though grace may not crown the discourse with a blessing. A whole herd may only trample upon your jewels, and then turn again to rend you.

That man's religion is much to be doubted of, who frequents the society of the men of this world for satisfaction and pleasure. "How can two," even two only, "walk together, unless they be agreed? If ye were of the world, the world would love its own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you (says Christ) out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."

Can a man touch filth, and not be defiled; or fire, and not be hurt? How much less then can a man conform to the spirit of this world, without pollution to his soul, or without feeling the loss of that peace, if he ever had it, which the world can neither give nor take away? It is no wonder that men complain of spiritual falls and desertions, when they stand upon slippery places, and leave the presence of God for the presence of mammon. How can a heart, reeking from the hot dunghill of this filthy world, be offered as a sweet-smelling savour to God, or hope to be accepted with returns of his heavenly fire?

CHAP. XV.

THE MANNERS OF THE WORLD ARE HURTFUL AND HINDERING TO BELIEVERS.

The apostle declared it, as his privilege, that "the world was crucified to him, and he to the world." Another apostle says, that "whosoever will be a friend of the world, is the enemy of God." And Christ assures us, that "we cannot serve God and mammon," insomuch, that if we would approve ourselves to be his disciples, "we must take up our cross daily, and follow him."

This is very evident: they who are the most given to the modes of this world, and mix most with its customs and pursuits, are the least alive to God, and the least lively in the things of God. Gaiety and foppery of dress, mimicry of worldly pride and parade, the hollow language of fashionable companies and friendships, do ill become a Christian, and never promote his true welfare.—It is not indeed the custom at this day to say such things to professors; but they are not, however, the less true, or the less needful.

Poor and wretched are all these fooleries when weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, and especially when they thrust out the enjoyment of things divine. To have gay bodily apparel with cold and naked souls; to possess fulness of bread, with emptiness of grace; to enjoy much worldly company, and lose the society of God and his saints; to be esteemed polite and genteel in manners with men, and to be awkward and dumb in addresses to God; is all such a complication of folly, meanness, misery, and sin, as a Christian in his right mind, should be amazed at and abhor.

Are we loved by the world? It is for this reason: the world will love its own. But how then are we "chosen out of the world?" How then can we belong to Christ whom the world hateth?—This trimming between God and the world is neither for the comfort of our souls, nor for the credit of our profession.

Do we fear to be censured for singularity and precision? A Christian must be singular; for he is one of those, who is "not to be numbered with the nations," a stranger, and a pilgrim, or passenger, here: and he must be precise, neither loving the world, nor living for the world, for otherwise "the love of the Father is not in him."

On the other hand, an open and generous civility, a gentle and benevolent deportment, bespeaking sincerity of heart and holiness of life, are truly ornamental to the Christian. In avoiding the ape, a believer needs not to stumble upon the bear; nor, in shunning grimace and affectation, to plunge into sourness and brutality. If meekness, patience, gentleness, good-will, and good works, will please all men; it is his duty, by these means, to study to please them. But if they expect his conformity to the world for their pleasure, and are disgusted at the transformation and renewal of his mind, as it is more than probable they will be; it is then his honour and his privilege not in this way to please them, if he would approve himself to be the servant of Christ.

Though the Christian, in one sense, must be in the world, and put his best hand to its business and affairs, according to his lot from God's providence; yet, in another sense, he must come out from the world, and be separate, lest his soul be hindered and defiled. He cannot enter into the spirit of the world without injury and loss: and it is the spirit, not the lawful business, of the world, which contains all the evil. In his calling and concerns, a believer is to glorify God; and he is enabled to do this, first by the prayer of faith over them, and then by the life of faith in them. That business and those intentions, which will not admit of these, are to be avoided as the very plague.

Lord, how poor and vile are all the gay modes of this world, compared with the simplicity and enjoyment of thy truth! how beggarly and unsatisfying are its vanities, how low and crawling its ambition, how foolish and cheating its hopes, how vain and unprofitable its cares, how various and continual its troubles, how wretched and horrible its end! O give me thy wisdom and love, thy grace and thy truth; for this is that better part, which shall never be taken from me!

CHAP. XVI.

ON CONVERSATION AMONG PROFESSORS.

There are many professors of religion, who are always craving for company. They think, that to be alone is to be dull, and that, without conversing with creatures, they must be silent and stupid, whimsical or melancholy. Such persons are to be pitied, who have not learned the divine secret of talking with God in private by fervent faith and prayer, who know not how to listen to the still small voice of his Spirit in his holy word, who cannot find an endless delight in discovering and tasting the sweets of redemption, and who loathe to commune with their own hearts, in their closet or their chamber, and be still.

When such persons get into company, and especially into a great company, they soon discover how unfit, as Christian professors, they are to be in it. The discourse, if of God and his truths, will be light and unsavoury, without unction or solid experience, or if their converse turn, as it generally will, upon men and earthly things, it will only differ from the language and spirit of this world, by being spoken by persons who wish to be thought of as living for another.

It is a melancholy truth, that the levity, dissipation, envy, calumny, and detraction, too often found among companies and parties professedly religious, as well as among the people of the world, make retirement very necessary to the Christian, who would walk much with God, and far more cheerful than the generality of talkative professors can conceive it to be. But the soul, which is led to the true enjoyment of divine communion, finds it a relief, rather than a burden, to "cease from man."

The Christian should not, if possible, get into company, but either to impart some spiritual good, or to receive it. If he hath grace and talents for the former, he will, before discourse, secretly look up to God for aid and blessing, and afterwards will desire rather to be humbled for what he could not say, or for the manner of saying it, than to be pleased, on his own account, for anything he did say, or for the satisfaction afforded to others. If, on the other hand, he hath received edification from godly conversation, he will then pray, that it may abide with him, that the sweet savour may not be lost, that it may be carried into lively act and experience, and that, like good seed upon good ground, it may increase with the increase of God, and bring forth fruit abundantly to perfection.

All this implies, that large and mingled assemblies must be more noisy than profitable. There hath been of this at all times very sufficient evidence. Great entertainments, and many persons called together to enjoy them, may serve to keep out the calm serenity and sweet possession of divine reflections, but perhaps too rarely promote them. In many words, there will probably be errors and folly; nor do numbers in a company always multiply wisdom. The flesh may be gratified and feasted, while the spirit may be starved, and wearied, and dry, and at last be sent empty away. It must be grievous, to a real Christian, thus to come out of company a worse man for entering into it.

It is the way of God to "feed his people with the rod," (of his gracious and selecting power,) even "his flock, his heritage, which dwell solitary in the wood, in the midst of Carmel," (the field of the world:) and they do feed (like Abraham and the patriarchs, who were stangers and pilgrims upon earth,) in Bashan and Gilead, (the lands appointed for them,) as in the days of old. Micah vii. 14. They were ever a people dwelling alone, (in abstraction from the spirit of this world,) and not reckoned among the nations. Numb. xxiii. 9.

If I have thee, O my God, I have plenitude of society, though (like the blessed John at Patmos) no creature should be nigh, or though I should be an outcast from all the world. Thou canst talk with me by thy works, by thy providences, and chiefly by thy Spirit and word. O what delight have I felt in the testimonies of thy faithfulness and truth, of thy mercy and grace, of thy presence and love, of thy glory and power! Surely, surely, when I have enjoyed these in their genuine sweetness, retired from every eye but thine; it hath seemed hard to go forth again into the world, or even into the converse of those, whom thy own providence and grace have endeared to me. And if this be so divinely delightful in a mortal body and a miserable world, O what shall my felicity be, when I become a pure exalted spirit, with pure life, in the calm and unspotted regions of glory?—When I think of these unutterable mercies, how can I but long and pant, how can I but hunger and thirst for God, the living God, my God, my own God, and my own for ever!

CHAP. XVII.

ON THE CHANGES OF TIME.

How do the things of this world pass away! One generation followeth another, and another that, and so on from age to age, filling up the long rolls of time in melancholy array. They appear long to me, because my rule of comparison is taken from the shortness of human life; but to eternity, to the everlasting existence and infinitude of my God, these ages are almost a nothing. Into this eternity, all that can be called time, is continually passing, as into a gulf which hath neither bottom nor bound. Thus, time is full of changes and vicissitudes; while eternity is not only a perpetual now, but also a perpetual same.

When I look into the histories of ancient days, and review the confusions and violences that have passed, (for the history of the world is little more than a record of its sins;) I ask my heart, to what purpose have all these things been, and where is now the profit to those evil men who promoted them? Their works are in the dust, or at best upon paper; so that, excepting perhaps for punishment, they have neither remained here, nor followed their authors. All their hopes, and cares, and commotions; their own restlessness, and their inquietudes to others; are all buried in everlasting gloom. The pleasant remembrance of their gayest hours is either extinguished, or followed up in sorrow for their sin; and the prospect before them—O what can this be, but a complication of all that is dreadful, unavoidable, and eternal!

This cool and serious review of all worldly things and affairs passes so often upon my mind, and seems so necessary in reminding me how much I am but a stranger and sojourner here, that, if I have dwelt a little the more upon the vain wickedness of this world, the reader will know the reason in me, if he feel no occasion to apply it to himself.

One cannot take up an annual calender of names, published only twenty or thirty years ago, without almost considering one's-self among the tombs. The gay courtier and the plotting statesman, who once figured away within the senate, or about the throne, now lie in undistinguishable ruin, with the beggar and the clown; not less vile than these, and perhaps not less regarded nor less forgotten than the lowest of the low.

And what shall preserve, from the like disaster, all the present system of cares and pleasures? If, indeed, that can be called a system, which begins in evil, is carried on with disorder, and ends in folly or nothing.

"O but (says one) I have much goods laid up for many years; and I will say to my soul, Soul, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." One of this sort, not worthy to be named, is put down in God's record for an everlasting fool. In the same night his soul was required of him, and had something else to think of than to attend the absurd business, which only the body could do, of eating, drinking, and being merry, in the abuse of temporal good.

In the midst of all this perishing and disordered state, there is one rich blessing, which never can fail. The mercy of Jehovah in Christ Jesus endureth, yea, endureth for ever. This is often repeated by the Lord himself, that it might be constantly and cheerfully believed.

O my soul, thy time faileth, thy body is decaying, the world is daily changing, and nothing about thee continueth in one stay. Blessed be God, to thee likewise a change shall soon come, and come for the better in the midst of it all! Whatever alterations appear, thou hast an unalterable God, and an unalterable home, before thee. If the earth fall into destruction, as soon it will, thy estate cannot be lost; for thou art only a pilgrim and traveller here, and thy inheritance is above, out of the reach of ruin. Thy interest being safe in Christ, all is safe that is worth saving, with respect to thee. Thou canst only pass from death into life, from sin to holiness, from pain to peace, from earth to heaven, from mortals to God.

O how then should I rejoice in thee, my Saviour and my Lord! In thee, who makest all things mine; all, either as good, or to lead me to good. I adore thee, that thou thus disposest of the world, life, death, things present, or things to come in my behalf; calling them mine, and making them really mine, because they contribute to my welfare. Above all, I bless thee for the end. I am lost in love and admiration when thou tellest me, that I am thine, O my Redeemer; as thou art God's!

What manner of love is this, that I, a mutable worm, should become an immutable spirit; that I, who live in a tottering house of clay, amidst a people of unclean lips, should be raised to a mansion of glory among the innumerable company of saints and angels; that I, a dull inhabitant of a miserable world, ruined and ravaged by sin and time, should be translated to a joyful rest, unchanging as eternity; that I, who was once a slave to Satan, and deserve only to live with him, should be made and kept a child of God, yea, an heir of God, and a joint-heir with Christ Jesus, of a kingdom which cannot be shaken! O what manner of love is this indeed!

CHAP. XVIII.

ON THE PATIENT ENDURING OF WRONGS.

Like the blessed psalmist, I have sometimes been rewarded evil for good, to the great discomfort of my soul. It seems trying to flesh and blood, that is, to my animal and corrupt passions, to bear all, and to say nothing: but yet this is generally my wisdom and my duty.

It is my wisdom, because then I do not stir up further evil or strife in my own bosom, or in others; and I moreover engage my gracious Master to undertake for me, by committing all in silent patience to him, who hath engaged to make everything, and such things as these most certainly among the rest, work together for my good. Thus, that which appears to be only a natural evil, will, by his superior management and control, be turned into a spiritual blessing.

It is also my duty to endure, considering him who endured the most severe contradiction of sinners against himself; because, thereby, I prove that I belong to him; for which purpose, perhaps, trials of this kind may have been permitted to fall upon me. If I have right and truth on my side, it is not only faithless, but also unreasonable, to be impatient. I ought rather to be thankful in that behalf, and to ask mercy and grace for those who slander me against all equity, and without a cause. It is, indeed, unpleasant to have the treatment which he experienced, who said, "I became a reproach among all my neighbours; and they, of mine acquaintance, were afraid of me; and they that did see me without, conveyed themselves from me." But this may be God's physic to my soul, which is not given me for my pleasure, but as the means, though painful means, of future good. My worldly attachments, or my Christian attachments in a worldly way, may be growing stronger than are for the true health of my soul; and, therefore, this is a call to live more inwardly upon grace, and to wait in faith and prayer for more communion with God. When I gain his company, by losing the company or the friendship of men, and even of good men, with great corruptions like my own, I have no reason to lament my loss, but to be thankful, with all humility, for the kindness of every providence which leads me nearer, and keeps me closer, to my blessed Lord. He is a tried and sure friend indeed, a friend for eternity.

If I took another sort of conduct, and exposed those as I might, and perhaps as they justly may deserve, who have done me evil for good; I should indulge only that base revenge of my fallen nature, which would plunge me as deep, another way, in the corruption of which I may have right to complain. I may and ought to use the caution of keeping out of the way of injury; but I must not revenge it either by word or deed. While I am only wronged, I am safe; but I am open to all manner of evil, when guilty of wrong.

Above all the harm that can be done me by creatures, let me tremble at my own passions, which, like tinder, are ready to kindle by the smallest spark of mental fire. May I tremble, too, at the officious readiness of others to increase my inflammation by their own. And, alas! how much more ready is corrupt nature to feel and to foment discord, than to subdue and abhor it! Let me pray, then, to be delivered, from the strife of other men's tongues, and to have a strong restraint, for such I greatly need, upon mine. "Sin is the great kill-friend," as one calls it; may I, therefore, beg to be guarded against sin, both in myself and in them!

O Lord, what a nature, and what a world, do I live in! I groan under a nature, which is ready to meet all the evils and confusions that are in the world, and to make every one of them my own. How doth the unquiet spirit of man plunge himself and all about him, into confusions, miseries, and distresses; engendering unhappy discords among individuals, and bloody cruel wars among the nations! And how often, my blessed Master, instead of retiring to thy bosom, have I myself allowed this spirit of violence within me, and met it in other men! How much have I wronged my enemies, by not praying for them, as I ought, when they have vented their wrongs against me! With how little patience and submission to thy will have I endured these wrongs, not considering that they could not have come, unless they had been permitted by thee, and were allowed to come altogether for my good! O Lord, wipe off my guilt by thy most precious blood, and enable me in future, as well not to take offence, as to be earnest to give none. So shall I appear, indeed, to be the disciple of thee my Saviour, who, like a patient, speechless lamb, didst endure all manner of insults and injuries; and so, in following thee, I shall find peace at least, by thy grace, both in thy bosom, and in my own, though I find none beside throughout this distracted world!

CHAP. XIX.

ON PRAYER.

Prayer is the very breath of faith, and the first evidence of new and spiritual life in the soul. The Lord said of Paul, "Behold he prayeth;" because the Lord had then given him a heart to pray. Doubtless, he had often fasted and prayed before, as far as the lips were concerned; but the spirit, not words—life, not expression only—constitute prayer with God. Language may give it a form; but language alone, is like a mere body without a soul; and he, that so offers it, renders to God a dead unclean carcass, for a living sacrifice; which is an abomination in his sight.

Whatever hath life, must breathe; and if the life be sound and strong, it will breathe freely. Short, irregular, disordered breath, discovers either great exercise, or ill health.

It is the same in the life of faith. If the soul be quickened by Christ, it will breathe out its desires after him; perhaps, like a child at first, mingled with strong crying, bitter sobs, and many tears. But still it breathes on, and prays on; its breath of prayer is not stopped, but struggles for life and increase. If the prayer be faint and weak, disordered and low, the person is not in full life and health, or else some great temptation oppresses him heavily. The Physician of souls must be looked to for medicine, and for deliverance. Certainly all is not right; and a speedy help should be sought for, and applied.

When the mind is truly touched by grace, it will and must pray. If the heart cannot find words to carry up its requests, it will send them forth in earnest groans. Prayer can no more be kept from ascending, than flame from the fire. The "Spirit (said one who understood this matter well) helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered." The cries of a drowning man are above the formality of words, and forcibly pierce the ear for help: so the deep-felt anguish of a convinced heart is inexpressibly eager for mercy, and with moans and groans sues it out from God in right earnest. It doth not seek a florid oration, or theatrical starts, but pours forth aspirations, at times, too ardent and mighty for words. Oh, how God loveth such addresses as these! One Abba Father, one tearful sigh, one inward groan, are beyond, and better than, all the fine speeches in the world.

Let not the broken-hearted sinner grieve them too much, that he cannot find language to express the fulness of his desires. His desires are the better for being found, in his bosom, too large and too strong for utterance: there is more of heaven in them, and they will break out at last the swifter towards heaven. If he can find fit words, let him use them; if he cannot, let not their absence increase his concern. God knows and loves the language of the heart, and in due time will answer the prayer. See 1 Sam. i. 13—15.

As to the gift of wordy prayer, it is generally bestowed for the sake of others. If accompanied with faith, it is highly valuable for godly edifying: if not, it will rather weary than improve. This gift is stirred up to more usefulness by exercise: and when expressions flow easily, the heart can freely open itself without over-much labour or fear.

As to public ministrations of prayer, the unhappy zeal of party renders it difficult to speak of them, without danger of offence. However, this every candid Christian may venture to allow, that a form of sound words may more decently be used for congregations, than the loose crude, and incoherent expressions of raw and inexperienced men. On the other hand, could the church be always sure of sound and able ministers, who might rightly pray over the word of truth, as well as divide it; there certainly would be less occasion for forms, which seem to have been composed to prevent disorders, or keep out heresies, or to show to the church at large, what should be the objects of prayer at all times. No one surely can deny, that, in both the Jewish and Christian church, where public forms have been used, men have prayed together with the Spirit, and perhaps with the more understanding and communion, because they knew the words; and that it is possible to do so now with any sound and gracious form. So, on the other hand, it would be bigotted and unchristian-like to affirm, that the Spirit of grace hath not blessed what is called free prayer, to the edification of souls; when, doubtless, there are now living numberless witnesses, of great truth and piety, to the contrary. It never was the form, or the want of it, that made true prayer; but the grace of God in Christ Jesus, flowing through the words that were used, from or to the heart. And, if all these gracious persons, divesting themselves of narrow prejudices, were asked, how and by what means they prayed? they would probably answer, to a man, that it was by faith in Christ Jesus, and by the good Spirit of their God. If both sides, then, are thus in debt to grace for the very life and being of all their prayers, and are thus alike free to confess it; how, then, should the meekness and forbearance of their dear Lord glow in all their hearts toward each other, and cause them to love one another gladly, because he hath made no difference in his love to them! Surely this would be much better than to wrangle about a mode, or no mode of prayer, in either of which, just as God blesses, there may be much true prayer, or no prayer at all. It is the Spirit of faith which carries on the real business; not the form or the gesture, the lip or the tongue.

Having ventured thus far, to walk upon ground which party, and prejudice have made very tender, it may be expedient for my soul, to consider the subject of prayer, in a view more interesting and necessary to its welfare.

My Saviour commands me to watch, as well as to pray; and his apostle exhorts me to "be sober, and watch unto prayer." My flesh is prone to be intoxicated with the mystic cup of Babylon, with the love of this present evil world, and therefore is unruly and unsteady. From hence arise all my dulness and distractions of mind in the things of God; my coldness and weariness in prayer, my feebleness in duties, and my faintness in praise. I had need to be sober, for I have a great concern before me: I ought to watch, for my enemies are subtle and mighty. They watch, if I do not, and are always ready to take advantages to hinder, whenever I am careless to get forward. I have "an open door, and many adversaries." If I do not watch unto prayer, the world will get between me and my duty: if I do not watch in prayer, Satan will do his utmost to prevent my sweet, or continued approach unto God: if I do not watch after prayer, pride, presumption, security, or negligence, will find a way into my heart. O Lord, if I were fully and constantly aware of my true situation, how could I think to do less, than "always to pray, and not to faint?"

My fallen heart is ever ready to take up with the mere performance of duty. How often have I prayed for spiritual mercies; and not considered afterwards whether God hath granted them, or not! For increase of faith, wisdom, holiness, and other graces, I have asked with earnestness at the time, and then soon have forgotten what I asked for, or neglected to mark the event. Hence all the lowness of my attainments in divine things, and my overborne subjection to things earthly. And when I have requested temporal blessings, how little have I considered the hand of God in granting, or the wisdom of God in refusing them! How often have I sought the good for its own sake, instead of seeking it for God's glory and my spiritual welfare, and thereby was ready to turn it, if granted, into an evil! How little use have I made of temporal benefits, when they have been given me, and sometimes given unexpectedly too, that I might notice God's providence; and how ready hath my corrupt nature been to take and apply them all to itself! Surely, I am as much the monument of God's patience, as of his love.

It is a matter always to be had in remembrance, that prayer should be followed up with thanksgiving. I ought to be thankful, if what I have prayed for is received; and I should be thankful also, if what I have prayed for is restrained. God is better to me than I am to myself; and he only restrains anything from his children, either because it is not good for them at all, or not good in the time and for the purpose for which they desired it. The words of a very ancient poet, rightly turned, may express, in this case, the sentiment of every Christian.

> "The good we need, great King, bestow,
> Whether we ask for it or no;
> But if for ill we blindly cry,
> In mercy, Lord, that suit deny."

The practice of many saints under the Old Testament was to pray thrice in a day. According to opportunity, I cannot pray too often, either in the closet, the family, or the church. There are, indeed, stated times for these; but one kind of prayers may be used at all times, and in every circumstance of life. The prayers of ejaculation, or of darting up the heart towards God (like that in Nehem. ii. 4.) in short and pathetic sentences, have a wonderful effect in them, and tend very much to keep the soul's communion with God, and the life of holiness in all things. Many such may be taken from the Psalms in particular. They show a sweet and healthful inclination of the soul, more perhaps than laboured expressions, or long continuance of address, which may sometimes fall into idle repetitions, or be unattended with suitable affections and fervency. Oh how delightfully will these aspirations often pass towards heaven from the soul! how warmly stir up the affections, and raise the mind! how strongly check the inordinate care of earthly things!

"Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be always acceptabe in thy sight, O Lord, my strength, and my Redeemer."

CHAP. XX.

ON SINGING PRAISES TO GOD.

The first of all earthly singers gave this as an inspired rule; "Sing ye praises with understanding." Without spiritual understanding, we can only make a noise. Unless we know how deeply we are indebted to God, and have the sweet sense of his goodness in our souls, we may please ourselves with a tune, but we yield no music to him. Some of old "chanted to the sound of the viol, and invented to themselves instruments of music;" but, at the same time, they were among those who were "at ease in Zion," and who "put far away the evil day," to whom wo was denounced. God never instituted music in his service, however, like other carnal ordinances, he might bear with it under the Jewish economy; but only trumpets and rams' horns, to usher in the seasons and solemnities. It is spiritual harmony which is the delight of heaven, and not outward jingle and sound; and therefore if we are not spiritual, we can have no true notion of this delight, nor "make melody in our hearts to the Lord." The thrills of music, and the divine joys of the soul, are very different things. Worldly men have had the first, and thought them from heaven: but they continued no longer than the sound; while the peace of gracious praise is full, sublime, and abiding. We must, indeed, be real Christians, before any of us can say with the apostle, "I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.

I cannot but shake my head, when I hear an officer of the church calling upon the people, "to sing to the praise and glory of God;" and immediately half a dozen merry men, in a high place, shall take up the matter, and most loudly chant it away to, the praise and glory of themselves. The tune, perhaps, shall be too difficult for the greater part of the congregation, who have no leisure for crotchets and quavers; and so the most delightful of all public worship shall be wrested from them, and the praises of God taken out of their mouths. It is no matter whence this custom arose: in itself it is neither holy, decent, nor useful, and therefore ought to be banished entirely from the churches of God.

When Christians sing altogether, in some easy tune, accommodated to the words of their praise, and not likely to take off their attention from sense to sound; then, experience shows, they sing most lustily, (as the Psalmist expresses it,) and with the best good courage. The symphony of voice, and the sympathy of heart, may flow through the whole congregation, which is the finest music to truly serious persons, and the most acceptable to God, of any in the world. To "sing with grace in their hearts unto the Lord," is the melody of heaven itself; and often brings a foretaste of heaven to the redeemed even here. But jingle, piping, sound, and singing, without this divine accompaniment, are grating discordant harshness with God, and vapid, wretched insipidity to the souls of his people.

I am no enemy to music as a human art; but let all things be in their place. The pleasures of the ear are not the gracious acts of God's Spirit in the soul; but the effect of vibrated matter upon an outward sense. This may be indulged as an innocent and ingenious amusement; but what have our amusements to do with solemn and sacred adorations of God? Would not this be carnal, and after the modes of the world, and not after Christ? Surely, no believer will venture to call anything spiritual, which does not proceed from the Spirit of life, or "tend to mortify the old man with his affections and lusts."

Neither sounds of air, nor words of sense alone, however excellent, can please God. "He is a spirit, and they who worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth; for such he seeketh." It is easy to do many, if not all, religious acts, with a very carnal heart; but to be truly religious, or to walk and act in our spirits with God,—this hath always been too hard for flesh and blood, and can only be performed by that grace which giveth life and power to every renewed mind.

Lord, help me, I beseech thee, thus to laud and adore thee! Give me a lively sense of thy mercy to my soul; and then my soul shall offer up her gracious returns of lively praise. Sacrifice and burnt-offering thou requirest not, for no outward thing, even of thine own appointment, when not inwardly understood, can please thee; the music of my voice, without the incense or breathings of my soul, thou wilt not accept. O assist me, then, to praise thee aright; for, without thee, I can do nothing. Thou alone givest occasion to praise; and thou also givest the spirit of praise to use the occasion. Vouchsafe both unto me. Then shall I one day join the great "assembly of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven," and sing, with joy unspeakable and full of glory, that ever-new song, "Salvation to our God, who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb! Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen."

CHAP. XXI.

A CHRISTIAN, IN LOSING HIS LIFE, SAVES IT.

Christ hath said, "Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it.

In doing this, the Christian must die daily. He is "crucified with Christ," in the flesh, that he may "live with Christ" in the spirit. His mortal body is brought into subjection to the rule of grace; and grace mortifies that body, by crucifying its affections and lusts.

These words are easy and plain; but, alas! how few do know them? to die to self, is the most painful thing to flesh and blood, that can be. To be stripped of all pretended worth, to renounce a man's own righteousness, as well as his sins, to give up in earnest his own will and way, to live in an empty frame of mind simply upon Christ for strength, wisdom, grace, and salvation, to desire nothing but what may please him, to be contented with the trials he sends, because they are his, to have a heart carried above the world, not to fear man against God, to bear, to believe, to hope, to endure all things as the best, and to maintain a firm view of eternal glory; all this is losing a man's own carnal life, and saving the life of his soul in Christ Jesus. The Christian who hath this in him, may say with the apostle: "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless, I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life, which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

At first sight, this kind of life appears gloomy and dreadful; but, when once truly tasted, it is sweet and pleasant to the soul. It grows less difficult and painful, as the carnal life is more and more subdued. The life of the flesh can only indulge some poor, base, and vexatious gratifications in earthly and perishable things; but the renewed life of the spirit consists in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, which cannot be lost, and which never can cloy. The enjoyment of this renders the Christian, in proportion to his enjoyment, a steady man, unshaken or unsubdued by the disorders and distresses of the world, and cleaving the faster to God when they come. A worldly man is often terrified to his wit's end, or to death, where a real Christian can be calm and resigned. He hath learned the worth of all life in Christ; and he knows, that what is really worth his anxiety, can never be lost. In throwing all upon God, he finds the fears and terrors of his weak and corrupt flesh abated, and gains strength and liveliness in his soul. God gives him a tranquillity of courage, which the bravest human heart cannot put on. Women of delicate tenderness, by this gracious gift, have met the very king of terrors, with a soberness of triumph unknown to mortal heroes.

These mortal heroes indeed may have ventured upon death, despising life and all its enjoyments; but were evidently concerned for their vain-glory, and the useless perpetuity of a name. The peculiar distinction of the Christian hero is, that he not only can meet death as a vanquished foe, but also can look down upon the infamy of the world with a noble scorn, valuing it and all reputation among worms as trifling pageantry or idle pride. He can live and die in secret, which none of these ostentatious mortals can either endure or dare to do.

No man can live truly by his own power, but only by power from on high. The Christian, therefore, is daily looking up to Jesus, his head of life, for the maintenance and support of all his graces. If Christ withdraw his hand, he must fall; for, in himself, the strongest, the wisest, the holiest Christian, is confusion and wickedness, weakness and nothing. He feels himself void of all good, and so flees to Jesus to obtain it. When he doth not enjoy his Saviour, he cannot enjoy himself. But when he hath him, he hath more than all things, because he hath him who made and possesses them all.

They, who are great, and love to be great, in outward things, have commonly but little of this life within them. When the soul hath no feast within, it gads abroad for delight, and will put up with mean and carnal trash, unsuitable to its proper nature, rather than have nothing. Outward pomp and carnal show, even in religion, commonly proclaim an inward emptiness and want.

There is a carnal knowledge of spiritual things, which the apostle calls "a knowing Christ after the flesh," and which is very different from the divine knowledge of those things. The apostles appear to have been in the former state till the day of Pentecost, when they "received power from on high." They, indeed, loved Christ, and sincerely followed him before; but their love and knowledge of the Saviour had in it a large mixture of flesh and corruption. Hence, they were astonished to hear of his sufferings and death, and their own humiliation; when, it is plain enough, they expected great temporal advancement and honour for themselves, and a glorious temporal kingdom for him. Even after his resurrection, like the Jews at large, they thought of "a kingdom to be restored unto Israel:" but, when the true kingdom came into their hearts, we hear no more of these carnal expectations, but of a joyful readiness to suffer persecution and death for their Lord, and to go somewhere else, instead of this world, to enjoy him.

So, among us called Christians, there is this carnal knowledge of Christ, consisting in outward profession and a natural understanding of the truths of the gospel, which is also mixed sometimes with degrees of grace and spiritual life. But persons in this state are much in outward things, are great outwardly, talk of religion outwardly, and of its great advancement by the great human helps in the world. They are strong in their animal passions, carry these into religious matters, make a great noise and bustle among men, are great rulers if possible, seek to carry all church affairs in their own way, and, in short, are never easy out of bustle, and certainly never easy in it. When these people sink into themselves, by getting more true life in Christ, they are found to be more and more mild, humble, patient, gentle, "not obtruding themselves into things which they have not seen, nor vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind." Then Christ is all in all to them; and they themselves nothing at all. Then it is that they lose their own lives, and find them with great interest and sweetness in Christ.

If the love and word of Christ "dwell in us richly in all wisdom," we shall desire to be much with Christ in our spirits, and to shut out all possible interruptions and hinderances in our communion with him.

CHAP. XXII.

ON THE OPINIONS OF CARNAL MEN.

The judgment, which natural men form of spiritual life, is altogether wild and extravagant, gross and injurious. "The things of God are foolishness unto them, neither can they know them, because they are spiritually discerned." And can those think rightly of the people of God, who have not the faculties to think rightly of the things which render them distinct from other men, and which are the very grounds and principles of God's conduct towards them? And ought a Christian to be moved exceedingly at the judgment of ignorance and error?

This world's opinion of all divine things is, indeed, very foolish and vain. It condemns what it hath not seen, and despises what it doth not know. It laughs at the wisdom of God, which it is too weak to apprehend, and sets up its own perishing folly in its stead. A few years shall lay it low; and the wisest of the worldly wise will be the first to condemn themselves for the madmen and the fools.

Be satisfied, then, fellow Christian, with the just judgment of God. Thou canst not be more despised than thy Saviour. He indeed deserved no scorn: but thou, much more than thou canst have. If they called the master of the house Beelzebub, shall those who are of the household, think to escape a hard name? No; let them bear it for his sake: it will never disgrace them in heaven.

CHAP. XXIII.

ON THE ESTEEM OF GOOD MEN.

Though a nice sense of honour, consistent with his profession, becomes a Christian, yet an over-nice care to get honour from any man, is neither the duty nor the practice of the Christian life.

Be not too anxious, my brother, for the good opinion even of the best of men, nor altogether judge of thy state by so uncertain a rule. Concern of this kind seems to argue a too fond regard of thy carnal self, or of thy own state in the world. If they show disrespect, and if it arise from mistake, rejoice that thy true hidden life depends not on the opinion of mortals, but on the love and just judgment of an unerring Redeemer. The opinion of others can neither make nor unmake thee, as a Christian. But if their disesteem be founded in truth, fear not to dive to the bottom of thine own undeservings, and cease not to pray for grace to correct them. Be not offended with thy brethren, in either case; for this will lead to ruptures, neither for their profit nor thine. The glory of God and of his truth is also concerned, which should fill thee with the greater forbearance and caution in all thy dealings with "the household of faith." Pray for wisdom, to examine thy cause faithfully, to know the worst that can be found of thyself, and to see into the truth or mistake of others. And if, in thine own conscience, the right be with thee, be thankful for the mercy, and cease not, because they need it, to pray for them who are in the wrong. Thy true charity should relieve, in this way, their spiritual necessity, and so rise, with that lawful triumph of a Christian, by a holy and inward superiority of meekness and of truth.

Beware of anger and offence. The wrath of man cannot work the righteousness of God. Be humbled by every disesteem, whether just or unjust, within thyself. This is gaining a step in the great inward and spiritual progress of self-renunciation; for which end these means, though unpleasant to proud nature, may have been mercifully and providentially ordained. Fear not to see the worst of thine own infirmities: tremble, rather, lest they should be hidden from thee. When thou art made truly low in thine own eyes, the slights and contempts even of good men, proceeding, as they usually do, not from grace, but common infirmities, will not over-much vex thee. It is the fondness of self, and the pride of our hearts, which render all outward insult and injury distressing and painful. He that thinks little of himself, can bear to be thought little of by others: but he that is lifted up within, is grieved when he cannot find that tribute of respect which his own foolish fondness hath ordained for himself.

The best remedy for spiritual disorders is spiritual prayer. Corruption inflicts or feels pain; and grace should subdue corruption. It is the true wisdom of a Christian to set his faith, and not the passions of his unholy nature, at work upon evil. Grace will teach him not to huff, or snort, or resent, or speak great swelling words of carnal indignation; but to bear and forbear, and pray and wait, and entreat, according to the occasion. When the rough north wind of trial rages and raves; then the graces of the Christian should more abundantly flow. All this is difficult, without a doubt; but will not a gracious success be afterwards a comfort to the believer, both as it affords a real proof of the true life of Christ within him, and an occasion of glorifying God before men? And if it answer these ends, how great is his reason to be thankful?

When gracious men see all this work upon thee, they will honour God in his own gifts: but, if they do not, it is in no man's power to alter thy condition with him. Be deeply thankful that thou hast found mercy, and show tenderness to those who need it from thee.

CHAP. XXIV.

WEAKNESS IS IMPATIENT.

It is not strength, but weakness, which complains. He, that is strong, can well bear the infirmities of the weak: he, that is weak, cannot bear at all, but is overwhelmed with his own. A father in Christ can put up with the frowardness and indiscretion of the babe in Christ; but the latter, having his mind but little exercised, is full of dislikes, and always wants his own will and way: otherwise he complains.

This weakness is commonly captious; fonder of finding errors than healing them, and more able to discover the grounds of difference, than wisely to take up the methods of unity. Sincere, yet quarrelsome; troubled, yet headstrong; young in the faith, yet presuming; fond of parties and persons, of modes and of forms of doctrine, with warm life and little experience; all this is the character of most young or weak professors. When they grow older in grace, they become wiser in the kingdom, more catholic, patient, forbearing, candid, and forgiving. They see a thousand mistakes and wilfulness in their own first profession; and these incline them, through an increase of wisdom and strength, to suffer kindly the infirmities and frailties of others. They then love what is real, encourage what is weak, pardon what is childish, endure what is troublesome, correct what is evil, and pray, not rave, when they see but slow improvements.

CHAP. XXV.

ON RETIREMENT.

Whatever is a man's first great business in life, that he will pursue most, and desire to study with the least interruption and disorder. A man of this world hath his heart in the world; but a Christian gets as much as possible into heavenly things, because his heart and his treasure are in heaven.

The God of wisdom himself hath said, that no man can serve him and mammon. We have but one heart, which we cannot divide; and, if it were possible, a heart and a heart, or a heart divided, would be a hateful offering to the Most High.

There is no Christian but who feels and bewails how often his common affairs draw off his mind from his best affairs, and throw him into dulness and distraction. He feels, and bewails this, because he is a Christian, and because his best affections are somewhere else. His grief is not so much, that he must apply himself to social duties, which are indispensable to every one according to his place under Providence, but that he cannot carry more of the true spirit and unction of religion into them. Could they be more and more sanctified by the word of God and prayer, and could his mind be more delivered from the worldiness both of them and of those with whom he must have to do; they would grow into a kind of holy ordinances to him, and, instead of hindering his faith, would improve his joy. We forget to bring religion into our common course of life; and so that course is suffered to bring its own punishment and trouble upon us. A Christian, living like a Christian, in his outward profession, is far more in the way of rendering glory to God, and of doing good to men, than a hermit, who does nothing in his wilderness but seek himself; or a monk, who, by the torture of his body, thinks to work out his own righteousness, by which to merit heaven. The true retirement is retiring from the sinful customs and spirit of this world, and giving up the soul to God in all things.

Having said this, it is also right to say, that there should be hours of secret retirement to every Christian, if possible: or at least as much time as possible, for prayer, meditation, and reading, upon the things of God. Where this time is through necessity short, as it often must be among the poor, who generally are God's own rich ones; still the retired believer, in the midst of any or of all his business, may now and then sweetly dart up his soul to God in fervent ejaculations, which will keep up the true frame of his mind, and draw down many comforts from above. These short and silent breathings will show a lover's heart, and prove, that, whatever may employ his hands, his mind is truly engaged for heaven.

Where circumstances of life, and the capacity of persons, will admit of farther separation from the world; it will be right, because advantageous, to use it. The retirement, however, must be for God, and not for self; in the spirit of religion, not of laziness; to be more quickened for heaven, and not to be more useless upon earth. Hence it will be seen, that all Christians are neither called to, nor fit for, an entire seclusion from the world: their habits, dispositions, abilities, and occupations of life, render it improper for them.

When a Christian can fill up all his retirement with the things of God, and for his glory, with no just demand upon him from secular affairs, it is certainly a most high and desirable privilege. Such a one may and ought to further himself in knowledge, and to devote all he knows, through grace, to the glory of God, and the edification of men. Leisure is abused, when employed in tattle and dissipation, as it often is; and the abuser had much better be engaged in some active calling and employment.

To retire indeed unto God, is the most severe and solemn business in the world. It is a sort of middle state between heaven and earth, which no carnal mind can either understand or love. The froth and levity of the flesh must be subdued; else all the retirement will end in vanity. Humble and ardent prayer should begin the day, the study or the exercise of gracious things should carry it on, some intervals must be found for supplications and praise, strict watchfulness and trials must be continually made upon the heart, and growing meetness for death and heaven must appear in the life, and no rest be taken at night but after humble prayer, and surrender of all into the hands of God for time and eternity. A truly retired Christian is more careful of his time than any other man, because he can spend it more preciously. He thinks it a sad loss to throw away hours which might have been employed in the works or word of God.

When the truly retired Christian is alone, he is (as one says) "never less alone;" for God is with him and in him of a truth. He not only goes into his study or his closet, but gets within himself, into the closet of his heart, and watches all the motions of nature and grace. Thus in time he becomes truly learned in that most difficult subject—his own self.

When we talk much with others, it is hardly possible, in a nature so fallen and corrupt as our's, not to talk amiss. But when we commune with God, he speaketh so with us, as to give an increase of wisdom and grace, with much solid refreshment of mind. His word and will become plain and familiar to our souls; we enter into the spirit of his ways; and our spirits feel many undoubted proofs both of their own immortality, and of the great blessedness of approaching glory. This, wherever it abounds, deadens the affection of a Christian to the low and vain discourse of the world, renders him more happy in, and fit for, his retirement, and enlivens his hopes for God and heaven. What improvement, thus to live! What blessedness, thus to die!

Many retire, that they may see and hear more of the world, and be entertained with its novelties and news: but the believer would withdraw to dive more fully into himself, as into a subject deep and little known, and to be more acquainted with his Redeemer in all the wonders and manifestations of his grace. It is a day lost indeed, when he gets no news of heaven, or hath made no steps towards it.

If a man doth not thus retire, he only opens a wide door to all sorts of temptations to rush in upon him. So very few are fitted for, or called to this kind of leisure, (though by abuse only it becomes leisure,) that God in his wisdom hath appointed so much corporeal employment in the world, even for his own children. As the earth would be more an Aceldama, or field of blood, than it is, but for necessary labours, which call away, in some respect or other, almost all men; so the church itself would be more defiled; and individuals more unholy, than they are already, if manual or active duties did not take up the greatest part of their time.

I have known many professors, and some of an order too which should have engaged them entirely in things divine, who have wasted in frivolous discourses, mean pursuits, idle engagements, and other sad dissipations, large portions of that time which should have been devoted to studious improvement, serious conversation, or active piety. Vessels thus ever running out; how and when can they be filled? And what have they for others, who lay up so little for themselves?

O Lord, help me to retire indeed, but yet chiefly for thee, and for greater communion with thee. When I find thee not in my heart, it is hard and darkened: when thou art not in my closet, it is either full of confusion as a market, or it is desert as the wilderness. I can get nothing; and I soon feel that I am nothing, but an empty, unprofitable void. O cheer thy poor servant with thy presence, who would indeed be a stranger and a pilgrim upon earth; yea, if it be thy will, a stranger to everything but thee; having my heart in thy home, and my soul in every respect under thy command. Lord, thus help me to withdraw from the world, only to draw nearer, both in spirit and in life, unto thyself, and to whatever relates to thy glory!

CHAP. XXVI.

ON THE FEAR OF MAN.

He that unduly fears man, cannot truly fear God: and he that lives much in the fear of God, will not regard overmuch what man can do unto him. The want of faith is the root of all carnal fear, which becomes less and less, as faith gathers strength and increases in the soul. It is a sad hinderance in the ways of God, as well as torment, to live under the views, opinions, prejudices, and passions of worldly men.

"The fear of man bringeth a snare;" and a snare for all sorts of evils. Mild, gentle, feeling, and delicate tempers, are most exposed to this danger; and they should pray much to Him who strengtheneth the weak, for fortitude without rudeness, for resolution without roughness, and for stability without stubbornness, that so they may properly act and hold out in the time of trial.

When it is a principle graciously established in the soul, that men can do nothing to us but what is for our good, and that they must do whatever is; it greatly abates that fickle feebleness of our nature, which, out of too much love and care for itself, brings us into bondage of heart to wretched worms, "whose breath is in their nostrils," and themselves, in this way, "not to be accounted of."

CHAP. XXVII.

ON MY OWN IMPERFECTIONS.

While I am in the flesh, I must be encompassed with many infirmities; and while I am in the world, I cannot escape trial and temptation. These things are grievous to my spirit; but I see that they are permitted, to wean me from myself, and to draw off my heart from the creatures to my only true refuge in God.

What feebleness, at times, do I not feel in duty; what fickleness and unsteadiness, in following my Redeemer; what dulness and distraction in prayer; so that I can hardly remain firm and lively long together, in the pursuit of that good which my soul most desires and approves. It is a war indeed in my members to get my corrupted nature down, and to have the life of grace warm and vigorous within me. I cannot but groan, at times, in this tabernacle, being burdened, and almost oppressed, by the evils within and about me.

Were it not for divine help, O what should I do? Like Peter on the sea, I have sometimes ventured boldly after my Lord; but like him too, through faintness of heart and weakness of faith, at other times I have cried out, "Lord, save, or I perish!" Thou hast helped me indeed, blessed be thy name, O my God; but yet I cannot but reproach myself for the cold forgetfulness and weakness of my spirit, in doubting so often of thy faithfulness, and in not keeping hold of thy promises.

Thus, Lord, I feel myself a poor, a frail, and altogether, a weak and worthless man, fit for nothing but thy mercy, and capable of nothing, when left to my own nature, but rebellion against it. When I survey myself, and all my confused and ruined faculties, I am filled with shame, and cannot but wonder at thy long-suffering toward me. O wretch that I am, in what a vile body of sin do I live! How am I always struggling against thee with my perverse and wicked flesh, contrary to the true and lasting interests of my soul! How ready to yield to thine enemy and mine; or to give up all for lost, rather than maintain the hard and painful struggle with corruption and sin!

When I have been lively and zealous for my God, how often have I been ready to overlook, to misapply, or to turn his grace to the foolish vanity of my own mind! Insomuch that at times I seem all flesh to myself, and to have neither true light, life, wisdom, or strength, from above, within me. My failures are and have been so numerous, the apostasy of my heart so great, the conduct of my life and temper so mutable and irregular, and all my frame so poor and wavering, so cold and weak in embracing the best things, that I am ready to bemoan with the prophet, "Woe is me, for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips!" My whole head is sick, and my whole heart is faint.

Others may talk of their will and their power, their duties and their deserts, but as for me, I can scarcely lift up my eyes to heaven, when I consider myself: rather with the publican my brother, I must smite upon my breast, and say, "God be merciful unto me a sinner!" Instead of looking on mysel as a fine holy creature, who can appear confidently before my God; I shrink, with contrition and shame, at the thought, that I have done little else than dishonour him all my days, and deserve nothing for the best thing I was ever able to do, but confusion and sorrow.

Oh what a plague is a man's own heart, when he knows himself; and how little doth he appear in his own eyes, when he hath been made to view, in some true light and degree, the vastness of the purity and perfections of God!

And yet, Oh marvellous to say, God is pleased, by all the weak and contrary things in me, to magnify his own power and glory. By these, he makes me out of humour with myself; by these, he drives me from a thousand refuges of lies; by these, he compels me to cleave unto him, as my only rock, succour, and remedy. In this way, I can feel, as well as read, what the apostle means, where he says, "Most gladly, therefore, will I glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me:—for when I am weak, then am I strong." These are strange paradoxes to the natural heart; but blessed is the man who can truly understand and enter into the experience of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE BELIEVER RECEIVES FOOD, AS WELL AS LIGHT, IN THE WORK AND DOCTRINE OF CHRIST.

The mere notion of divine things, without their power, cannot profit the soul. As a man may be poor with the plan of a large estate, of which he hath no possession; so a professor of Christianity may have the Bible before him, and may be able to raise very high and fine speculations from it, and yet have no true knowledge or enjoyment of the truth which it contains.

A minister may preach of these truths with great clearness, great readiness, and great noise; and yet have no true savour, no solid experience, and no real communion of the truths themselves, within him. What proves this is, that he is not the same man in the pulpit and in the world. The doctrines of the gospel will serve for orations, as well as other topics; nay, will serve for the best orations, because there is more of sublimity and truth in them than in any other.

An author likewise may write about divine revelation, and all the mysteries of redemption, with precision, accuracy, force, and elegance, and yet be destitute of the main concern, which is the faith and inward perception of these things for his own soul. I would deal fairly and closely with my own self in this respect, as well as with others; and I will own, that my light is far beyond my liveliness; and though I humbly trust that I have some little real life in my knowledge of God and his truths, yet I confess with an aching heart, that it is indeed but little, too little, and much less than my own fondness for myself, my vanity, pride, or conceit, (for, Lord! thou knowest, and I know, that I have all these in abundance within me!) will suffer me at times to think that I have. Perceiving, then, my own weakness, and the deceivableness of unrighteousness in my own heart; I am able to see, and yet to pity and bear with, the same infirmities and defects in others.

However, no real believer can find much or long satisfaction in any notions or conceptions of divine truth, though very sublime, clear, full, extensive, and convincing, without something more in them and from them. He doth not despise head knowledge, indeed, because by this he can see the wisdom of God; but he would have heart knowledge too, because he wishes to taste, to enjoy, to be assured of his interest in, the love of God. He can no more feed upon words and syllables in his soul, than he can live upon air only for his body.

The Lord, therefore, when he imparts "the demonstration of the Spirit" to a man, imparts it "not in word but in power." Thus the gospel is "the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." He cannot receive it aright without this power; he cannot live upon it but by this power; nor hold out in living and believing to the end, but by the same power.

This gracious feeding of the soul upon the things of God is its greatest comfort upon earth, and one of its brightest evidences for heaven. It is a secret holy act, carried on best without the clutter of the animal passions, or the intercourse of corporeal things. The holy bread was eaten in the holy place, before the holy light; and all out of the air, or view, or correspondence of the world. Thus, in the secret place of the Most High, the soul feeds upon Christ, beholds Christ, and enjoys all its divine communion with the things of God. And when it hath thus tasted that the Lord is gracious, it loves to be with him, and says earnestly, as Peter did, "It is good to be here." The carnal notion even of the best things will no longer satisfy or feed it.

CHAP. XXIX.

ON THE SPIRIT OF SCOFFING.

It is no less ungracious than unwise to indulge a scoffing temper in our souls. Pride and an unmortified opinion of self, joined with contempt of others, are the true origin of this evil. It is the more dangerous, and not so much to the scorned as to the scorning, when set off with wit and mimicry, point and satire. But attic salt is not the salt of the covenant; and, in sacred things especially, it is not to be used by a Christian.

It may be diverting to mimic and to take off others, in order to expose their foibles or defects; but how and to whom is it diverting? Is it to the humble, spiritual, and mortified mind? No, but to the profane and the carnal; or at least, to what is carnal and profane in a Christian, which is the very principle of all others, that he would not strengthen or encourage, but subdue.

There is so much inhumanity, as well as irreligion, in this jeering temper, and usually so little good sense, that the Christian is bound to oppose it, both in himself and in others. Cheerfulness is his privilege; but surely he may be happy in his mind, without planting thorns elsewhere; nay, it proceeds from the want of true happiness, if he can endure, at any rate, such a contemptible shadow of it. True peace is gentle in itself, and glows most sweetly in diffusing gentleness and kindness on every side. The happy Christian would increase his own joy, by making, if possible, every one happy about him.

CHAP. XXX.

IT IS A GREAT POINT OF CHRISTIAN WISDOM TO DISTINGUISH WELL BETWEEN NATURE AND GRACE.

Every real believer hath an old man and a new, an Esau and a Jacob, a carnal mind and a spiritual mind, within him: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that he cannot always do the right things that he would do for God, nor crush the evil things that he would not do, within himself.

These opposite principles have two opposite laws, or rules of action and power. The inclination and effect of the one are constantly directed to self, and to carnal things for the indulgence of self; and those of the other, to God, and to spiritual things, for the glory of God.

Men under nature, having only one of these principles, cannot, in their natural state, discern the other. It is by grace, as by rule, that they are able to measure nature, and to know the proportions of both grace and nature within themselves. "He that is spiritual, judgeth, or discerneth, all things; yet he himself is judged of no man."

Nature in the Christian is for cleaving to sense, to its own doings, and to its own powers, even in religion: but grace in his soul is for living by faith, above, and often, against the feelings of sense, upon the truth of God, and upon his work and working, for life and salvation.

Nature loves to show and set off itself, and to be admired as excellent, eminent, wise, and great, in the eyes of men. Grace doth not sit much by itself, but is lowly and humble, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, dreads the applauses of men, and makes the soul see, that it is so mere a nothing in itself, that it must receive everything good, both the least spark of grace and the bright crown of glory, from God in Christ.

Nature is quarrelsome, impatient, and full of restlessness, desiring its own objects immediately and independently, and applying all it receives to its own ease or aggrandisement. Grace seeketh not her own, but the things which are Jesus Christ's, makes the spirit meek and mild, and patient, and quiets it with the will and love of God in all things.

Nature hates the cross, and shuns it as a bitter and evil thing; it struggles hard not to feel it, and, when it feels it, to get rid of it, without any other consideration than that it is painful, and hinders all indulgences and gratifications. But grace submits to the cross with humble resignation, and desires that God's purpose may be answered in it; like as a wise patient wishes that his physic may have its due effect, however unpleasant and distasteful it may be in the act of receiving.

When nature attempts holy duties, as she sometimes will, either in fear or in pride, it is to make herself rich and increased in goods by them, so that she may have something wherewith to purchase even of God himself. But grace comes to the obedience of faith, not to live, or purchase life, but because she is truly alive already to God; and she acts, not for her own exaltation, but for the glory of Him, who only can exalt, and "who fills the hungry with good things, while the rich he sends empty away."

Nature admires dignity, and parade, and pomp, and outward splendour; it seeks to be pleased with sweet sounds, fine language, decorated places, and genteel company; and all this in religion too. Whereas grace shuns and distastes all gay appearances of earth, thinks of Christ in a stable, and of all he did and suffered to stain the pride of flesh and blood; and receives the favour of God as a precious pearl, for its own intrinsic and eternal value, and not for the sake of any outward things, different in kind from its own.

Nature loves life, and to see good days in this world, and as many of them as possible; it shudders to give up its temporal enjoyments and carnal hopes, and would endure a great alloy of care and trouble, rather than part with the lying vanities to which it is wedded, and in which it delights. Grace, contrariwise, can say, "I would not live always upon earth, if I might; for I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better." Grace can think upon death as a friend, and hath often met him as such; looking forward to the crown of glory, which death can only lead to, but never can take away; and all its trials here only cause a stronger breathing and livelier expectation of the heavenly home.

Nature is forward to speak, and loves to be heard, and will be angry if not regarded, and will do much to be seen and known. Grace is slow to speak, and slow to wrath, wishes to hear, and learn, and understand; delights not to be in the chief seat, but is content with the lowest; and had rather lay up spiritual treasure in the heart, than babble it away, for selfish aims, with the tongue. It is not petulent or vexed, if disregarded, but commits itself and the whole of the matter to God.

Nature draweth all from its own fund, and carrieth all back, and with interest if possible, to itself again. But grace receiveth all from God, and is never so truly delighted, as when God receiveth the whole of the glory, as his just return.

These are a few of the many distinct operations of nature and grace. But sometimes they are so perplexed and interwoven with each other, through the craft and duplicity of the fallen natural principle, that it requires the greatest watchfulness and attention of the Christian, to unravel and divide them. The fact is, the two principles live at one time, act at one time, and will be found in one and the same person at all times, and in all things, while he lives upon earth. The Christian cannot avoid the activity of his natural or carnal mind; though, by that faith and prayer, which removes the spiritual mountains of difficulty, he is to strive, and may prevail against, its high rule and predominancy. Carnality will exist, while he exists below; but it must not be the reigning and triumphant principle within him. On the other hand, grace, which is pure and simple in all its own acts and intentions, and resolves everything with a single eye and a single heart, into God, must take the lead, and bring the other into the closest captivity and obedience that can be unto Christ.

This is the daily battle and warfare, which passes within the Christian, and which no eye can see, but the eye of God and his own; yea, not his own always, nor always alike. Thus, when grace prevails, there ensues what is called mortification, self-denial, humiliation, renunciation, and all the other exercises, which are painful to the flesh or nature, and, its will and ways. On the contrary, when nature is uppermost, there ever will arise coldness towards God, faintness in duty, doubts, reasonings, discomforts, fear of man, fear of death, and a whole world full of weaknesses, hinderances, and temptations. By the superiority of these different effects in the soul, may easily be seen, if attended to, the superiority of one or other of their respective principles. When there is a strong animal or carnal nature in the believer, though with a good measure of grace, and a trial comes of a powerful and threatening kind; Oh what a tumult is raised within! Nature struggles for ease, and winds, and turns, and frets, and laments, and uses a thousand shifts, to carry off the believer from the battle, or to melt away his heart in the midst of it. Grace, on the other hand, tells him, that now is his time to act like the Christian, to lay hold upon Christ and his promises, to take up the shield of faith, the sword of the Spirit, and the helmet of salvation, and to withstand at least, if not even to meet, the enemy; that he shall conquer the trial by suffering the will of God, it being his present duty to trust, to hope, to pray, to wait; and that, in a short time at the utmost, all shall end well, and redound both to his Redeemer's honour and his own improvement. What conflicts, perturbations, hopes, resignations, despondencies, will not the Christian find in the opposition of the carnal and the spiritual life; when temptations, troubles, or trials of any sort, are to try the strength of both! And yet, after the temptation, it is in some measure with him, as it was with Christ after his; comforts, like angels, will minister unto him. There is such a peaceable fruit of righteousness succeeding to these grievous things, as will make the believer a most ample amends for all his sorrows. But if this fruit should be deferred in this life, it will be but the more welcome and glorious, when the soul bursts the bonds of clay, and leaves sin and a sinful nature behind it.

CHAP. XXXI.

ON TEMPTATIONS.

It is a great part of the Christian warfare to encounter temptations. When a man truly becomes Christ's soldier, he is armed from head to foot by him; because from head to foot will his enemies attack him, with all sorts of weapons, for distress at least, if not for destruction. He hath, because he needs, the whole armour of God, that he may both stand and withstand, during the evil day of this mortal life.

O how many fiery darts are thrown, with all the vehemence of spirits, against the Christian's soul! If his armour doth not sit close upon him, and if the shield of faith be not well and constantly held up to catch and repel the assault; how many sore, and almost venomous, wounds will he not endure? Nay, if the Christian think to be only upon the defence, and fight not in his turn, it will be with him, as it is in all defensive wars among men, very troublesome and very disadvantageous. He hath therefore a weapon given him, that he may attack too; and when he wields, in the strength of his Captain, "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God;" the great spiritual foe remembers the deep strokes he received by it from Christ himself at his temptation, and shrinks away from its edge. If the Christian should be so unwise as to fight this enemy in his own might, and without armour, he would suffer as a man must do, that would encounter a whole host in array (every individual of which is almost infinitely stronger than himself,) naked, unsupported, unarmed. None know the strength of the world, the flesh, and the devil, but those who have life, and are called to oppose them; just as the force of a stream is tried by the resistance made against it. The people of Christ too often fall into this vain way of fighting, through a presumption of their own conduct and power, and therefore are often brought off from the field wounded and half-dead: and it is through the mercy and grace of their Lord, that they are not entirely captured and destroyed. They are more ready to look to their armour, and call upon their leader in great trials, and therefore they prevail: but when they despise the strength of a little temptation, and fight against it in their own, then it is that they are often taught their inward and natural weakness, by losing the day. In their captain's armour, in his strength, and by his sword, they must resist the devil, and then to their joy shall they find, that he will presently flee away from them.

Nothing escapes the vigilance of this foe. He observes the particular constitutions of persons, and he makes his attacks upon all the weak and unguarded parts. He suits his devices to the frame of their dispositions; and, if they are ignorant of those devices, he will often make sad havoc and distress.

He also knows, that the Christian hath traitors in his own bosom, once under full diabolic command, and now not fully suppressed and confined. These he bribes, entices, advises, corresponds with, and acts by; so that, when the assault is made from without, these suspicious inmates are not idle within, but join hand, head, and heart (as it were,) to throw all open to the enemy.

Hence, for these inbred foes, envy, pride, malice, lust, and all the confederacy of black and carnal principles, Satan finds out and proposes their several objects of desire. These are soon converted into engines of war against the soul; and if the Christian's thoughts are not brought into captivity to the law of Christ, they will lead him in bonds (as it were) to his old master, who used, before he was a Christian, to "take him captive at his will." What disgrace doth this bring to his holy profession; and what misery, before and after his recovery to himself.

Satan hath also sly and subtle temptations, perverted from religion itself, by which he often assaults the mind. Sometimes he will raise snares from zeal, love, light, enlargement, and success in duties, by which to flatter the Christian into a high opinion of himself and of his gifts and graces, in order to take him off his guard, or to unclothe him of his humility. When he can make a man proud, he makes him like himself; and when unclean, like a beast. At other times, he will inject the very poison and curse of his own diabolical spirit, by darting evil thoughts, despairing or blasphemous suggestions, vile conceptions of Christ, his word, his work, and all his salvation; preposterous, doubting, distracting, and presuming fancies; and an almost infinite variety of abominable suggestions; which, if the soul be unarmed and unguarded, will harass it to the utmost distress. He hath no pity; nor will he leave off for groans or wailing, agonies or tears. These rather encourage him, if there be nothing but these, The only thing he dreads is "the sword of the Spirit;" and the only thing he cannot pierce is "the armour of God." Therefore, when all this sad business is going forward, the Christian should not lie crying on the ground, like one bereft of his senses, but should call upon his Captain for the armour and the sword, and with these should venture on boldly, trusting to the divine strength which is promised against the foe. When he can do this, the conflict will soon be over; it is yielding, hearkening, reasoning, and parleying, which occasion all the mischief.

I can talk of this, my fellow-Christian, and I know it likewise to be right and true; but I am often beset, and have often been as much to seek as thou canst be, in this hard, yet glorious, service. To this moment I feel my own miserable weakness, when left, in the least degree, to myself, I have had my drubbings, my falls, my horrors, my conflicts, as well as thou hast; and I have been taught by them, though with much slowness (I speak it with shame and sorrow) to flee to the right refuge, to lay hold of the right strength, to buckle on the right armour, and to fall on with the right sword. When I have done this with most alertness, and with the most unreserved confidence in my divine Master, I have been most successful, and most easily have prevailed. When I have lingered, or dallied, or tampered with my foe, or else thought I could cope with him by myself, because he hath appeared under a mean disguise; then I have fainted and failed; then have I sunk, and been surely overthrown. My rebuffs have made me a little more wary of my own heart, as well as of my spiritual adversaries; and I find it the best way to begin speedily with prayer to Him that heareth, that I may truly be ready for whatever may come upon me.

While we are in the flesh, all this must be more or less our daily exercise. And the use of it is, chiefly, to keep our hearts from pride and sloth, to bring down the love of self in all its desires, and the love of sin in all its forms, to endear Christ to our souls in all the ways of his salvation, to cause us to give up ourselves to him with less reserve, to wean us from earth and earthly comforts, and to fix our affections more firmly on heaven. If all this ensue, we shall then have happily disappointed the Devil, and beaten him with his own weapons; and therefore shall rejoice for every trial and conflict, which has led us on towards the attainment of that blessed state of mind, which is the true life and hope of a Christian in this world. O that I may remember these things for myself; while I am aiming to stir up the minds of others to the remembrance of them! Lord, thy strength is made perfect in weakness, and thy wisdom in folly; I call upon thee, therefore, and upon thee alone, to be the guide, the help, the defender, and deliverer of my soul! "Thou art faithful, that hast promised;" and here I rest my safety and salvation.

CHAP. XXXII.

ON ADVERSITY.

We naturally love the world, and the things that are in the world; and this love, unsubdued, is the sole cause and ground of what are called mortifications and disappointments from the world. If the love of Christ prevailed more in us, it would not be in the power of outward things to give us so much pain as they do; or, rather, if this love were perfect in us, we should be ashamed and sorry that these things should give us any pain at all.

This is the truth; but how do we use it? Very often, in the time of trial, we make no other use, than to assent to it as a truth, and there leave it. Reflections of this kind are orations to the winds, unless grace shall second and enforce them. The most trifling loss, as I have often observed in myself and others, is sufficient to unhinge and throw us out of order; if we have no stronger power than our own to keep us in it.

There is not a plant upon earth, how unsightly and bitter soever, but which hath an end for its being. God, likewise, hath not intended his providential works, however adverse or disagreeable to our sense, but for some just purpose and design. There is a "needs be," if we "fall into divers temptations." And, if needful, then they are right and profitable, and will appear to be so at the last.

We have many evil humours, that require correction; and God sends adversity as a medicine for the soul. When it comes with grace into the spirit of a Christian, how doth it soften and blunt his rough and acid dispositions, how reform and lower his swelling and confident frames, how chasten and subdue his restless and impatient tempers; while the better part, his renewed mind, gathers strength, and holiness, and resignation and hope. We shall indeed thank God heartily for all our adversities by and by; and though they are not to be counted as any part of our inheritance, we shall rejoice eternally, that they were graciously made a part of the means for bringing us to it.

The apostle Paul was a chosen vessel, and dearly beloved of the Lord; but the Lord did not say concerning him, what great things he was to do or enjoy (though nobody perhaps ever did more for Christ, or enjoyed more of him upon earth), but "what great things he must suffer for my name's sake." The flesh shrinks at this: but grace can enable the soul to count it all joy when it falls into divers temptations; not for the grief that is in them, for that would be unnatural, but for peaceable fruits of righteousness which they shall produce in the end.

We must pray, then, to trust the wisdom and love of God in all sorrowful dispensations, since he doth not willingly or wantonly afflict his children, nor send one sorrow more than what is absolutely necessary to their true edification and welfare.

When we can bear all trouble as a part of the burden of Christ, and can obtain his assistance to bear it with us we shall find it daily grow lighter and lighter, and at length become upon us like the burden of wings to a bird, enabling us to fly the swifter and higher towards heaven.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ON PROSPERITY.

God's people are seldom trusted with much prosperity; and, when they are, it very rarely appears for their good. The things of earth and time, in affluence or abundance, have a fascinating power over the carnal senses, entice them first into the ways of evil, and then if (grace prevent not) intoxicate them with it. How many spiritual sots are there in the world, who, though averse to gross intemperance, are reeling instead of running in the path of duty, their heads being turned with the fumes of this earth, and their hearts waxed gross through the abundance of her delicacies! And it is one dreadful proof of the strength of this intoxication upon them, when they hate to be told of it, and feel angry, not at themselves, but at the friendly and faithful informer.

The gaiety, parade, lightness, and lofty airs of many religious professors too well show, what a dangerous thing it is to possess much of this world, and how easily our hearts may be made drunk, and then drowned with sensuality, if not in perdition. If Christ and his apostles were now upon earth in their plain and lowly form, it is much to be feared, that they would be thought hardly good company enough for many of the present race of genteel and modish professors of religion.

It is an excellent prayer, which Christians in worldly prosperity cannot remember too often: "In all time of our wealth, good Lord, deliver us." We want his help, then, more if possible than in adversity; lest "the lust of other things, entering in, should choke the word, and it become unfruitful." We have weak heads and a disordered appetite, which are soon overcharged with a full cup of temporal prosperity. "They were filled (says the Lord, speaking by the prophet to the Jews)—they were filled, and their heart was exalted: therefore have they forgotten me."

It was the good advice of a wise man; "Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly."

There is no doubt, but that Christians with worldly riches may do abundance of worldly good to others; and it is one proof, that God is in them of a truth, when they do so: yet, there is a very great reason to pray, that while they are God's stewards to feed other people, they may be careful not to be starved themselves, and that no pride may arise in their hearts through these outward displays of "zeal for the Lord of hosts." These may seem great things to men; but, if we remember the widow and her two mites, we may understand that something else is greater before God, than any administration only of carnal and temporal things.

Our hearts need no damps of this world to cool them. On the contrary, God, by troubles, frequently stirs up his own grace and life in them, as we stir our fires, that they may kindle more freely, shine more brightly, and glow more strongly for our comfort. Whatever draws us nearest to God, cannot be real adversity: whatever entices us from him, deserves not the name of prosperity.

CHAP. XXXIV.

LUXURY INDECENT FOR CHRISTIANS.

Luxury is to pride what the body is to the soul. It gives substance to that depraved temper, which Satan occasioned to man, and which reigns in himself with the most malignant subtlety, ruling also, where it is permitted, the faculties of creatures, and the grossness of matter. It first reduced him from angel to devil; and it hath degraded mankind almost to both devil and beast.

A very great part of the world's pursuit is indulgence to the flesh, by procuring, not the mere necessaries, (for these are in small compass,) but the pomps, the shows, the imaginary comforts, or the real luxuries, of this present life. If they have much goods laid up for many years, no higher thought remains, but to take their ease, to eat, to drink, and be merry. They have strange and wretched notions of spiritual and eternal enjoyments: heaven and heavenly things are necessarily in their very nature too refined for those, whose heart is ever in the dirt, and whose whole life and hope are supported by what lives and grows upon it. Like a man whom I remember to have seen, they have no "desire, to sit singing upon a bare cloud (as he expressed it) all the day long, without anything to eat or to drink." This was his idea of heaven: and have those people any better or more solid thoughts of its glories, who prefer to them (as the men of this world uniformly do) the poor vile trash and sordid attainment of the earth? Alas! so it is; no natural man hath any true regard for God or his soul, but only for his carcass and the world.

The primitive Christians were distinguished as well for the plainness and simplicity of their manners, as for an exact frugality in all their affairs. They thought, and with great truth, that to do otherwise would be both unseemly for their profession, and injurious to the poor people, who want all for themselves, as the luxurious ever must, (except in some rare cases,) can have but little, if anything, "to give to him that needeth;" and, what is worse, a luxurious, pampered person hath usually no heart to give at all, but hath lost his bowels of compassion, through the excess and voluptuousness reigning within him. Hence it is, that the very rich and very great are commonly hard-hearted; while, in the middle ranks of life, both sympathy and benevolence are frequently found to lighten the load of wo. These, it is true, may be all mere nature; but they are, however, not the least precious remains among its ruins.

To glut the stomach, is to starve the mind; vainly to dress up the body, is to strip the soul; to appear great before men, is really to be little in the eyes of God; to be anxious for this world alone, is to lose the true enjoyment. both of it and a better. Yet all these compose the prime wisdom of this world. But can such be the object, the pursuit, the practice of a Christian? Can the pilgrim, or traveller, the stranger and sojourner upon earth, who talks of "seeking a better country, and a heavenly," make it his business or delight to indulge his flesh and carnal affections in modes like these? It seems indeed a sort of burlesque upon godliness, that a creature, proud, pampered, glutted, adorned, and wallowing in lazy and luxurious life, should solemnly profess meekness and lowliness of mind, abstraction from a sinful world, deadness to earthly vanity, humble expectations of heaven, and a life of faith and communion with God till heaven be attained. I am not a monk, nor monkishly inclined; but surely the modern luxury among many professors is neither the characteristic nor ornament of Christian life, and cannot from its own nature be the means appointed either to win, or to wean, men from mammon to God. It is indeed with pain and reluctance, that this subject of pride, laziness, and luxury, which usually go together, is here mentioned, and especially that there is so much occasion for mentioning it, in our day and in our land. To use, and liberally to use, God's temporal mercies with cheerful thankfulness, is one thing; but to "nourish our carnal hearts as in a day of slaughter," to live only for ourselves, and to be filled with a fulness of earth instead of God, is quite another. The apostle speaks of "using the earth, and not abusing it," plainly intimating the difficulty and the danger. For this reason most probably it is, that the Lord keeps the bulk of his people out of worldly snares, by poverty and trouble, for which they will see more cause to thank him hereafter, than the wealthy and the great for all their riches. When the world lies heavy and close upon the heart, Oh with what a sluggish slowness doth it mount up towards heaven!

Lord, above all thy gifts, give me thyself! I may be happy without the creatures, but I must be wretched for ever without thee. Against all my carnal affections and desires, above all my apprehensions and views, beyond all my hopes and expectations; O do thou lead me through time to eternity, and be my life, my love, my light, my Lord, and my all in all.

CHAP. XXXV.

THERE ARE MANY FIRST, THAT SHALL BE LAST.

Our opinion of persons and things is usually taken from outward forms and appearances; but God looketh on the heart and spirit, which are the true and only substantial essence or being.

What a wonderful revolution shall the day of God make upon the earth! Many high and towering professors, extolled by others and prized by themselves, shall be glad to take even the meanest and the lowest rooms, deeply thankful not to be quite thrust out of the kingdom; while some poor, dejected, and despised souls, who passed their days almost unknowing and unknown, with respect to the world, shall shine forth as stars in the firmament of heaven, to the surprise and astonishment of every eye.

We greatly mistake, in general, with respect to spiritual glory. It doth not consist in the splendour of gifts and talents, or any bodily exercise (as the apostle calls it) of the animal frame, but in the less glaring, though far more solid, ornament of a meek and quiet spirit; not in the attraction or admiration of men, but in the love and enjoyment of God; not in the subtle and lofty aspirings even of the inward man; but in self abasement, simplicity, humbleness, and sincerity of mind, resignation of soul to God, victory over self, and everything else that belongs to true lowliness and profound humiliation. This is real and living glory; but not the glory of the world or of the flesh, for these neither understand nor desire it. Alas! how little is it considered, that an outward religious act, and religion itself, are two things, very distinct and very separable! Scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites, have performed the one with the greatest care and exactness; but, all the while, were farther from the kingdom of God than even publicans and harlots: the other, consisting in divine life and the inward union of the soul with Christ, is the portion and experience of none but the children of God.

We may be proud of pretended virtues; and, perhaps, it is possible to be proud even of grace itself, opposite as it is to that fallen principle of corrupted nature; but it is not so possible to think nothing of ourselves, and to be contented with the slight and contempt of others; to prefer all God's children to ourselves, and to place our seat far below theirs; to love our meekest and our humblest thoughts, and to hate bitterly the emotions of pride, and the urgings of anger and arrogance. Yet all this is the true and solid dignity of a Christian soul, and brings it nearest to the likeness of Christ, if not nearest to his throne.

O Lord, help me to understand myself. May I wish to see, not how great and good, (as flesh would have it,) but how mean and vile, I am. Preserve me from high thoughts of myself; for these become not a sinful, dying worm, who lives every moment upon a breath of air; nor yet do they become a redeemed sinner, whose only plea must be mercy, who had nothing of his own but sin, and who by grace alone can be saved, according to thy gift, O Lord, my God!

CHAP. XXXVI.

ON TALENTS.

It is the sentence of an apostle, uttering the mind of the Holy Ghost, that "though he himself should speak with the tongues of men, and of angels," that is, with the highest degree of the most energetic or zealous eloquence "and had not charity, or the love of God in his heart, he should become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." He goes farther: "Though I (says he) have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." He doeth not stop here: "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." Awful words! The possibility of such a case, (and surely the apostle had not been led to state it, if it were not possible) should alarm the mind of every one, who professeth to believe and follow the gospel of Christ.

It is obvious, at first view, that grace and gifts are two things, and that their separate effects or consequences, to the possessors of either, may be different also.

Grace, or charity, or love, which have nearly the same sense, when applied to the life of God in the soul of man, is the special influence of the Holy Spirit, dwelling in the heart. This, coming from God, unites him in love to God through Christ, and shows itself in the various ways of patience, resignation, self-denial, abstraction from envy and other malignant passions, with all those other blessed fruits, which the apostle beautifully describes as growing out of it, and which cannot truly grow out of any other principle.

But eloquence, prophecy, understanding of mysteries, attainment of theoretic knowledge, and even that sort of faith itself which rests in the working of outward prodigies as well as almsgiving, and the surrender of life, may all be possessed without grace, and may answer ends too that are not gracious. They are gifts indeed from God, and so is food, or health; but they are often gifts to the mere natural man, and may be held, like all other natural faculties, either with or without anything better.

A man may understand the terms, grace, justification, regeneration, and other holy and spiritual principles, so far as they can be the objects of human apprehension; and yet have no share in the truths implied by them, and consequently be ruined at the last.

Ahithophel was eloquent and wise, almost as the oracle of God, 2 Sam. xvi. 23.; Saul, as well as Balaam, was among the prophets, 1 Sam. xix. 24.; Solomon understood all mysteries and knowledge, but found them vain and insufficient to keep him from falling. Judas preached and wrought miracles, but at the same time had a devil. Luke ix. 1, 2. The pharisees gave great alms, but were a generation of vipers. Even heathens themselves, and amongst them poor Indian women too, have surrendered up their bodies to torture and to death; but none of them, certainly, either with any sense of this love of God, or for his glory. The apostle's argument is, that these outward gifts alone cannot possibly profit to eternity, because they cease or vanish in time: even the believer's holy knowledge, as it is possessed here, shall be done away, because it is partial, and sees through the medium of corruptible senses, as through a glass darkly or enigmatically; which will not be the case in the soul's future perfect and pure vision of God: but charity, or the divine love, being from the divine essence, and essential also to the very being of a true Christian, can never fail, nor cease, nor vanish away.

All this proves the assertion, that grace and gifts are two separable things, even in the profession of the truest religion. Grace is peculiar to the children of God: gifts may be possessed by men, as such, whether Heathen or Christian. The former is essential to the divine life; the latter, chiefly ornamental or subordinate. A man may go to heaven without gifts; but, if he had all the fine parts, and all the advantages of religious life and profession in the world, without grace, they would in the end profit him nothing. Many, it is to be feared, have written and spoken well concerning salvation, who never inwardly experienced or enjoyed it. They knew the theory, but not the thing.

By their fruits, such ever were and ever will be known. They have called Christ, "Lord, Lord;" and this was easy enough: but to "do the things which he said," to "take up his cross," and to "follow him" truly in the regeneration; this is above flesh and blood, and impossible to be done by those who have nothing else. This observation applies to professors at large; but the Redeemer himself carries it farther to persons in a higher class; "Many, many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied (or preached) in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils (from those who were under their dominion)? and in thy name done many wonderful works (perhaps been made the means of converting thousands); and then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity." Thus, it appears, the devils may be subject to a man through Christ; and yet (what is of infinitely more consequence to himself) his name may not be written in heaven.

Where grace and talents are indeed united, they capacitate the possessor not only to be useful, but to shine: and to shine thus (like a diamond upon sable,) reflecting purely the Redeemer's glory, and foiled (as it were) with meekness and humility, is a blessing to be wished for on account of others, rather than for any man's own concern, and therefore not to be envied. He that envies another's abilities, forgets the giver, and hath not learned the proper use of any, not even of his own. Great faculties require proportionally the greater grace to manage them; or the corruption of the heart will pervert them to private ends, as it hath but too evidently done in a thousand cases. To colour the deception, there may be a show of zeal, and abundance of activity with these talents, which may seem well laid out, and be very successful too among men, in the most serious and divine concerns: and yet, after all, self, that secret and subtle self, may be the main-spring, or final object, of the whole. "Come, see my zeal for the Lord," said Jehu; while his great purpose was earthly splendour, and dominion for himself. Herod preserved John (as the word means,) and did many things by his suggestion, and heard him gladly; but, through pride and lust, he murdered him at last. And so Judas (as was mentioned before) prayed and preached, and undoubtedly wrought miracles, as fairly and clearly as the other apostles; or certainly he must have been suspected by them for the traitor at the Lord's supper, without any further occasion of troubling Christ with their repeated question, "Is it I? is it I?" Had he been noticed for the least outward deficiency among those, "to whom even the devils were obedient through the name of Jesus," John could have wanted no other sign, John xiii. 21—26. An old writer gives another remarkable instance: an eloquent and distinguished orator maintained in a set discourse the truth of the Christian religion, with so much force and clearness, as to excite the admiration and astonishment of all that heard him. His friends warmly congratulated him on his success. He was alive to their praise; it was the very thing that he wanted. But, to secure the honour (as he thought) the more entirely to himself, he vaunted, that, in taking the other side of the argument, he could easily pull down all he had raised, and establish the contrary upon its ruins. Divine justice, we are told, was not slow to vindicate the divine glory; for he, who, notwithstanding his great abilities, was before a spiritual fool, became soon afterwards a natural driveller and an incurable idiot. His eminent powers, which at first seemed to be in employment for God, turned out, upon trial, to be devoted to himself, and his own vain glory. These, and such like things should ever occasion great searchings of heart.

Help me, O my God, to search mine. For this end, do thou thyself "examine me, and prove me;" try my reins and my heart. Leave no corner unexplored; but discover the whole, as it is, to the eye of my mind; let, O let me never be deceived about myself, nor fatally be a stranger to myself, or to the principles of action and affection within me. Let these be all simple, all pure; give me the single eye and the single heart, that no double views or intentions, nor corrupt motive or desires, nothing, no, nothing but what proceedeth from thee, and leadeth to thee again, may direct and animate my soul. Let me cautiously regard all my faculties, and jealously watch over the application of all my powers, that everything of mine may proceed in the exactest conformity to thy will and word. It is my wish indeed, and this thou knowest, to act much for thee, but in no case, and at no time, without thee; and when thou callest me not to action, but to suffering and waiting, which is yet more difficult to man, O help me, like Abraham and Moses, to stand in patient submission, as they stood, though my trial be drawn out, like theirs, through a dull and unpromising length of years. Be thou with me, and all shall be well, whether I bear or do. If I am to be silent or passive, support me, for I cannot even stand by myself: if I am called to act, "work in me to will and to do of thy good pleasure;" for all thy truth and my own experience prove, that in the business of spiritual life especially, "without thee I can do nothing."

CHAP. XXXVII.

IT IS THROUGH GRACE THAT ALL ORDINANCES ARE RIGHTLY USED AND BECOME BENEFICIAL.

As there is a talent of speaking with grace the things that are true and profitable, so there is a talent of hearing with grace, that those things may be received with edification. We may too often see and bewail a customary slight mode of hearing, which, instead of enlivening, deadens, instead of warming, fixes the cold; instead of promoting the life of God within, only confirms the life of the flesh throughout. This is sharply reprehended in Ezek. xxxiii. 30—32.

Some are for hearing a variety of preachers, others a multitude of sermons; not for profit, but for pleasure; not to digest, and turn the discourses into spiritual nourishment, but to satisfy the hurry and bustle of nature, which doth not love patient reflection, nor the meditating labour of the soul. To hear only, and commend this, and that, and the other preacher, however excellent and gracious, is poor employment indeed, which requires very little sense, and less grace, to perform. To set up men, and forget God, to be extolling one man above another, and to be ready to quarrel and abuse for the sake of one poor worm against another, is all of it nothing more than the vileness of the carnal nature, perversely crept into religious profession, and all of it equally wretched, impertinent, and vain. If this were the whole that is to be found in religion, it would not be a bad wish, that one's "life might rather be spent with philosophers."

To hear for amusement or criticism, to be delighted with flowery language, to be charmed with action, person, manner, and voice, may be well enough in the theatre or the senate; but to attend upon God, to hear his word as for one's life, to be filled with the solid importance of divine things, and to carry them home into the heart for comfort and strength in the experience; this is quite another kind of business, which doth not so much engage the carnal mind or ear, as employ the most fervent exertions and the holiest affections of the soul. The one is rank abuse of a sacred institution, and perverted to lull the soul to sleep, in carnal security, under the notion of a religious engagement: the other is finding, in the true and gracious use of the means, the advantage which the Lord intended by them.

It is better likewise to hear one sermon, and then to recollect it, to feed and ponder upon it, and to turn the matter of it into prayer, than to be present at four, five, or six, in a day, as some have been, and not be able at last to give a tolerable account of any one of them. The divine life of a Christian doth not consist in mere hearing, any more than his natural life in always eating; but in digesting and in bringing what he hears, as so much nourishment, into the very frame and strength of his soul.

Faith must be mixed with this, and with all ordinances and sacraments, otherwise the outward man alone acts, while the inner man is asleep or dead; and so that, "which should have been for welfare, only becomes an occasion of falling."

"*How* have I heard, not *how much?*" is the best inquiry. Our Lord directs us to consider it well, where he says, "Take heed how ye hear." And if we reflect, that God's word is "a savour of life unto life, or of death unto death," in them that do hear it; surely in so solemn an affair, we ought to pray before we hear, to watch unto prayer in hearing, and to mix faith and prayer with what we have heard, that it may turn to our good, and not to our sorrow.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ON THE PROFITABLE HEARING OF THE WORD.

This subject is of so much importance, as to demand some further reflections. It is a trite observation, that we have two ears, and but one tongue. The natural inference, however, becomes the more important, when authorized by the Holy Ghost: "Let every man be swift to hear, and slow to speak."

But though swiftness of hearing be right, it is only so upon just principles and for a proper end. A person may be swift to hear evil, through the corruption of nature, for no other purpose than to practise it. In such a case, slowness, or deafness itself, is comparatively a blessing.

It appears, then, that there are two sorts of hearing, or faculties, the spiritual and the carnal, the right and the wrong: the one formed and improved by grace; the other left, as it came into the world, under the perverseness and depravity of nature. We will consider both of these as briefly as possible.

When man fell from God, he not only lost the right use of the natural faculties, which consisted in raising spiritual and divine ideas from the outward objects, but the faculties themselves were diminished; and, instead of serving the Creator, and showing forth his glory in the knowledge and happiness of a perfect creature, were corrupted to obey a fallen spirit in every ministration of sin, whether in filthiness, baseness, pride, or malignity. The ear, amongst these, became the organ of a depraved understanding, and is often put, by a figure, for the depraved understanding itself. And because men, in their state of nature, are so besotted and blinded by sin as to have no understanding (or what is worse than none) in spiritual things; they are said to have no ears in those things. On the other hand, our Lord frequently addresses himself to those, "who have ears to hear;" manifestly implying, that the faithful only can hear to purpose, and that all others are, in a certain sense, without ears, that is, incapable of understanding what they outwardly do hear. This corrupted faculty cannot, therefore, receive the truth; but, through gross misapprehension, can only pervert it, turning good into bad, and the bad into worse and worse.

The true faculty is indeed a new creation, and consequently the operation and gift of God. The Lord makes "the hearing ear and the seeing eye," said the wise man; or, as Elihu expresses it to the same purpose, "God openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction." In vain might men speak, as Ezekiel would have spoken to that emblem of sinners spiritually dead, "the dry bones," unless the Lord of power vouchsafe to bless, and to impart the truth and strength of a right understanding to the mind.

But where this new faculty is given, the believer should remember, with anxious concern, that even there also remaineth the old. They both remain in the same person, and often produce, if care be not taken, and a better care than his own, a sort of neutral exercise of faculties, employing them upon the very best things to no purpose at all, and sometimes to purposes which, it might be thought, no gracious person could allow or endure. The fact is, professors hear the truth too much in their old man; they do not mix faith with what they hear; and so they become triflers in divine things, and grow insipid and indifferent to them. Their new man is not renewed day by day, through holy meditation and prayer, and therefore seems to grow weaker; while their old man gathers strength and inclination for the things of the flesh and the world. They do not (as the martyr of old said) "join the ears of their head and their heart together."

Hence, in Christian profession, we have such just complaint of heavy ears. Persons shall have been long under the word, and yet shall have profited so little for the time, that they appear like infants, when they ought to be full grown; or dwarfs, and misshapen dwarfs too, at the age of maturity. This dulness of hearing often makes it needful that such should be "taught again the first principles of the oracles of God;" because (as the apostle says) "being babes, they have no experience in the word of righteousness." What a strange sight is this, a man in leading-strings; a person in years wailing for the breast! And yet meat, and especially strong meat, is not good for him; he cannot digest it. He is capable of taking nothing but milk: and it is well, if the only pure milk will satisfy him.

There is also, in Christian profession, what the scripture calls "an uncircumcised ear." A man, with an uncircumcised ear, is unsubdued by what he hears, so that his "thoughts are not brought into captivity," nor into sweet subjection unto Christ. He hears, therefore, by his own powers. His soul consequently is not bent into meekness under the word; but coming to it as a critic or a judge, with a high look and a lofty heart, he squares all things by his own rule and reason, and determines all by his own measure and understanding. When the truth is made particular to him, he acts like some high professors of old, and like all who are "uncircumcised in heart and ears," (Acts vii. 51.)—he "resists the Holy Ghost." Such a one receiveth not correction; truth is perished to him, and cut off from his mouth. He is therefore not the better for what he hears, but the worse, converting the wholesome nourishment, through his cachectic or bad habit, into poison or disease. In process of time, he grows both careless and hardened under the word; and, being now sermon-proof, receives no more real impression from the gospel, than the flinty rock from a shower of rain. Alas! alas! how often may one bewail these uncircumcised ears!

The Apostle reminds us also of "itching ears," which are not so desirous of their own proper exercise of receiving the truth, as of being tickled and amused. A light thing, a mere feather, will answer this purpose better than that two-edged sword, which cuts beneath the skin, and penetrates to the very thoughts and intents of the heart. The itching ear takes a wonderful pleasure in quaint or odd expressions, or in flowing, polished, or rhetorical phrases and language. To it there are no such charms, as the charms of manner and words; a rich and glowing diction, a correct and masterly style, the grace of delivery, the force of reason, and the sublimity of thought. These are excellencies indispensable and invaluable to the curious ear. A good story, especially if there be any wit in it, will tickle it almost to an ecstasy. Sometimes mere rodomontade will serve the end, which is, to divert and be diverted. A pathetic or melancholy discourse will also tickle well an itching ear, though in a different way; for, if the animal passions be moved, if the old Adam be wrought upon, if the common feelings of the carnal nature be excited with any degree of emotion; these will gratify and please that carnal nature, as well as in hearing tragedies and oratorios, even to rapture and excess, so as almost to be mistaken for religion and grace. In all this, there may not be one particle of that life of the new man, "which is renewed after the image of him that created him." I do not mean, that a Christian is to be divested of the common feelings of humanity, but that he is not to mistake these for the actings of grace in the things of God; nor from the word of God to seek for so low an object as the gratification of these. He is not to be entertained, but edified; not to be amused, but corrected; not to be pleased only, but profited; not to crave indulgence to the "desires of the flesh and of the mind," for this every worldling craves; but through grace to subdue his evil propensities and affections, and to confine nature within its bounds, that the life of Christ may be made manifest, and that the fruits of faith may abound to the divine glory. Oh how much more wise and happy is this for the soul, than the mean and trifling enjoyment that can be procured for itching ears!

There is also, to mention no more, what a gracious and dear friend of mine has well styled, that monster in profession, who is all ear. No faculty, in religious matters, but this one: no head to apprehend, no heart to love and experience, no hands to act for Christ, no feet to walk in the obedience of God; but all—all ear! A new preacher, a fine preacher, a long sermon, sermon after sermon: discourses about the talents of preachers and the beauty of sermons, and sometimes matters not quite so good as these, are objects of supreme delight for too many, who rather wish to hear about Christ, than to live upon him, and to have a good seat under the sound of the gospel, than to be enjoying the power of it. O what a poor sort of professing life is this! To mistake air for food, and mere hearing for godliness; alas! what will this avail the soul, when it shall need strength and courage to resist the powers of darkness, and to enter the gloomy valley of the dead.

The true servants of God have, in a certain subordinate sense, their ears opened or pierced, according to the meaning of the rite in the law; and thus they are made his own for ever. They come willingly, in the day of his power, to the door of his house, even to Christ, the only door of the "true tabernacle, which God hath pitched, and not man;" and there each of them joyfully declares, "I would not, and, in thy strength I will not, go away, O Lord, from thee; because I love thee, and I love thine house, and because it is good for me to be with thee." By this spiritual operation, they are made alive to God, and are enabled spiritually to hear his word, and to have it written in their inward parts, and thus to serve and live for God in Christ, with life eternal. They cannot endure another service; and any voice, but the voice of their Master, they will neither delight in, nor obey. As dutiful servants, and adopted children, they listen to his holy word, follow his heavenly will, seek not their own, but his honour and glory, and count nothing of so much value beneath the sun, as to finish their course with joy. O my soul, mayest thou be found with these, when the Lord shall "make up his jewels, and shall spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him!" Thou shalt then enter into his house indeed, and dwell with him for ever and ever.

Another type in the law shows the inward virtue of the divine life. The sanctifying oil was not only to be put upon the right hand, the right foot, and the right ear of the leper, but upon the extremities, the thumb, the great toe, the tip of those right members; in order to show, that, in our renewing by the Holy Spirit, we must expect all true strength, even the least and to the utmost, all our right obedience, and all our hearing to profit, from that unction of the Holy One. This anointing, which is received of Christ, even the Spirit of truth, which the world cannot receive, abideth in the real Christian; and by this, in fact, he becomes a Christian, that is, an anointed person: and the same anointing teacheth him of all things, and is true, and not a lie. Thus he hears, and hears aright. He hears inwardly, and with life; and, by grace in this hearing, increases life. Sounds, mere sounds, are nothing; and words alone nothing; but the word and truth of Christ, spiritually received and experimentally digested, are, in his eye, and heart, and ear, the all in all of every ordinance and proclamation of the gospel.

I would come into the power of these things, O my Lord, more and more; and I lament with deep compunction, that my progression is so small, my true hearing so dull, my affections so cold, my faith so weak, my hope so drooping, and my whole man so often disordered and defiled by infirmity. Oh how great and difficult a thing is it to be a Christian! To live, and hope, and walk, truly by the faith of thee, the Son of God! Do thou, who art the High Priest of my profession, circumcise and pierce my ear, that I may be made affectionately thine own for ever; anoint it also with thine holy oil, that I may receive rightly, and understand truly, the words of eternal life, the rich and the profound mysteries of thy kingdom. So shall I hear, and live, and learn, and love, till I see thee in thy glory; and then, stripped of all my own imperfection and frailty, but clothed with thy righteousness and salvation, I shall magnify thine holy name in the great, the universal, the everlasting, Hallelujah.

CHAP. XXXIX.

UPON DECLENSIONS FROM GOD.

Alas! how prone am I to fall into sin, and to leave the fountain of living waters! My infirmities often prevail against me, and, contrary to the better will of my soul, drag me into the snares and bondage of corruption.

I have sinned: what shall I say unto thee, O thou preserver of men! If thou leave me to myself, if thou recover me not, I am gone for ever. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death.

Thus I mourn and am vexed, when my corruptions are ready to overpower me. I should be lost, but for the merciful aid: I must perish entirely, if the blood and righteousness of my dear Redeemer were not again and again applied to save and to comfort me.

Oh what a miserable body do I bear about with me! It is the very load, and plague, and prison of my soul. And yet how foolishly do I love it, and care for it; and how much more time do I spend in nourishing this evil flesh, than in seeking the peace of God, or the advancement and prosperity of my immortal mind! I am ashamed, as a Christian, that I am not more ashamed of these things.

CHAP. XL.

ON SOBRIETY OF SPIRIT.

A Christian should desire, as a great privilege, the constant sobriety and calm recollection of his mind. Worldly things often flutter the animal spirits; and the disorder of these will too frequently throw the soul into confusion; so that it is liable to be carried away into what it condemns, through a sudden impression on its affections, or to be turned aside from what it approves, by the vehement onset of its passions. This want of inward sobriety is one great cause of all the irregularities, which believers feel and bemoan in their passage to heaven.

"Be sober, be vigilant," is a most necessary admonition to us, while we are in this unstable flesh, and within reach of such an adversary as the devil. If we are not abstracted, in due measure, from the crazy and drunken spirit of this world, to which we are naturally inclined, and from which grace only can deliver us at all, we shall be distracted with a thousand foolish and useless things, be exposed to numberless dangers and snares, be harassed with doubts and disorders, and often in our giddiness shall forget where we are, whither we are going, and what must shortly pass upon us. Oh this golden, glittering, dazzling cup of the mystic Babylon, this evil world! how often is it in her hand, held out towards us! how ready are we to take and to drink of it! but how full is it of the abominations and filthiness of her spiritual fornication and departure from God!

How difficult, duly considered, is the Christian's passage through life! how marvellous his safe arrival in heaven! it appears indeed to be nothing less than one of the greatest continued wonders of almighty goodness and power.

If a man were commanded to put to sea by himself, in a small open boat, without any sustenance but what might fall from the skies, and with no direction but a chart and compass, and thus to pass over a wide and tempestuous ocean; it may give some faint idea of the Christian's voyage to heaven. He too, in a feeble bark, has no chart but the word of God, no compass but the Spirit of God, no provision but the daily grace of God in Christ, no safety from the raging waves of the world, or the roaring winds of the evil spirit, but the power of God, no ability to keep himself for one moment from sinking, but through faith in the mercy of God, and no hope of getting safe to the heavenly shore, but by the truth of God in Christ Jesus. Indeed, and indeed, when a Christian considers all these perils on the one hand, and his own weakness on the other, it seems an act of most astonishing love and omnipotence, that he should ever inherit the kingdom of heaven. He feels it to be mercy, and faithfulness, and rich bounty, and unspeakable kindness altogether, from beginning to end, and is at times lost in wonder, love, praise, and gratitude, for so great, so unmerited a salvation.

Seeing then, that these things are so, verily he ought to watch and pray, that he may "continue in faith and charity, and in holiness with sobriety," unto the end.

CHAP. XLI.

OUR HEART MUST BE GIVEN TO GOD.

If we could offer to God the whole world, and yet keep back our heart, it would be to him a worthless and an odious offering. He considers not the greatness or outward grandeur of human works, but the spirit by which they are performed. Some build hospitals, make noble endowments, give large donations, and do many other great and wonderful works; all which are not to be spoken against in themselves, because they are of use to the world, and especially to the poor: but it is possible to do all these, without a heart for God, without considering his glory, without faith in his mercy, or love of mercy to man, and without being in the least degree nearer to him or his holiness. A widow, with two poor mites and a hand and heart of faith, will be found to have done more than all these, in the sight of him who judgeth righteously.

If our heart be given to God, we shall not be barren or unfruitful indeed; but our fruit will not be for carnal vanity, but unto true holiness. "Christ in us the hope of glory," is a principle of such power, that it turns a man (as it were) out of himself, delivers him from his own selfish whims and intentions, releases him from a multitude of slavish fears and concerns, and causes him ardently to desire and delight in those things alone, which may exercise a gracious gratitude in showing forth the praises of his kind Redeemer.

CHAP. XLII.

ON LIBERTY OF SOUL.

The real liberty of the soul consists in a happy freedom from the absolute dominion of sin and Satan. The Christian, therefore, denies himself, because of sin in his mortal body; he shuns the spirit of the world, because by its sinfulness it promotes his inbred corruptions; he prays and watches against the evil one, because he is the grand tempter and stirrer of all iniquity, both in himself and others.

The more this frame is maintained, the more will the heart enjoy "the glorious liberty of the children of God." This is a holy and righteous freedom, which the Christian pants after continually, and which is most sweetly experienced when the soul is most abstracted from the low solicitudes and dull satisfactions of sense and time. The Father of mercies is the cause, the Son of his love is the means, and the Spirit of grace is the power, of all the spiritual freedom in earth and heaven, and of all the transporting blessedness resulting from it.

The world and the flesh are a dead weight upon the mind, in its possession and exercise of this delightful liberty; and, therefore, in the mind's struggles to gain and secure it, the world and the flesh must be brought down and kept down, having, like the devil's jailers, nothing about them, but miserable chains and fetters, wherewith to bind and imprison the soul.

CHAP. XLIII.

UPON SICKNESS.

All sickness and sorrow arise from sin. If we were not unholy creatures, we should not be unhappy creatures. Because of the ill habit, occasioned by transgression, every element fights against our health by changes and inclemencies; and the very food we eat, while it nourishes for a time, lays the foundation of disease in our bodies, already prepared, by their own weakness and ill temperament, to receive and increase it.

Sickness is a dismal scourge to the ungodly, and a painful spur to the gracious. To the one, it is the harbinger of terror and misery; but, to the other, a solemn remembrancer indeed, both of the vanity of all earthly things, and of the nearer and nearer approach of immortal glory.

When sickness comes, and grace can meet it; Oh what a just representation do they make to the soul, concerning the poor honours, riches, cares, and pleasures, of this transitory world! How unimportant do all the struggles for power, splendour, titles, wealth, and pre-eminence, which have employed or engaged the past and present ages, appear! How childish and mean these objects pass before us, for which men have lavished their time, and thrown away their souls! What bubbles, what nonsense, what glaring and horrid stupidity, have filled and directed, have engaged and overwhelmed, the counsels of the world; and all to no other profit than a little fleeting vanity, with a rapid descent to lasting oblivion or ruin! Thus the soul feels, when it is quickened by sickness to consider the low and passing affairs of earth and of time.

On the contrary, how inexpressibly great and tremendous do the things of God and eternity rise in full view to the mind! The worth of worlds, what are they, in some of these soul-searching moments? How is the mind astonished with the grandeur of God, and with the deep and wide importance of all that belongs to him! Rapt in the solemn contemplation of unutterable glories, how doth the mind tremblingly examine and carefully inquire into the truth and extent of its interest in them! and if grace seal an answer of peace upon the heart, how doth it flutter with gladness at its safety, and how will the whole frame be agitated with a new delight, in the sure prospect of an eternal concern in these valuable, these only valuable, things!

The Christian will be wakingly alive to all this, and more, if his disorder be such as can admit of reflection. Blessed be God, however, whether he can thus reflect or not; yet, being a Christian, his state is equally safe with God, through his gracious Redeemer. Whatever be the frame, the promise is sure, the covenant of God is ordered in all things and sure, and sure and faithful is God himself to perform it. It is comfortable, and indeed desirable, to have pleasant foretastes and feelings of grace and glory, under the pain or decay of the body, but they are not otherwise material to the true believer's security for heaven. If he hath not these perceptions during the short time of his sickness, he will have them abundantly after it, if it end in his dissolution: or if it do not thus end, the want of them is a loud admonition to "make his calling and election sure," in the days that may yet be appointed him.

If we cannot think of Christ, through the power of disease, O what a happiness is it to be assured, that Christ thinks constantly and effectually of us! He "maketh all our bed in our sickness;" that is, he turns the whole frame of our condition in it for our best advantage.

O Lord, leave me not, poor and helpless sinner that I am, in my most healthful state; leave me not especially, I beseech thee, in the low, the languid, the distressing, circumstances of infirmity and disease! Jesus, Master, thou art said to have borne our sicknesses, because thou barest the sins which occasioned them; take, take away from my conscience the guilt which brought disease, and then the worst part of its misery shall be done away too. And when, through my feebleness or disorder, I cannot act faith upon thy love, O catch my drooping spirit, carry me as one of thine own lambs in thy bosom, enfold me in thy gracious arms, and let my soul wholly commit itself and give up its all in quiet resignation to thee! If thou raise me from my sickness, grant that it may be for the setting forth of thy glory among men: if thou take me by sickness from this world, O thou hope and life of my soul, receive me to thyself for my everlasting happiness, and to be another monument of sovereign grace before the great assembly of saints and angels in thy kingdom of heaven.

CHAP. XLIV.

UPON DEATH.

It is an awful and a solemn thing to die; and I am sometimes amazed at myself, that, seeing it is not only awful, but sure, I can be so void of reflection or recollection, as I frequently am, concerning it.

Some talk bravely about death, and of encountering it with great natural courage, or upon high philosophical principles. These may indeed defy or meet the sting, but they can neither soften nor take it away. For a sinner to bully death with no spiritual life in his soul, and no everlasting life in reversion, is the act of a desperate madman, who laughs at a horrible precipice before him, and rushes down headlong to destruction.

Oh eternity! eternity! It is fearful indeed to burst the bands of life, and to break forth into the boundless and unalterable regions of eternity! Nature, in its senses, cannot bear the shocking reflection which death affords, either of being an everlasting nothing, as atheists talk; or of enduring everlasting misery, as sin deserves. It is grace only, which can inspire the heart with a hope full of joy and immortality, that, when this brittle transitory life is past, the soul shall possess a being, happy and long as the days of heaven.

Through Jesus Christ alone is death disarmed. When the Saviour speaks peace and salvation through his cross and righteousness, this last great enemy is no more the king of terrors. He gives up his fearful sting, and destroys nothing about the Christian, but sin, and the means of sin.

Oh how sweet is the smile of that Christian, who, dying in the body, feels himself just upon living for ever! "He is not sick unto death, but unto life" indeed. He quits his cares, his sorrows, his infirmities, and all that could distress or distract his spirit here, and looks calmly into the world before him, where he can meet with nothing but concord and joy, in the society of the redeemed, and of his Saviour throughout eternity. He is weaned from the earth, and therefore can part with it easily: he is fitted for heaven, and therefore longs for it earnestly. He cannot but desire that which is congenial with his own renewed mind; and nothing of that sort can truly and perfectly be found, out of the regions of glory.

They who afflict themselves (said a primitive Christian writer) about the loss of this life, are like infants unborn, who, if they could speak, might bewail their expulsion from the womb at the approaching time of their birth; foolishly considering it not as the means, but as the end of being. Men, in their natural state, may indeed deplore their removal from this world, for which only they desire to live; but the renewed Christian is privileged to have a more glorious hope of a life everlastingly pure like God's, and of a habitation wide and beautiful as the temple of heaven.

Lord, when I shall quit this clay, I know not, nor do I desire to know. It will be sufficient for me, if thou sustain me by thy grace now; and if I am divinely assured, that I shall be for ever with thee in the world to come. O that this invincible "joy of the Lord may indeed be my strength" when I lie down upon the bed of death, waiting from moment to moment for Christ, and for my own dismission hence to be with him.

Soon this body shall turn to the dust, from whence it was framed; but nothing can extinguish the life of my spirit, which hath no relation to earth, which cannot subsist by matter and form, and which, in all its faculties of will, understanding, love, and perception, is of kin to a brighter world. And, O how reviving is the thought! I am not only of kin to angels and heavenly spirits, by the very nature of my soul, but I am doubly related to them and to my God, by being born again, and renewed after his blessed image, or likeness, through Jesus Christ. I am made by this, a child and an heir of an everlasting inheritance. All that death, then, can do for me is, to tell me that I am of age, and to lead me forth from these chambers of darkness, to celebrate my birth-day in the palace of glory. There is in this view (what hath often been tasted) a kind of luxury in dying. In such a blessed, such an animating sense of death, I ought to say, that he deserves quite another name; or, rather, to exult with the prophet and apostle, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

Whence then, at times, is the shuddering reluctance I feel at the prospect of dying? Surely it is, because my faith and hope are not so lively as they are privileged to be; it is because I do not so steadily trust in the truth of those things which my mind apprehends, and which I profess to be waiting for. Earth is too real, and heaven too unreal; or I could not thus hesitate, or tremblingly stand, on the bank of the brook which keeps me from the fruition of God. The struggle of my heart would not be for longer and longer continuance here, if my spirit were as firmly persuaded, as it should be, of my inheritance and mansion in glory.

Thou blessed Saviour of poor sinners like me, on thee, and on thee alone, my eyes are fixed! In the solemn last hour of my pilgrimage below, O let my eyes of faith be yet more steadily and ardently fixed upon thee! And do thou, in the tender compassion of thy heart, which can sympathize with all thy people's woes, look down in my departing moments upon me. Soothe the pangs of death with thy rich consolation and care. Let me then see thee by precious faith, who to carnal sense art invisible, ready, willing, glad to receive my soul; and let me pour it forth, in an ecstasy of praise and desire, as into the bosom of love! O my God, thus to die, would not be dying; but only departing, to live and to be happy for ever!

So true are thy gracious words, O my Jesus, "Whosoever liveth and believeth in thee, shall never die:" no; "he shall never perish, but is passed from death unto life, and shall live for evermore." Glory be to thee, for this rich, this invaluable promise! Lord, I believe: O help mine unbelief!

CHAP. XLV.

THE RECOLLECTION OF THIS SECOND PART IN PRAYER TO GOD.

Enable me O Lord, my God, to examine myself, the state of my soul, and the reality and growth of my experience, seriously, deeply, and constantly. I am still clothed with a corrupt nature, and therefore am always inclined to favour myself; and nothing but thy grace can give me a faithful distrust of my own condition and attainments, or a holy watchfulness over all that passeth within me.

As I have received Christ Jesus my Lord, so I know it is my interest, privilege, happiness, and duty, to walk, to live, to grow, and to press forward in him. O keep me from spiritual sloth, or, as it may better be called, from carnal security, that I may run, with the loins of my mind always girt and disentangled, and with increasing faith and patience, the blessed race which thou hast set before me. Give zeal for every duty, wisdom and strength rightly to perform it, and a humble holy resignation of heart to leave all the success unto thee.

Make me wise to discern the motions within my soul, and to trace out from whence they proceed. O let me not be deceived by the will or the cunning force of the flesh, whenever, it would mingle in holy things; but let my spirit be thine own sacred temple, where I may find thee indeed, working in me, enlightening and enlivening me for all thy service and glory, and drawing me, with a single eye and a simple heart, to seek not myself, not my own pride, profit, or pleasure, but all I want, and all I can rightly have, in thee, and in thee alone. Draw me nearer and nearer to this just and perfect rule of action, to this sweet and blessed spiritual life; so that I may be able indeed to say, and with the increasing confidence of truth, I no longer live, but Christ liveth in me; and the life that I live in the flesh, is not after the flesh, but by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself freely for me. O let this be my humble and secret path of life, which none can know but those whom thou teachest, and which, for its narrowness, none can walk in, but those whom thou supportest by thy hand.

Thou knowest, O my God, that I am in the world, surrounded by temptations, opposed by men, attacked by devils, weakened by infirmities, and exposed by a corrupt nature to all manner of evils. Without are fightings, within are fears. How shall I get safely on to the end, or, rather, how shall I get on at all, unless thou art with me? I plead then thine own promise of truth, that thou wilt guide me by thy counsel, and at last receive me to glory.

Keep me, while I am in the world, from the envious, proud, hateful, dangerous, an unhappy spirit, which aboundeth in it. Let me have constant proof that indeed I am thine, by having thy life manifest in my mortal body, controlling and subduing it in all things to thy righteous will. So shall even the world own, that I have been with Jesus; and if it hate me upon that account, as it hated him, Oh welcome be it, and let me account it as one of my brightest evidences and greatest honours.

In all the circumstances and conditions of my outward life, O help me to look for thy special blessing, without which nothing can succeed in itself, without which everything may lead me astray. Help me to bear losses and crosses as thy dispensations, intended only for my good; and give me wisdom and grace to see thine intention, and to get the good thou meanest by them. If one of thine hands be laid hard upon me, let the other support and bear me up with the more firmness and security. Restrain all the murmuring and rebellion of my carnal nature against thy holy will, and lead my spirit, by all visitations, to nearer fellowship and sweeter communion with thee. So shall my earthly sorrows be turned into spiritual joys, and all the calamities, which can befall me here, shall become urging and successful remembrancers, to prepare me for my mansion in thy heavenly kingdom.

And when sickness and death shall come, as come they must in a very little while at the longest, O stand by me, my dear and only Lord, in my drooping and needful moments. Make all my bed in my sickness, and overcome the sorrows of nature by the lively joys of thy grace. Receive my spirit, which I commit unto thee, as thine only; for truly I am thine entirely, thine by purchase, thine by grace, thine by promise, thine by the immutable oath of all thine holy attributes. O carry me to the regions of peace, to the church of the first-born, to the city of God, and to Jesus, my Lord, my Life, and my only Redeemer! Whom have I in heaven itself, but thee; and what can I desire throughout all thy works, in comparison of thee? My heart and my flesh may fail; but thou, thou, even thou, art the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever!

PART III.

CHAP. I.

THE REAL CHRISTIAN LOVES HIS COUNTRY, AND IS THEREFORE THE BEST OF PATRIOTS.

Political hypocrisy hath made the laudable name of patriotism almost suspicious. But he that is sincere in the best things, and walks as in the sight of God, will, of all men, be faithful in lower matters, and carry a sterling integrity from religion into every duty of social life. On the other hand, he that regards not God, nor yet other men but as they are convenient to himself, may very justly be suspected in his fidelity to his country. Profit and vain glory, indeed, will carry some men very far, as they have done; but strip a worldly man of these, and where are his motives for promoting the national welfare?

The Christian is not a mere showy patriot, for lucre or for fame; but he is, what none but a Christian can be, a patriot in spirit and in truth, pouring out his secret and earnest prayers before God for the true prosperity of the land. The world, indeed, hath a low opinion of this artillery of heaven; but one, who is wiser than the world, hath told us, that "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." And if one such person, like an Elias, can be instrumental in drawing down public blessings, what may not be hoped for from the prayers of legions of Christians throughout the nation? We may read what the prayers of such men have done, in Heb. xi. 33, 34.

The Christian patriot will rejoice in all the good done to his country; though other hands rather than his have been employed in doing it. That man deserves not the name of a patriot, to whom the peace, honour, and prosperity of his country are valuable, only as they may contribute to his own.

As the Christian's patriotism is founded upon the pure principles of religion, he is more desirous of his country's prosperity in true worth and virtue, than in mere power and riches, which are often the dangerous fuel of luxury and pride both to states and individuals. He is no enemy to commerce, for a thousand reasons; but an utter enemy to commercial vices, for reasons infinite and eternal.

In wishing for his country all kinds of temporal blessings, he cannot forget to ask before God for a greater abundance of spiritual mercies. His heart's desire is, that the gospel and religion of Jesus Christ, happily countenanced and established by the laws, may for ever flourish through the land in all its genuine power and purity. Though he is not, and cannot be, an enemy to any man, yet he is a well-principled adversary to all wicked and blasphemous errors and opinions, and to all profligacies of heart and life, which flow from them, and which have over-run the country with guilt and shame.

The Christian carries religion into his patriotism, but not his patriotism into religion. The things of God are too holy and sacred with him either to be mixed with, or truckle to, the little low politics of men. He is the citizen of a better country, and a pilgrim in all others, though a peculiar friend to that in which he was born.

As he can say with Samuel, "God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, in ceasing to pray for his nation;" so he would act upon all occasions, as Samuel did, and endeavour to promote the welfare of his country, by being a good countryman. He will contribute fairly and cheerfully to her burdens, live in all godly quietness and honesty among his people, and pray faithfully and earnestly for the whole public weal as a Christian. Were all the subjects such patriots, the nation, with God's blessing, would have but small reason to be afraid of the most mighty and numerous enemies.

CHAP. II.

THE REAL CHRISTIAN IS CONSCIENTIOUSLY A DUTIFUL SUBJECT TO THE KING AND HIS GOVERNMENT.

He that said, "Fear God," immediately added, as one evident proof of the reality of his godly fear, "honour the king." Being chief magistrate, the king is God's first temporal minister, who is to bear the sword of justice and judgment, "for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well." The Christian, then, living like a Christian, has no just cause to fear a wound. We are commanded by God to reverence those who act under the king for these ends; how much more then are we bound to regard himself! And if the Christian be concerned for his country, he cannot be unconcerned for his sovereign, who is more deeply interested in its welfare than any other man.

He prays publicly and privately for his king, for his family, and for all that are put in authority under him. It is his wisdom, interest, principle, and duty, thus to pray; because their prosperity is not only connected with his own, but their downfall would occasion the worst of hazard both to his country and his friends. He, who countenances strife and sedition, can no more be a true and benevolent Christian, than a real patriot and subject; for by these, confusion, rebellion, rapine, and murder, may overspread a land, to the destruction of millions, and to the reproachful hinderance of all godliness and piety. I can find examples of pardon for the most atrocious private sins in the Bible; but I do not recollect one instance of God's mercy extending to the public crime of rebellion. Possibly the reason is, because, as in an aggregate, it involves and induces every other wickedness, and is precisely that offence which first ruined the fallen angels, and through them brought all misery and mischief into this present world, as well as occasioned the irreparable sorrows of eternity.

A true Christian values private, public, and religious peace at too high a rate, ever to sacrifice it to the caprices and suspicions of selfish parties and worldly politicians. Corrupt as the world now is, he is thankful for the civil and religious liberty he enjoys, esteeming it a wonderful providence to him as a Briton above almost all other men: and therefore he is not captious and querulous that governors are frail mortals, like himself, and so cannot possibly please every one, nor be absolutely perfect in all things.

In cases of real oppression, the Christian hath a better God to go to than his own passions, or the violences of sinful men, or the evil god of this evil world, who kindles those passions and violences by his own. He doth not rave, but pray; not swear and curse, but bless; not strive to cut throats for his own self-will, but to subdue his own heart first to the will of God, and to soften the hearts of others by temperance of conduct, kindness of reason, and purity of life. "And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good? but if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye: and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled: but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts.

The word of God is the Christian's rule of politics; not the false, fanciful, ignorant, and impracticable speculations of men, who know not their own hearts, and who, deriving all from their own stock, could not have true wisdom or grace, and consequently could not truly and really govern themselves. Whatever principles, temper, and conduct, cannot be "sanctified by the word of God and prayer," are absolutely unholy to a Christian, and strictly to be avoided.

CHAP. III.

THE REAL CHRISTIAN WILL PUNCTUALLY OBEY THE LAWS OF HIS COUNTRY, IN EVERY THING NOT OPPOSITE TO THE WILL AND WORD OF GOD.

Iniquity, not righteousness, is the object and occasion of law. Without law, so sinful is man, there could be no society, property, liberty or peace. And though real Christians would, as such, do nothing but right, were there no law at all; yet, as the number of these is few, and as the nature of man is frail, and requires order and direction; they cannot better show that they could live without laws, than by the most exact attention never to break them.

There is only one case in which a Christian can withdraw his obedience, namely, when the laws of men are directly opposite to the will, and word, and laws of God. But he ought to be very sure that they are so, and should rarely trust to his own single judgment; lest, instead of suffering for God by resisting men, he only set up his natural self-will against that of others, and so disgrace rather than glorify the cause of goodness and truth.

The laws of his country ought to be very dear, at this time, to a British Christian, because he is most unreservedly protected by them, in his liberty, property, and religion. He can now sit, and kneel too, "under his own vine," none making him afraid.

A professor in religion acts unworthily, when he strives to evade the spirit and intention of the laws, or to profit by secretly breaking them. It is no act of faith, either to smuggle, or to eat, drink, and wear, such things, as the prudence of the state hath forbidden. Persons who can allow themselves in this licentiousness, ought to examine the uprightness and sincerity of their own consciences, and whether they would not yet further contribute to the ruin and confusion of their country, if the punishment and force, meant for ungodly men, did not restrain even them. The Christianity of a smuggler, or shuffler of just duties and taxes, is as much to be doubted, as the honour and justise of a professed highwayman. It may be added, that the man deserves the highest blame, who, professing religion, can venture to do what both religion and reason uniformly condemn. By his profession, he renders himself both a cheat and a hypocrite; whereas, without it, he would have proved himself only a knave. These are hard and bad names; but they cannot be so bad or offensive to us, as the persons, whom they describe, most certainly are in the sight of Him, who hateth iniquity.

CHAP. IV.

THE CHRISTIAN'S DUTY TOWARDS THE CHURCH OF GOD.

The untamed corruptions and natural blindness of the human heart have introduced a great variety of disorders into Christian profession, and occasioned the whole multitude of sects and parties. All believers agree that there is but one spiritual church, the bride of Christ, and the mother of the faithful; but all believers do not act is if they really consented to this truth. What mischiefs hath not the carnal mind produced in all ages! Superstition, bigotry, persecution, pomp, parade, and intolerance, are all of them the proper fruits of an evil heart, uncircumcised, unsubdued, untaught by the Spirit and power of God. They are the evil and detestable weeds in the spiritual field, which do nothing but stifle, overrun, rob, and impoverish the corn.

There are real Christians, perhaps, in every Christian church or society; and it will scarcely be denied, that there are hypocrites, formalists, carnalists, and ungodly men, in all. Let the Christian's conscience be free, for God is his only master in these things; but to whatever particular profession he may belong, let his conversation be edifying to that, and let his charity be shown to all the rest. He should be willing to think the best things of any good men, considering the prejudices of education, the differences of situation, and temper, and the advantages which God hath given to some above others; and especially considering, that real Christians of all denominations are sincere in their views, and under deep concern, for the salvation of their souls. These considerations beget tenderness in every spiritual mind; and the want of this tenderness in any man is no proof that he is not yet carnal. "In things necessary, there should be unity; in things not necessary, liberty; and in all things, charity."

Whatever difference may be in the outward mode or form of real Christians, respecting their worship of God, their life and spirit of worship are one and the same. As believers under the law had the like grace of faith with those under the gospel, though there was a vast disparity in their outward dispensations; so these last have an inward and substantial unity, yea, and uniformity too, one with another. Let each then, in his several vocation, not so much strive for the honour of a party, the love of party being only the love of self; but to glorify Christ with all the gracious power which may be given him. It would be happy indeed for themselves, and honourable for the Christian religion, if all its professors were likeminded in all outward things; but as this is not to be expected, while evil can mingle with good, or darkness with light, they ought, however, to labour hard, on all sides, to keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Let him that useth ceremonies, be candid to him that useth them not; and let him that will not observe times, and days, and rituals, pray for, rather than revile, those who do. The love of Christ preaches this lesson, which the apostle of Christ, almost in so many words, enforces and confirms.

With respect to those of the same denomination, the Christian is called in a more especial manner to show forth his works of faith and labours of love, for their comfort and edification. He will see, that the true distinction of a believer in Jesus, is not to rise over all, and to set up himself as a great somebody, but to be the servant of all, showing all meekness, patience, gentleness, and truth. The infirmities of others he must not magnify, but pity and pray over, knowing that he himself also is in the flesh. The attainments of others he must not envy, because these are the free gift of God, which if a man can allow himself to envy, it is only because he doth not know this gift aright. Strength of spirit inspires another conduct: weakness of the flesh alone conduces to this. In fine, whether he be a public servant or a private member in the visible church, he will pray that he may demean himself according to the settled order, with all gravity and decency, that he may lay no stumbling-block in the way of the weak, and no offence before the eyes of the strong; but that he may be an example of godliness, humility, faith, resignation, and charity, to all about him.

This, surely, is far better than any nickname; for this is the true life and essence of the best name—a Christian.

CHAP. V.

THE RECIPROCAL DUTIES OF MINISTERS AND PEOPLE.

It would be presumption in me to offer to teach those, by whom I would most gladly be taught. My words, therefore, on this head, shall be few; and, I trust, they will not offend.

The faithful minister is the servant, the shepherd or pastor, the overseer, the teacher, the guide, the physician, the helper, and the comforter, of the people committed to his charge. It is not, consequently, a light business for light heads; but an awful and solemn concern, which requires all the grace, wisdom, prudence, learning, courage, faith, patience, and holiness, that are dispersed among the laity at large, to be collected, as much as possible, in one assemblage for one man.

The profit *of* the flock, not the profit *from* the flock, is the grand object of a true pastor's concern. It is the character of the hireling, "whose own the sheep are not," to care only for the fleece; and when he gets this, the sheep not being his, (which he proves by his want of care for their souls,) he is nothing better than a robber. The world swarms with these spiritual thieves, who sacrifice all the plunder to their idleness, avarice, pride, or pleasures.

What a character doth the Lord give of one whom he calls a foolish shepherd! "He doth not visit those that are cut off, nor seek the young, nor heal the broken, nor feed that which standeth still. Wo (continues he) to the idol (the false or foolish) shepherd, that leaveth the flock: the sword shall be upon his arm, and upon his right eye; his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened." He shall be without strength or understanding. Zech. xi. 16, 17. See also Ezek. xxxiv.

When any congregation of people have the blessing of an able and faithful minister, how ought they to prize so scarce and valuable a jewel! Such a one is worthy of all honour, both for his work's sake and for his own sake; and those Christians are not wise for themselves, who do not all in their power to strengthen his hands, and to assist him in his ministry.

One good way of accomplishing this, is to pray earnestly and constantly in private for the pastor. This would draw down mutual blessings both on speaker and hearers, and much endear them to each other. The reason, probably, of the dissatisfaction and uselessness, which often arise between them, may be owing to the want of mutual prayer, which begets indifference and remissness, as well as discovers too lax a spirit of watchfulness and faith. And, then, on one side, how can the word profit; and, on the other, how can the preacher be approved?

The minister of Christ, who gives up all his time, labour, and expectations, to his holy calling, ought to be comfortably and honourably supported in it. The labourer is worthy of his hire; and the very beasts eat of the corn for which they toil. If the maintenance be voluntary, it ought to be the more liberal for that very reason: if it be settled, it ought to be punctually complied with. It is sad for ministers, whose business is of a higher kind, that the covetousness or dishonesty of their people should make it just and necessary for them to attend, with any anxiety, to lower affairs. Certainly it betrays a want of love to God, when men can suffer his ministers or his poor to starve by their dwellings. How can the pastor give himself up to the word and to prayer, when he is constrained to serve tables? And how can he minister without distraction, when poverty and care haunt and worry him all the day long? As a layman, I may ask these questions, without suspicion of any interested attachment to an order.

It is a melancholy fact, that the worldly pride and laziness of some clergymen have made the laity regardless of their sacred profession, and ready to treat it wrongfully; and that the spiritual ignorance and irreligion of the laity have rendered the situation of the clergy, in some respects, not so honourable or desirable as it should be, for themselves.

However these things may be, the Christian hath one security of hope, which can never fail; "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal—'The Lord knoweth them that are his;'" and, "Let every one, that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity." God is our refuge and strength; we have found him abundantly so in trouble: therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea:

"there is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God."

Outward establishments may vary and fail; but the true temple of God shall endure for ever. Yet while Providence hath ordained these outward establishments, it seems the business and privilege of grace cheerfully to observe and support them.

CHAP. VI.

ON QUARRELS AMONG CHRISTIANS.

It is not grace, which genders strife, but corruption. If, therefore, my brother's corruption be raised against me, shall I oppose my corruption to his, and so enter into wrath; or shall I not rather beg of God, that his grace in me may invite the grace that is in my brother, and so we may settle the whole in peace? If we are real Christians, we must both desire only what is just and right, or we do not live like Christians; and if we both agree in desiring this as the end, how is it that we differ violently about the means? If either have done, or desired, the wrong; the other, who is more under the conduct of grace, should kindly and affectionately represent it; and, if he cannot be heard, should leave the matter to God, without raising the unholy and unhappy tumult of heat and resentment in his own mind. He, that can bear and forbear most, is certainly most the Christian. It is misery and deadness to a real believer to walk and to war after the base fury and discord of the flesh. When he deserves well, and patiently suffers evil, then he is like to his Master, and right in himself.

The apostle directs for believers, not the vengeance of the law, but Christian arbitration. Law is the last refuge, and can only be lawful, when right is not to be had by better means.

If Christians, who have a matter of difference, would graciously agree to meet with each other in prayer, and to pray together kindly for each other before the throne of grace; surely, if they meant the attainment of that right and truth which they prayed for, they might soon find it out, and settle it accordingly. But it is the flesh which comes in, and mars all. One cannot stoop; and the other will not. They are not so wise as Luther's two goats, that met upon a narrow plank over a deep water. They could not go back, and they dared not to fight. At length one of them lay down, while the other went over him; and so peace and safety attended both. Why should not believers try this method. But, alas! while grace remains idle or neuter, the world jeers and triumphs; the devil is busy and excites; good men mourn and lament; the weak are stumbled and turned aside; and a long train of inquietudes and jealousies fill the breasts of those, who humbly hope to dwell with God and with each other throughout eternity. These things ought not so to be.

If my brother be in the wrong, how shall I show myself in the right? By wounding him more than he hath wounded himself? By doing wrong likewise, and rendering evil for evil? No; let me pray, that God would open his eyes, and not shut my heart; that he would give him more grace, and me more patience to meet what is not gracious in him; and, at the utmost, that I may not be a partaker with him of anger, or of those sins which may follow upon it.

Am I in the wrong? What then shall I do? Shall I persist in it, and make myself more in the wrong? This would not be gracious; this would be bringing misery by heaps upon myself. Rather let me go first to God, and then to my brother, acknowledging my fault, or my error, to both. There is no shame in confessing our sins to God, nor any meanness in owning them to men. It is the mark of a noble and generous spirit in common life; and it is the wisdom, as well as the duty and privilege, of a much better life in the Christian.

O thou love of the brethren, whither art thou fled? We profess to believe in "the communion of saints;" but where are the saints, who have this communion? We talk of the unity of God's church with respect to its members; but where are those members, who live in this unity? O shame upon us, that we differ at all, that we differ on trifles, that we love to differ, that we urge and promote differences, and that the healing spirit is not more to be found amongst us! Lord, if thou shouldest differ with us at any time, as we are ready at all times to differ with others; O how should we stand before thee, or what could we answer for ourselves! Give, O give, more of thy grace, that we may be humble in our hearts, just in our desires, mild to others, and deeply submissive to thee!

CHAP. VII.

ON MARRIAGES, AND THE DUTIES OF THAT STATE.

It is the voice of reason and religion, that piety must not be yoked with profaneness, nor the true believer with an infidel. When persons have broken through this rule, they have always done it to their own sad cost; as abundance of examples can testify.

Some have ventured upon this transgression from mere carnal motives, pretending at least to hope, that they might be instruments of bringing the other side unto God. Many instances indeed occur, where both parties have married before they knew the grace of God, and have afterwards been called by it; but the example, perhaps, is not easily to be found, where a believer, acting directly against the rule of God, for temporal ends, hath been blessed with the spiritual advantage of a partner's conversion, but on the contrary, hath been vexed with trouble and mortification to the end of life. It may be expected that God will be faithful to his own word, and that they, who wilfully violate his order, cannot do it with his blessing.

The blessing of God is all in all; and if we have not this, whatever we have beside, it is nothing, or worse than nothing.

When the marriage contract is made graciously, and with grace, there is every reason to hope for success. The less water of earth, and the more wine of heaven, there is at the feast, so much the better.

After marriage, begins a life of care; and consequently the life of faith should be strengthened to bear it. It is a good way for married persons, not only to pray in the family, or privately, but together. Mutual prayers will improve mutual affections, and turn the very commonest blessings of life into spiritual mercies. If Christ dwell indeed in both their hearts, he will not only keep out disgust and variance, but subdue, or remove, the causes of them.

As this state requires much and strong grace to go through it properly towards God; so it demands a larger exercise of charity, forbearance, and kindness, than any other, that no duty fail between the first and dearest of neighbours, the husband and wife. These are more exposed to solicitude, trouble, and a thousand affecting circumstances, than persons in the single state: they are yoked inseparably to meet them, and inseparably must bear them. Now, if grace be not the living and conquering principle, in two persons thus circumstanced, there are so many imperfections in themselves, so many unavoidable mortifications from others, and so many evils on every side, that it will be impossible for them to live, in a due degree, as they ought, above the common disquietudes which overwhelm the world. But grace in the heart will double every temporal mercy, soften every temporal misery, and lead them on, with united hands, towards the kingdom of heaven.

What a comfort is it to true Christians, truly married in grace as well as nature, to reflect, that as they are helpers of each other's faith and joy in this world, so they shall be everlasting friends, in a more exalted way of life, in the kingdom of God. They can remain together in this state for only a very few years at the most; but there, no further separation shall ensue: being as the angels of God, they shall live with him and the whole church of the redeemed, in unspeakable joy for ever. Their present union of heart and grace faintly typifies the union of themselves and of all the faithful with Christ; and when they part here, they do not separate in the best sense, but only pass off, one after the other, to enjoy this union in everlasting perfection.

CHAP. VIII.

ON THE DUTY OF PARENTS.

The general rule of parental duty is, to bring up children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." It is true, we cannot give them grace, but we can lead them to the means of grace: we cannot give them a new life, but we can correct the old one: we cannot make them to know Christ savingly, but we can, and we ought, to nurture them diligently in the ways of Christ, and admonish them in the fear of God. Whatever we can do for them, either temporally or spiritually, we are bound to do; and when we have done all, we must leave them to the Lord. We must not repine, if we cannot mend their outward circumstances, for these are in God's disposal: nor should we faithlessly murmur, if all our prayers and diligence be lost for their spiritual good; for, as this is a gracious gift, we only seem to attribute too much to our own powers and affections, when we unduly lament, that our children have not obtained it by us. When we have prayed to God for them, we must trust God with them, and wait the issue in faith and patience. Nature will keep up our common endeavours, and grace will promote a thousand and a thousand prayers. These, when put together, will make up a good stock and foundation, and consequently no bad inheritance for them.

There is a promise of blessing to more than "the third and fourth generation" of a Christian's offspring; which love for them, and faith in the promiser, will ever be prompting him to sue out, that they may obtain. I had rather be a good man's child, covered by his prayers, than the son of the first emperor in the world, undevoted and unblest.

Some that never had children, and others that would be wiser than Solomon, or rather than God's word itself, have written books to show that chastisements should be utterly excluded from education. Doubtless, it requires prudence and temper to chastise properly, and it ought to be done with a secret looking to God for a blessing, as well as on any other duty; but those who have either taken up false principles of human nature, or have had but very little experience of it, who presume that it will do very well without the fear of punishment, or that it can be reasoned into all the irksome duties and toils of life. Such methods, we know, will not restrain even grown persons, who certainly can reason, and receive reason, better than children. Corruption is to be checked by all means; and if the gentler kind fail of effect, as they will in the far greater part of instances, the more severe must be used, but always without passion, and in moderation. It should be understood to be a parent's sad duty, which therefore can give him no pleasure, but on the contrary, pain and mortification. When it is thus performed, it will not easily be abused: when otherwise, it is not really performed at all. The parent's ill conduct deserves a severer chastisement from God, than any that can be due to the misdemeanor of a child.

CHAP. IX.

ON THE DUTY OF CHILDREN.

These are, to "obey their parents in the Lord, for this is right." Till children have learned obedience, they have properly learned nothing, and will probably be fit for nothing.

As they owe to their parents, under God, their maintenance, protection, introduction to the duties of life, and their very life itself; God hath laid it upon them, as what is necessary in the order of his providence, to honour and respect their parents. Children, who transgress this order, rebel against God. And it hath been matter of great concern to many gracious persons, after they have been brought to a true sense of things, that they have failed particularly in this just and important duty.

Their obedience is to be in the Lord, and for the Lord's sake. This is well pleasing to God, and profitable for themselves. The only exemption is, if parents are so ungracious and unjust, as to insist upon anything which God forbids, or to oppose anything which God commands. Here the most dutiful children must disobey, and can plead God's own absolution.

There is one great circumstance in life, which often strains the bond of filial duty. This is, marriage. Children ought if possible, to engage in this state with the full consent and blessing of their parents. On the other hand, parents should never *constrain*, and not always *restrain*, the affections of their children.

The two trying cases are property and religion.

As to the former; the discretion of parents is usually of great importance. Children are not to follow their passions into ruin; nor is it the duty of their parents to consent to it. On the other hand, mere lucre should not guide the parent's eye or mind, but the nobler considerations of character, worth, and piety. Where these are wanting, all the wealth in the world is nothing but a gilded curse.

As to religion, the unalterable rule for Christians is, to marry in the Lord. If a parent direct otherwise, the command of God must be first regarded; and, though he may have a right to put a negative perhaps upon almost any match, he cannot have a right to command one, which is contrary to the express word of God. He likewise hath not a right to sacrifice his child's natural affections in any marriage, even where no objection can be made upon a religious account; because the peace and comfort of natural life are concerned, and because the child must be the sufferer here, and be exposed in the event to some dangerous temptations. On the other hand, (to put the last difficult case,) where the child hath placed affections in a manner, that religion and all other circumstances will justify, but, because of religion, the parent withholds consent; it will be the best to try all means to gain that consent, to wait as long as possible, and with as much patience as possible, for it, above all to supplicate the Father of mercies to dispose the hearts of the parties concerned aright, and not at last to venture on an act of such apparent disobedience, but for fear of greater evils than what may arise from the unreasonable obstinacy, perverseness, or irreligion of the parent. The case is so nice, and may so vary in its circumstances, that the wisdom, uprightness, grace, and impartiality of the ablest Christian friends should be well consulted upon the occasion.

CHAP. X.

ON THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN MASTERS.

It is far more difficult rightly to command, than dutifully to obey. To be a master, and a Christian at the same time, in the direction of worldly affairs, requires more grace than men usually imagine. The master may soon be acted, and people are commonly very fond of acting this, from the lust of power which rages in corrupted nature: but to command, under a sense of God's authority, the things which are just and equal, and not to be lifted up with the pride and passion of pre-eminence; this is to give a proof, that the heart indeed lives as in God's presence, and that worldly superiority, which generally begets insolence, can be maintained with true meekness and humility. But how can he, whom grace hath not made master of his own corruptions, expect obedience from others with all readiness and sincerity?

As in a higher case, so in this it may be asked of every Christian master, Who maketh thee to differ from another? Surely, God's providence never raised men into power, that they might show their pride only; but to do good, and to carry on, as far as their power may extend, the welfare of society. If any people act otherwise, they must one day be deeply convinced, that all the little distinctions of men have no natural reality in them, and that there is one common Master in heaven, with whom there is no such thing as respect of persons.

Many professing masters are exceedingly deficient in one great duty to their servants. They give them perhaps plenty of bread, and furnish them well in earthly things; but they neglect to hold out the best of all subsistence, the bread of life, to their souls. The omission of family worship cannot be excused on any account. This (as one said) like the hem to a garment, keeps all things together, and prevents other duties and affairs from ravelling out. Servants cannot have grace indeed, but by God's mercy; but they can easily see if their masters do not live graciously, and will readily notice it too; nay, sometimes make from their failures an apology, though a bad apology, for themselves. If masters would live and demean themselves like Christians indeed, and walk in the fear of God, their servants would mend their manners, if not their hearts, and we should have fewer complaints than we have, to the disgrace of religion and the discomfort of our lives.

CHAP. XI.

ON THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN SERVANTS.

A professing servant should get by heart the following rule of the apostle, and in all his business keep it in mind: "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good-will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men."

Our proud hearts do not naturally love obedience. We would all be masters, and set up for ourselves; and if God suffered this, corrupt as we now are, we should all soon be undone.

Is the master a man of the world? The Christian servant's light should so shine before him, that, though he may hate him for his religion, he may respect him for his diligence, dutifulness, uprightness, and truth. Some masters have been won to God by the gracious and upright conduct and conversation of their servants; and how do those servants live who say, that they shall not be so blessed? If the master be harsh, it is not likely that a servant's sauciness should reclaim his mind, or do good to himself, or bring honour to the cause of God. Let all be done, which can be done, without murmurings and disputings; and, if there be no other remedy, it is better to part, than to commit the sins of impertinence, or to live in the sins of anger and of strife.

Is the master a real Christian? The faithful servant will render him double honour, and rejoice to obey him on a double account: both because Providence hath made such a one his master, and grace his brother and friend. If he take any unhandsome liberties on that account, forgetting his own place and duty, he breaks the order and disposal of God, and lays for his own mind a foundation of much uneasiness. It is a sad mistake of their duty, when truly serious servants imagine, that by the grace of God they are to take up a new sort of natural boldness, and that, instead of putting on the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, they have from grace a privilege to be insolent, froward, rough, and disobedient. What a wretched thing is it to be said in the world, as it too often is, "I had rather have any kind of servants, than professors of religion, because they are always lazy or unruly." Or, "I had rather have any one for my master or mistress, than those who talk about godliness; they are always so gloomy, humoursome, and perverse: in their places of worship they seem saints; but at home, they are wolves, and bears, and very devils."—Oh this is a sad light indeed before men; or rather an unshining taper, that reeks only in a smoke and a stink! The laws of this country, above all others, are so much in favour of servants and the poor, that the Christian servant is obliged, in gratitude both to God and man, to conduct himself with the more zeal in his service to both. Servants are here considered by the laws as equally free in person with their masters, and are not to be defrauded or abused. How then should the Christian bless God that he hath placed him in such a country as this, where the gospel is freely preached and freely heard, and where he can enjoy his conscience with comfort and liberty! If he hath more work than his master (though that is not always the case,) he hath less care, fewer distractions, and is more out of the way of many deceitful and dangerous temptations.

CHAP. XII.

ON THE CHRISTIAN'S DUTY IN HIS CALLING.

In the conduct of all things, whether spiritual or temporal a Christian is called, not unto uncleanness, but unto holiness, and to be blameless and harmless, the son of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation. The methods and practices of evil men are to be no rule with him; but his outward life and conduct should be a luminous example unto them. He should remember, that though they cannot see or know his inward life or principle of action, yet they are very able judges of the action itself, and can easily discern whether his temper, honesty, sincerity, goodness, and charity, be such as become his profession.

The Christian's station, therefore, in this life, should be maintained for his Master's glory; for that is his chief business, not only in the church, but in the shop, the field, the house, the closet, and in all he hath and doth in the world; for which end grace must come into and superintend the whole. Be he rich or poor, high or low, if he live without grace in common life, he lives poorly to God, if at all, in spirituals, and (to say the best) at a very cold and uncomfortable rate within himself. For a Christian to think of getting satisfaction or happiness out of the creatures without God's blessing, argues a great want of faith and experience; and he cannot have this blessing, unless he carry grace with him into his circumstances, and subject his own will, his vocation, his industry, and all his carnal affairs and affections, to God's glory.

A Christian is as much a man of grace at the market or in the shop, as in the church or the closet. He deals fairly and conscientiously, neither defrauding in the nature, measure, or weight, of commodities, nor taking base advantages of the ignorance of others. The money gotten by fraud, hath a curse, that will either bring torment with it, or melt itself away. There is a maxim, "Buy cheap, and sell dear." And to carry this maxim on, men will wrongly undervalue and discommend, saying, It is naught, naught, in order to defraud the seller of the just worth; and they will overprize, and put into a false light by a thousand false words, what they have to part with, merely to take in the buyer. Thus shop lies, as well as custom-house oaths, are become proverbial, and therefore trivial, even with some, who should treat all such abominable practices with detestation. But how can he be thought an upright man with God, or in the church, who can pick another's pocket by words which he knows to be deceitful and unjust, in the poor concerns of this world?

The putting double prices upon goods is also dishonourble, and unworthy of a Christian. If a man give the higher price for that, which the seller can and will afford at the lower: the seller is a thief and a cheat, for all the money in the difference. The law of man indeed will not lay hold of him; but he should ask himself, What is that gain worth, which hath the curse of God upon it? He may be sure it hath not his blessing, because it is unclean and unjust. For aught he knows, it may bring a curse upon all his fair profits, and lay the ground of much future unhappiness if not of ruin. Would he do such things, if he were dying? How then can he dare to attempt them, when he knows not but he may die in the doing them? It is a laudable custom, which some worthy persons have set up, to put one fair sum upon their goods, and to take no other.

With respect to commodities of fluctuating value, the market must be the standard of demand; it being understood, that the market is neither enhanced nor depressed by any known artifice or design.

In all cases of traffic and business, every man oweth justice to himself and justice to others: and it is his duty to wrong neither. A Christian must be an honest man, and will not wilfully, knowingly, and perseveringly do wrong: and therefore, if any person will thus do, and continue to do wrong, he cannot deserve the name of an honest man, and much less that of a Christian. The counsels of the wicked only are deceit.

Whenever doubts arise upon any subject of this kind, let the Christian do as the Psalmist did, "set the Lord always before him." If a man walk closely in the fear of God, and mark his Saviour for his example, he will very rarely through ignorance be guilty of injustice to man.

I believe, further, that a Christian is conscientiously, though not legally bound, to supply all deficiences in former failures, whenever Providence may afford him the power. The Christian seems a very strange one to me, who needs the chain of statutes to bind him to duty; and, therefore, though it may be his case, and the case of many an honest man, to become a bankrupt, but certainly a credit to no man, yet, when his certificate is granted, and he is thereby become clear of the compulsive force of the laws; how can he delay with a clear conscience, to make good to the utmost any just losses, which others have sustained by him, as soon afterwards as God shall give him the ability? I have heard of some, and these too were mere men of the world, who, recovering from ruin, had the magnanimity and good sense (for indeed it is both when understood) to discharge all remainders to creditors, and, with those remainders, the interest accumulated upon them. And shall one, who calls himself a believer in Jesus, and a child of God, neglect, in a similar case, to do both himself and his Christian profession so beautiful an honour, only by doing strict justice to those unfortunate sufferers, who by their confidence in his integrity, have every sort of claim to expect it of him?—I should doubt the faith of the professor, who could hesitate a moment to do or to own so plain a duty.

There are also some professions, which no real Christian can dare to follow. It is not necessary to name them, because they fall under the stroke of one general rule, which every believer in Christ must approve. The trade, the calling, or the gain, which cannot be prayed over, be lived upon in faith, and carried on with thanksgiving, is, like Achan's golden wedge and Babylonish garment, a curse to the owner, and an abomination to the Lord. On the other hand, a small thing, which the righteous hath, is better than great riches of many wicked; and he is much safer, and happier too, who with grace in his heart hath no money in his purse, than he, who, with thousands of gold and silver, hath the wrath of God along with them.

It is the privilege and duty of a Christian to commit all his present concerns to the favour and blessing of God. He that prays, as well as works, loses no time by his prayers. He that works, but doth not pray, may often expect to labour in vain, as well as in sin, and to bring his affairs to no good end. "Duty hath much present comfort, and no curse in it;" which consideration alone is worth all the care of a Christian.

CHAP. XIII.

DUTIES ARE NOT TO BE MEASURED BY SUCCESS, BUT BY THE WORD OF GOD ONLY.

We have much self-love and self-righteousness in our fallen nature, which cause us to expect success from our spiritual and temporal duties, and to be mortified when we do not find it. Whereas if our minds were perfectly given to the will of God, or in this frail state could be so given; that will would be perfectly our own.

Let not the Christian grieve without hope, if, after all his attention to duty in his common concerns, they may not seem to prosper in his hands; for, however they seem, they do prosper for his real good, and especially if his heart and soul are drawn by any disappointments the closer to God. "God's promises are not to be measured by his providences, but his providences by his promises." The Christian, therefore, must keep in the straight path of duty, and leave it to God to appear faithful in the end, who can at no time be otherwise.

In religious duties, such as prayer and exhortation to his family, the Christian may likewise not always be attended with success; but is he, or can he dare, to stop their performance upon that account? He should remember what God hath appointed him, and he should pray to do it; but, as to the event, this doth not belong to him. It is God's concern entirely. He may indeed rejoice, when he seeth the hand of God; but he must trust and be doing, when he seeth it not. All will be well with him; and that surely is sufficient for him.

It hath been a sore trial to many faithful ministers, when they have worked hard in God's vineyard, and have not sped. But it is scarcely necessary to observe to these, that they shall be blessed *in* their labour, if not *from* it. They feel the comfort of God's promise and presence, or they would go on more heavily still. It is an old complaint, "I have stretched forth my hands all the day to a rebellious and gainsaying people." So Noah was a preacher of righteousness for 120 years, while the ark was in building; but it doth not appear, that he wrought upon one soul. He was not, however, the less blessed of God. Our Lord's apostles converted more than himself abundantly; and probably for this reason, that his faithful ministers should not afterwards be too much discouraged, when they see not an immediate fruit of their labours.

CHAP. XIV.

THE DEPORTMENT OF A CHRISTIAN TO OTHERS.

In the first place, as much as lieth in him, the Christian will, if possible, live in peace with all men. That blessed Dove, the Holy Spirit, harboureth not with contention and strife, but loveth peace, concord, and unity, yea, and unanimity too. It is by him that men are of one mind in their own house, and in the house of God.

As the Christian is no brawler; so, in his habit of life, he cannot be an arrogant, uplifted, conceited, and presuming person; because such a one, in this arrogant world, cannot possibly be free from brawling.

Not being a coxscomb of the world, the Christian hath nothing to plume himself upon for the admiration of others. He knows that the applause of men will not follow the true servant of Christ, and that, if it did, it is too dangerous a thing for him to meddle with, whose inward selfishness costs him a constant hard labour to subdue it.

He values men, and desires to value them more, as God values them. The family of the faithful are his relations for eternity; and he will spiritually esteem these above all other men. He is to live with them in glory. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples (saith Christ) if ye have love one towards another."

His natural love to his natural friends is not extinguished by the love of God, but elevated, purified, and increased. He sees more of the real worth of their souls, and is more anxious accordingly for their best interest and immortal welfare. Those among them, who have obtained like mercy with himself, are more especially endeared. Those who want this mercy, have his fervent prayers and compassion, because they want it. When he cannot love them for Christ's sake, he will not cease to love them for their own.

Railing and evil-speaking, he will cordially detest. The good he knows of others, he will rejoice to mention; and the harm (unless for the prevention of further harm) he will study to conceal. It is a good rule, never to speak of men's faults to others, till we have first and faithfully spoken of them to the offenders themselves. This would prevent a world of mischief and slander, and perhaps save many from persisting in sin.

He will esteem grace, and even common virtues and worth of character, above all manner of riches. A rich wicked man is, in a Christian's eye, somewhat like a body bloated with unwholesome fat and disease; not very pleasant to look upon, but much to be pitied and deplored. Oh what an evil is fulness of bread, without emptiness of self, and fulness of grace! The Christian will behave to such with the decency that becomes himself, and with the respect due to their station: at the same time, he cannot be a partaker of their sins; nor ought he to miss the opportunity, if Providence give it him, to set before them better riches than they now enjoy, even God's "durable riches and righteousness." Though few of this sort do "put their necks to the work of the Lord," (Neh. iii. 5.) or shall be saved, and it is only possible with God to save any of them; yet the Christian will be more tender and compassionate to them upon this very account. If they are to have their whole "portion in this life," should not the anger, that may be felt from their insolence and pride, be turned into pity and prayer; since their riches will soon be corrupted, and not an atom of their pomp can follow them?

With regard to the poor, the Christian cannot, as a Christian, be wanting in commiseration or relief, so far as it lies in his power. The affliction of their circumstances will reach his heart most, when his hand can do least to abate it. No real Christian can despise the poor. He that doeth this, is under a worse poverty than theirs. "God hath chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith, and heirs of his kingdom:" how then can those among the poor, who are thus blessed, receive contempt from any of God's children? Or how can the poor at large be treated with insolence and cruelty, when the Lord hath declared, that "he will avenge their cause?" If a poor man be wicked, he is doubly entitled to pity; because he hath nothing in this world, and worse than nothing to expect in the world to come. If a poor man be gracious, he is doubly an object of love, because he is now under many trials in the flesh, which the wealthy do not feel, and yet is dear to God, as his own blessed child, and future inheritor of his glory.

To men of every rank and station, the Christian will endeavour to render their due; "Custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour." Let his own situation in this world be what it may, he is the only gentleman in heart, whatever others may seem to be in outward grimace and manners. "He is gentle, showing all kindness to all men." This is the golden polish; and, without this, the rest is nothing but daubing or tinsel.

It will appear from hence, that the Christian school teacheth the most punctual good manners of any in the world. It inculcates the laws of the purest honour and integrity, and enforces every moral obligation, not by a harsh and unpleasant constraint, but by the far more prevailing and happy impressions of duty and love. It not only insists upon a decent outside, but leads to the correction of the heart, and to the strictest adjustment of all things into a right order within. No lax morals, no licentious conduct, no ill words, no indecent looks, no, nor yet one evil thought, are tolerated for a moment to the disciple of Jesus Christ. He would be, if he could, and he grieves because he cannot be, in this life, all holiness and perfection. Thus, though no part or cause of his final salvation depends upon what is done by him, or what is done in him; yet he desires to "abound in all the fruits of faith, which are by Christ Jesus, to the praise and glory of God." And if these things be so, how can any presume to say, "That the doctrines of grace are pregnant with immorality?"

CHAP. XV.

THE CHRISTIAN'S CONDUCT TO THE TEMPTED.

The members of the same body have a natural care and sympathy for each other; and so have the members of the church of Christ, which is his spiritual body. They cannot know of the sorrow and trials of a brother's soul, without some concern of spirit, or feeling of compassion.

Godly conference and discourse are often rendered the means of comfort and relief. The Lord indeed usually works in this way, that his people may see it to be their greater privilege and duty thus to help each other's faith, and so he joint partakers of their joy. This mutual regard and assistance tend also to unite the flock of Christ, and to make them more and more dear to each other. For want of this, many congregations are like scattered sheep, unaffectionate, disregarding, and careless of their brethren's true happiness and prosperity.

Whatever be the trial or the disorder, the word and promises of God are the appointed help and remedy, which must chiefly be used and applied. If God's word cannot relieve the troubled mind, vain indeed must be the word of man. But experience shows that this word, through the aid of divine grace, hath been blessed to the souls of his distressed people, when all other helps have failed.

And as the blessing must descend from above, so all discourses, if not begun, should at least be ended in prayer. Very often, in the prayer, the trouble shall be lightened, which the previous discourse did not seem in the least to remove.

There is not a possible case of distress into which a believer may fall, but there is something in the holy Scripture which can meet it. It is the wisdom, then, of a gracious person, in all conferences with the afflicted, to have a store of suitable passages with him, or in his mind, that out of it he may be able to draw what may tend, under God's blessing, to remove or to lessen the trial.

Where the body as well as the soul is affected, proper remedies must be administered to both, and especially to the latter, that it may be encouraged to support the frailer and the weaker part. Generally in cases of sickness, the mind above all things must be attended to; for if that be well, it will not only enable the person to bear the other better, but it will have this noble cordial within, that "all shall be well at the last." It is an abominable wickedness in some physicians, that they order all religious discourse out of the chambers of the sick and the dying, lest it should lower the spirits (as they think) and perplex the mind. Are the dying, then, to be deceived into death, if they are ignorant of God and salvation? Or, if they know God, are they to have no comfort of his word, when they have most occasion for it? It is equally wicked to flatter with life, when death itself is at the very door. I remember a man, who seemed to have some serious impressions from religious discourse, under a near prospect of dying; but, when a physician had assured him of his recovery, he threw away all concerns for heaven, received with disgust any mention of the state of his soul, and was found with cards and idle company in the very evening of that night in which he fell speechless and died. Did not such a physician contribute what he could to the murder of a soul? And is not this the worst, because the most lasting cruelty?

Certainly, religious discourses at such seasons should not be thrust in at random, but by discreet persons, or (if they can be had) by pious ministers, who will neither be too long at one time in their attentions, nor offer what may be unsuitable or impertinent.

When the soul is relieved and consoled, every one knows how much it will sometimes contribute to the health of the body. But, if it be the will of God to remove the party from this world, surely, in the acts of faith and of the comforts which faith brings, it is the more meet to ascend up to another. Why should a Christian go off thoughtless and sad to celebrate the marriage-supper in heaven?

All trials and troubles are meant to take out the dross from the Christian. By grace, they have this effect, more or less throughout his life; and all his distresses likewise are exactly proportioned to his need of them. The last refinement is in death, in which he is perfectly cleansed and purified from every corruption, and removed to enjoy that pure state, which is equally void of sorrow and sin to all eternity.

CHAP. XVI.

THE CHRISTIAN'S CONDUCT TO OLD AGE.

It is the Lord's express command, "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God." The experience and gravity, the judgment and wisdom, frequently found in old age, demand veneration; and even where these are in some measure wanting, the infirmities and inquietudes of that state call upon people of younger years to abound in compassion towards them.

I know not how it may be with others; but for myself I ever loved the company and conversation of the ancient, preferably to the gay humours of the young, and have been exceedingly delighted at their explanations and informations of circumstances and events, which no books could possibly have given me.

To this day, I cannot meet an aged person, especially if he be infirm, without feeling some kind emotions of heart towards him; and these are always heightened by an anxious pity, if it appear that he hath not yet felt any true concern for himself. All this may be mere nature, it is true; but, however, I do not wish to suppress it.

The gray hairs of the aged, those "church-yard flowers," (as one calls them,) call aloud upon them. and through them to all men, "Prepare to meet your God." They are remembrancers, to the eye and to the heart, of death at hand, and of eternity to come.

But the ancient Christian is especially to be considered as a venerable pile, respecting his soul, built up in a long course of grace for the habitation of God himself. The fathers in Christ having "known Him who is from the beginning," are to be revered, consulted, and (if need be) defended by the younger brethren upon all occasions.

The apostle, encouraging this tribute of respect to the aged, exhorts, "Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father," even when his conduct should be such as is not to be approved. If these have tried grace and long experience, they have also increasing natural weakness and numberless infirmities, by which, it will be no wonder, if in some instances they should be overborne. Could a young man, with a very large portion of grace, change places with them for a day, it is to be doubted whether he would manage the case any better; though it is not to be doubted, that this experience would teach him extraordinary commiseration in future.

CHAP. XVII.

THE CHRISTIAN'S CONDUCT TO YOUTH.

A heathen could say, "that the greatest respect is due unto children." He meant, that nothing should pass before their sight, which might either lead them to vices, or encourage vices in them.

There is no need of gloom in any of the things of God. True seriousness wants it not, and is very foreign to it in its nature. It is particularly unnecessary to indulge this sullen and morose humour of the natural heart (for it is seldom little better) before youth or children. There is an easy cheerfulness and benevolence, remote from all silly levity, and highly consistent with grace and the best good sense, which ought to reside in a Christian's heart, and which he might exhibit particularly upon occasion to younger persons. These are to be drawn by the chords of a man, that is, with natural affections; and though it is not in man's power to render them truly religious, yet surely religion ought not to appear before them, or any body else, as a poor, miserable, dreadful thing, like a ghost, to frighten them away from her. They should see, as well as hear, by the example of real Christians, "that the ways of religion (or true wisdom, which is the same thing) are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." Sourness may indeed be found very plentifully in nature; but there is not one single particle of it in all the being or exercise of grace. On the contrary, its tendency is to correct the natural moroseness of the human heart.

The psalmist gives this mild and gentle invitation: "Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord." But wherefore? That they might see good, and partake of the blessings which he immediately sets before them.

Our Lord's benevolence to children is above all comment. He gave an example of good-will and tenderness, in this respect, which not the greatest and wisest of his disciples can think himself too wise or too great to follow.

The sincerest faithfulness of their souls is consistent with the greatest good-nature of their persons; nay, we cannot be truly good-natured to them, unless we are faithful. Instruction, even in the best things, may be set before them in an inviting form, without the least deviation from the soundness of truth; and, by a little gracious skill, they may, perhaps, be led to perceive, how deep an interest and concern they have in them. If God is pleased to second the instruction, by giving them a true sight of themselves, it is a known case, that they will love and honour those, who gave the instruction, as long as they live. And if God doth not bless it to the desired end, yet the piety and well-meant kindness of the instructor will not fail of their approbation and respect; for none can choose but love those, who show any real or disinterested regard for themselves. Besides, who can tell, that the seed now sown in early age, though it seem buried and forgotten for many years, may not, in the secret workings of God, be brought forward into life at some future time? There are many instances of persons, who have been blessed by instructions received in younger days, and who appeared to have forgotten God, their instructors, themselves, and everything else that was good, for a very long portion of their life, and yet afterwards have been blessed and made happy, through grace, in the very recollection of those things, which, "like bread upon the waters," seemed to have been lost, but which were found, and found with great advantage, after many days.

Sin may be checked, nay punished, and yet the sinner be loved. The sinner shall love in return, when he perceives that love occasioned the correction, or rather, that there would have been no correction but from love. It is the same in a higher case: "Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth:" And he will not do this, but for those who are truly his sons.

It is very much their own fault, if there be not great weight in the conduct of parents and friends with young persons and children. These, it should be remembered, hear their words, but they watch their example. If the doctrine and life be the same thing, they will regard the former for the sake of the latter, with reverence; if the preceptor divide them, it is usual for them to despise both, and to treat him with censure, or derision, into the bargain.

CHAP. XVIII.

ON THE DISPOSAL OF PROPERTY.

Some people delay the testamentary disposal of their effects, till the time of sickness or the prospect of death; when the mind, if capable of reflection, which is not always the case, should surely be engaged altogether in eternal affairs; and therefore, for this and other reasons, they are either able to make none at all, or none with suitable judgment and deliberation. The folly and cruelty of this conduct, as it respects either a man's friends or himself, cannot escape the censure of heaven and earth. "Set thine house in order," is a divine command, in the preparation for eternity; and the laws of all countries solemnly respect this last instance of attention to social duties.

There are those who make arbitrary, or capricious, bestowments, slighting the rules of God's word, the proportional claims of nature, and those reasonable human prescriptions which are founded upon them, and which none but very strong causes, such as the wickedness, idiotcy, or certain misapplication of the parties expectant, can properly set aside. Such seem to forget, that being only stewards, and not absolute proprietors, they are as accountable for the disposal of their temporal goods, as for the acquisition of them.

Others are exceedingly liberal in bequests to public or private charities, who would spare little or nothing during their own life, or, in other words, from themselves. These pompous bestowments are but too often "the painted sepulchres of alms," raised up by covetousness for a worthless glory. And, if there be living and lawful heirs, or unexceptionable kindred, the whole is done at their expense, not the testator's, who has presumed to misapply what he could no longer grasp, and what, therefore, could be no longer his own, and to rob his friends for the sound of a name, which, in such a case, had been less disgraced, if entirely forgotten.

If a Christian should "set the Lord always before him," he is especially called to recollect his presence in a business, where he may be said to be acting after his death, and to be affecting very materially the actions and interests of others. When his will is in force, he himself is at the bar of God, accounting for its principle and effects. He should therefore renounce all humours, and, in the most solemn frame of a religious mind, ask himself, "Suppose I were standing before the Divine Majesty, would I devise what he committed to my charge, exactly as I have now devised it?" The "answer of a good conscience," and of a "sound mind," will generally exclude all foolish or perverse partialities, and determine what is honourable for the Christian, and right for those he leaves behind him.

Where there are no proper relations, or just claimants, people, at least pious people, may equitably dispose of their worldly matters with no other restraints but those of reason and religion. It would not be unseemly for persons in such circumstances to bequeath their property, either to pious friends, who may receive or do good with it, or to pious institutions, where it will be done; guarding, however, against idle ostentation, or the vanity of earthly fame. It would be poor, in a good man's view, to have this for his motive or reward. The distinguished Christian, whose honourable name is remembered near the front of these papers, and shall be remembered for ever in a way very superior to the words or memory of man, was a signal example of the widest benevolence, united, wherever the case would admit of it, with the closest and most humble concealment. Large sums of money were distributed, through various channels, to thousands of distressed persons, who never knew, and perhaps never heard of, the principal instrument of their relief. He seemed to have a just fear, if not abhorrence, of that dangerous applause, which all sorts of people are ready enough to bestow on persons of this happy character, whether or not they are solicitous to follow their example. It was God who gave him the affluent ability; and he conferred a greater gift, when he gave him the heart to employ that ability so entirely to the divine glory, and so diffusively to the good of men. It is possible indeed but for very few to extend themselves according to his measure; but this is encouraging to every one, who hath first a willing mind, that the performance "is accepted according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not;" and therefore it may not be improper, according to this rule, and their own measure, to remind professors of the true religion, that their Lord himself hath said, "Go, and do likewise."

CHAP. XIX.

ON THE DEATH OF RELATIVES AND FRIENDS.

It was the saying of a man, who had lost all his children and all his subsistence, and who found not one true friend to offer him the least real comfort, "Naked came I into the world, and naked shall I go out: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

This is the resignation of a believer. He refers everything to the will of God; and, having nothing of his own but sin, and nothing to lose by death but sin; all he hath, being by bounty and favour, should be freely offered up to the disposal of the giver. This consideration indeed, if by itself and alone, would not satisfy him; but there is another which ought, and, being set home upon his heart by grace, most certainly will: "All providences, whether pleasant or trying, shall work together for good to them that love and fear God." When God loves, and loves for the best end; and when God contrives, and contrives only the best means; why is the mind of any Christian overcharged with disquietude and lamentation, with murmuring or sorrow? Doth he not as much as say by it, "Father, not thy will, but my own, be done!"

"I have lost a friend," says some anxious mind. But who took that friend? Was it not the God who gave him? And hath he taken more than his own? And, if a pious friend, hath he not removed him to the best advantage? And is it not thy great privilege, after the enjoyment of such a one in this deplorable world, to live and be with him again, not here, but in a better? Besides, Christian, thou hast neither lost thy God, nor thy friend; no, nor yet will they ever lose thee. Thy, friend, at the utmost, is but surrendered, not sunk; lent, not lost, and shall be found again with advantage. Pray then against the over-strong impressions of carnal sense; for all this is the striving of animal life, of mere flesh and blood, against God; and desire thou to find thy will in the Divine will alone. Be silent when it strikes, contented when it denies, thankful when it gives, resigned when it takes away. It is not the gold in the furnace which bubbles and froths upwards, but the dross and the scum.

"I have lost a child," says another: but ask thou—who hath found him? Is it not that gracious Redeemer, who called little children unto himself when upon earth, and who gave them the highest of benedictions? Hath not this child escaped a thousand evils, and miseries, and sins, which it must have undergone or committed, had it lived longer among the miserable sinners of this world? And doth it not enjoy unutterable happiness with thine own best friend, with whom also thou thyself hopest to live for ever? And is it worthy of thy love to thy child, thus excessively to bemoan its deliverance from grief, and its possession of peace? Or, rather, is it not the selfish working of thine own too much impassioned heart, which lamenteth its own loss in the flesh, or seeketh its own pleasure more than thy child's happiness, or its own will more than God's? I believe, if thou examinest closely, thou wilt find something of this within thee; but, however, be it what it may, it ought not to be there. It is no fruit of faith; and it will render no profit or comfort to thy soul.

"I have lost a wife or a husband, the very desire of mine eyes, the outward comfort of my life, and my greatest outward support." I would not say, Do not feel any grief, but do not grieve beyond measure. When Lazarus died, even Jesus wept. Nature may suffer for its own losses; it may suffer for the losses of others; and in many cases it is decent to feel, and charitable to sympathize; but nature, if alone, is impatient and blind, especially in spiritual things, and makes all its reckonings from the outward senses. To say to nature, that grace gains where she loses, will never comfort her; and to say to persons, who are at any time greatly under the affections of nature, or more under her impressions than under those of grace, that their souls may profit where their bodies have lost, will be dull news, which then at least can scarcely find a hearing. The appeal, then, must be to grace itself; and nature, if not quite shut out, must at least stand nearer the door. As grace becomes strengthened and quickened, nature will be subdued and quieted, from her tumult and sorrow. And, therefore, under these trials it is, that it may chiefly be seen in believers, how strong or weak their faith is in the Lord. I knew a pious and excellent woman, now with God, who, with as much natural tenderness of heart as ever mortal creature had, and with as much affection for her husband as perhaps it is possible for human nature to feel for one every way worthy of her, received the account of his sickness and death without a murmur, or a groan, and with only some silent tears, which showed the greatness of her natural loss, the sense of her partner's gain, and the strong and lively hope which filled her soul, of living with him again in a blissful eternity. I saw this amiable and beautiful example of the power of grace, and was convinced by it, how much above all sickness and feebleness of nature it can rise, and triumph, and glorify God. Christian, couldest thou have seen this gracious instance as I saw it, it would have taught thee upon fact, how to mourn and bewail the same kind of loss, and how to live upon God; not without a feeling, for that is brutal insensibility, but without being stunned or stupified in the use of grace by the feelings of nature.

But, excellent as this example is, thou and I have a more sure word of testimony to trust in, that we may get the better of our natural losses and sorrows. God, who gathereth all the fathers, will gather us ere long to the fathers in his glory. If our relatives, our dearest relatives, be dead as to this world, they now thank God that they are so; and we may be reminded of the promise of our gracious Saviour, which assures us, that, respecting our souls, and the souls of all the faithful, they never shall, they never can, so much as "see, or taste of death."

Why then should we sorrow as those who have no hope? We ought to be ashamed of our selfish grief, and to beseech of God that he would at least turn it into tranquil resignation, if not into praises and joy. God hath wonderfully supported his people in all their extremities; and, if thou art one of them, why not thee? The youngest child may claim his father's bounty and blessing, though he may not enjoy so large a portion as the first-born. Trust then in the Lord; and entreat him to still in thy heart all the passionate and perplexing tempests of disordered nature.

The intended effect of these solemn dispensations to thyself is, to wean thee from time, and to set thy face towards heaven. There thou hast many friends indeed, and one great friend above all, who can never be lost; nor can the others, when met, be separated from thee again. They are thy friends, in that holy and unchanging region, not for such a shadow of a moment as thy time is here, but for a blissful and boundless eternity. With what transport shalt thou, one day, ascend to them: with what ecstacy will they all unite to receive thee! The very foresight of this joy throws into contempt all the poor affairs of this world. But O what shall the possession do! Could the possibility of descending again to earth, as earth now is, enter the views of the saints in glory; it would throw a damp into heaven itself, and beggar their unspeakable joys. And yet this is almost, if not quite, the wish and desire of every one, who murmurs at the departure of Christian friends; or who would, if they could, bring their souls back again into clay.

It was a noble saying of one, over a dear departed friend: "There he lies (says he), and with him all my worldly comfort; yet, if the moving a straw would bring him to life again, without the will of my God, I would not be the mover of that straw for a thousand worlds."

My dear fellow-christian, mayest thou be like-minded; and, instead of too much bewailing the departure of friends to heaven, let it be thy life of faith and preparation to follow them thither, that thou mayest enjoy, together with them, their and thy common great portion, the everlasting inheritance of the saints in light!

CHAP. XX.

THE RECOLLECTION OF THIS THIRD PART IN PRAYER TO GOD.

O my heavenly Father, when I calmly look back upon my conduct to others in this world, and consider how sadly I have failed in all my known duties to men, against thy holy word, and against the peace of my soul; I am humbled to the dust before thee. I have nothing to say for myself, but with thy contrite prophet, "Unclean! Unclean!"

I have not loved my country as I ought, because I have not prayed for its best welfare as I ought. Intent enough I have been upon its vain-glory, its outward pomp, its carnal dignity, and its carnal prosperity; but O how little have I been earnest with thee for the greatest of all blessings, that religion and piety might flourish in the land, without which no true happiness or welfare can be found.

I humbly implore thy blessing upon my sovereign, his family, and his government; beseeching thee to grant, with all outward good, the inward mercies of thy grace, and, in thy due time, the life for evermore. Pardon me also for any failures of my duty on this account.

In obeying those whom thy providence hath set over me, O teach me to see how I may best obey thee, and glorify thy goodness for a just government, good laws, and all the liberties I enjoy. If those in authority seem to fall into errors, (for what man is he that sinneth not!) keep my tongue from reviling, and direct my heart into praying for them, that thy wisdom may rectify what human ability could not apprehend or foresee. Deliver me from sedition and selfishness, from all the evils of political passion and resentment; and give peace, I beseech thee, in my time, O Lord!

Enable me to conduct myself towards thy church, thy ministers, and all who profess to know thee, so as to give no just cause of offence in anything to any man. I pray thee to heal all divisions among thy children, which may bring sad and deep reproach on thy gospel, or lay dismal snares and stumbling-blocks in the ways of men. O that they might love and pity each other, considering what infinitely tender pity and love thou hast manifested for them.

Help, O help me to fill up all my relations in life to thy honour and glory, and forgive me in the numberless instances wherein I have failed. Let the blood of Jesus cleanse me from all my sins to others; and do thou forgive as thou hast enabled me to forgive all their transgressions against myself. Grant me larger measures of grace in the days to come, that I may praise thee more and more throughout my whole life and conversation, and thus live and die to the edification of others, and, above all, to thy glory.

Keep me from all unreasonable and faithless grief, when thou art pleased, with equal wisdom and goodness, to remove the friends of my heart, or the outward comforts of my life. Enable me to give them up without reserve to thee, knowing that no good thing shall be lost either for them or myself, but that all things shall work together for our mutual, our real, our everlasting good.

Having these hopes, help me to be more and more purified from all uncleanness both of flesh and of spirit, and to endeavour even to perfect holiness in thy faith and fear. Lord, I am a blind and feeble worm, and of mine own self can think or do nothing that is good: O do thou, therefore, work in me to will and to do of thy good pleasure, that I may neither be barren nor unfruitful in thy word or work among the children of men. Help me to bear wrongs patiently, to speak every truth meekly, to carry as much as possible my whole conduct unblamably, with respect to others, that thy holy name and truth may be exalted, and they themselves be encouraged to seek the ways of thy salvation.

O Lord, I give up myself, all I have, and all I am, into thy blessed protection; beseeching thee to do for me and for mine, in all respects and at all times, exceeding abundantly above all that I can ask or think, for the sake of Christ Jesus, my Lord and my God; to whom with Thee, O Father, and Thee, O blessed Spirit, three persons in one and the same Jehovah, be all honour, grace, and glory ascribed, both now and for evermore. Amen.

LETTERS

DURING

A TOUR THROUGH SOME PARTS OF FRANCE, SAVOY, SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, AND THE NETHERLANDS,

IN

THE SUMMER OF 1817.

BY THOMAS RAFFLES, D.D. L.L.D.

OF LIVERPOOL ENG.

There will be, we doubt not, but one opinion among our readers as to the excellence of the following Tour. In giving it a place in the Christian Library, we have deviated from our general rule in regard to works of this class; viz, that of selecting from the most recent. Its peculiar value justifies the deviation. The incidents and descriptions contained in it are, with a very few exceptions, not of temporary, but of permanent interest. The distinguished talents of Dr. Raffles, his highly cultivated taste, his remarkably fine susceptibility to the beauties of nature and art, and his apparantly genuine and unaffected piety, peculiarly qualify him for the production of a work of this kind worthy of a place in every library.—Ed. Ch. Lib.

ADVERTISEMENT.

If I could have met the wishes of my friends in any other way than by the publication of these Letters, they had never seen the light. But after many attempts and long delay, I found it impracticable, and, therefore, with much hesitation and reluctance, I committed them to the press. My intention at first was merely to *print*, not to *publish* them, hoping thus to escape the charge of obstinacy from my friends, and that of presumption from the public; but I soon perceived that the plan of private circulation would only involve me in innumerable difficulties, and I at length found myself compelled to publish. Thus I am unintentionally and unexpectedly placed in a new character, that of a *tourist*, before the tribunal of the public, a character in which I was never ambitious to appear, and for the support of which I am well aware how slender are my qualifications. That my little unassuming volume will pass beyond the circle of my immediate friends I have not the vanity to believe: yet, even in its circulation amongst them, it may encounter the glance and excite the criticism of some individuals who know nothing of its author, or the motives in which it originated. I owe it to myself, therefore, to refer such to the above explanation, that I may not suffer under the imputation of sinister ostentatious views, which in this publication I utterly disavow.

If the perusal of these letters shall recall, with pleasing emotions, to the companions of my tour, the lovely scenes we have explored, and the happy hours we have passed together: If they shall communicate information and amusement to any of my young friends, into whose hands the larger and more able narratives of preceding or contemporary tourists may not have come: And, above all, if the facts here recorded, and the scenes described shall have awakened in my own bosom, or shall excite in that of others, a livelier feeling of devotion and gratitude to God, for those moral and religious advantages which we in this happy land enjoy, I shall be satisfied that I have neither travelled nor written in vain.

LETTER I.

Dieppe.

My dear ——

We landed at this place this afternoon about three o'clock, in excellent health and spirits, after a remarkably fine passage across the channel.

We sailed from Brighton at one in the morning, but the work of embarkation commenced at eleven the previous night—and an unpleasant and troublesome work it was. As there is no quay at Brighton, the packets cannot get within a considerable distance of the shore. First then we had to scramble through the breakers into a small boat, which conveyed us to a pinnace that lay a few yards from the land, which was gradually filled by successive boatloads, till with between forty and fifty on board we set sail for the packet. The wind and tide were both unhappily against us—and after vain attempts to stem them during more than an hour and a half, all hope of reaching the vessel that night was nearly abandoned, when the captain, who was with us, suggested the idea of getting a rope from the packet to our vessel, so that the people on board the packet might drag us to them. He accordingly jumped into the smaller boat, with which they were vainly endeavouring to tow us along, proceeded to the vessel—quickly returned with the rope, and we were soon all safe on board. The process of embarkation must have occupied nearly two hours.—The rolling of the sea—the crowd on board the pinnace—the fretfulness of some—the sickness of others—the drunkenness of a few—together with the darkness of the night, contributed to render it a truly dismal scene—and no very auspicious commencement to our tour, in the glowing anticipations of which, these little difficulties had been overlooked.

Behold us then safely on board—the carriage hoisted on deck—the ladies lodged in their berths—Sir S. —— wrapped in a blanket on the floor of the cabin—and I amidst a motley multitude of various ranks and ages, lying along upon some trunks, with a pillow not of the softest materials for my head, and you will have a tolerably correct idea of the posture of our affairs when we set sail for the port of Dieppe. It was but little that I slept—I rose and hastened upon deck. It was a fine star-light morning. I leaned over the side of the vessel—and where should my thoughts at such a moment linger but amid those dear domestic scenes which I had left behind. Presently the moon arose, and quickly after the dawn appeared. The objects were then extremely grand. The vast expanse of the ocean around us, and the bold promontory of Beachy Head behind—while the full sails, as though inspired with the spirit that animated the crew, stretched their canvass to the wind, impatient for the port.

It was long before the ladies arose—and when they did rise and come on deck, we were within sight of the coast of France. What sensations and reflections were awakened in my mind by the first view of the cliffs as they stretched along the horizon, I shall not attempt to describe. To record them would only be to repeat what multitudes have said before me—you may well suppose they were powerful and affecting. The land I had so ardently desired to see—the people with whom I had longed to mingle—the habits and the manners I had often contemplated at a distance, were now before me.—The scenes and transactions of twenty years of bloodshed—the bitterness of national animosity cherished through so long a period—the awfully interesting posture which the affairs of that country had in our own time assumed—and all the wounds, and concussions, and fearful struggles, by which she had been harassed and tormented, from the night when anarchy sat enthroned amid the horrors of the Abbaye, to the triumphs of death upon the plains of Waterloo, all rushed upon my mind—and never was an hour passed with greater impatience than that which we were compelled to spend before the harbour of Dieppe, till the rising of the tide should yield sufficient water for our crossing the bar and entering the port.

On entering within the pier, the first objects that arrested our attention were the women, of whom there were an abundance on the quay, and to whose officious and prompt assistance in towing the vessel up the harbour we were not a little indebted. Their dress—their language—their manners—their whole appearance, was quite new, and we felt in a moment that we were in a foreign land. It is scarcely conceivable that so few miles and hours should make so vast a difference in one's feelings, and completely excite all that can be conveyed by the word *foreigner* in one's bosom. It was not a little strange to hear a language which we had been accustomed to associate with every idea of polish and of elegance, chattered with amazing volubility by the motley groupe collected on the quay to witness our arrival. There were many military men amongst the crowd, or sauntering, with their arms behind them, up and down the pier. Their appearance, I must confess, did not excite a very favourable impression in my mind of the French military character or costume. Their dress was extremely mean and slovenly—and corresponded most unhappily with the expression of the countenance, in which one looked in vain for that bold and manly air—that dignified and noble independence, which are the usual indications of bravery, and generally associated with the profession of a soldier. Many were clad in brown great coats, certainly not the better for wear, while an immense cocked hat, without a feather, and a belt and sword, were the only indications of the soldier they could boast. Are these, thought I, the men that have made monarchs tremble on their thrones, and kept the world in awe—were they such men as these that bore the eagles of Napoleon to the gates of Vienna, and reaped the laurels of France on the fields of Austerlitz and Marengo!——

We soon discovered that we were in a Catholic country, for on the pier is an immense crucifix, on which the image of the Saviour is extended, carved in wood, as large as life, with the Virgin Mary weeping at his feet. At this image our pilot, a hardy, muscular old man, whose robust figure and weather-beaten countenance would form a fine subject for the pencil, crossed himself as he stood at the helm, and the vessel passed along. On reaching the place of landing, an officer of police came on board, and took our passports to be examined at the office established for that purpose. We were then allowed to disembark and take possession of our present quarters, at the Hotel de Londres.

Adieu. Your's, &c. T. R.

LETTER II.

Dieppe.

My dear ——

We spent the evening in walking about the place—and, notwithstanding the contemptuous terms in which some travellers have spoken of Dieppe, I must say that it is, upon the whole, a fine town. It surrounds a spacious harbour, formed by an opening in the cliff, through which the tide passes, rising at high water into no mean expanse, though at other seasons it leaves the harbour almost entirely dry. The houses are built in part of brick and flint, and have a black and gloomy appearance. The streets are narrow, but the buildings are generally good. There is an air of humble magnificence about them—they look as though they had copied nobler models, and had seen days of greater splendour.

The entrance to our inn gave us no very pleasing idea of the cleanliness or comfort of a French hotel. We were conducted through the kitchen, amidst chamber-maids and cooks, up a broad staircase of red tile strewed with sand, into a large apartment, in which it is hard to say, whether the attempt at elegance, or the reality of meanness, was most apparent. The paper with which the walls were hung had been magnificent in its time—but was evidently much the worse for wear. The chairs were extremely mean, with rush bottoms—the side-boards had once been elegant, but their gliding was gone—while the richness of their carving only served, in their present state of neglect and decay, to render their appearance more wretched and forlorn.

Dieppe is famous for its carvings in ivory and bone, and the principal, I might almost say the only purpose to which the art is here applied, is the making of crucifixes, and virgins, for the churches and private oratories of the devout Catholics. These articles are to be had in great profusion and very cheap. Lots of crucifixes are to be seen cut in bone about the size of your little finger, and strung together like bunches of keys. I bought three of these for a franc, and a Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms, stuck in a little box, and a larger crucifix, for a franc each. We visited the church of St. Jacques, the principal ecclesiastical edifice in Dieppe. It is a noble structure, and being the first Catholic church I had seen in a Catholic country, I was not a little interested and effected by the various objects that arrested my attention. The church is surrounded by little chapels or confessionals, each of which has its altar, its crucifix, and its picture. The paintings are various, both as it regards their subject and the merit of their execution; the greater part of them referring, I suppose, to some actions in the life of the saint to whom the chapel is consecrated. I was much amused with one of them. It represents the miraculous draught of fishes—but the fish are all *mackerel*. Now this is a fish for which Dieppe is justly celebrated—we had some of them at dinner, the finest I ever saw—so that while the painting itself was devised in honour of Christ, the choice of the fish was probably intended by the artist as a compliment to his employers. By the high altar are some precious relics, preserved with the greatest care. The bones of St. Fabian, and St. Valentine, and of some other Saint, of whom I know as little as of these. Their bones, I suppose, have the power of working miracles, like the blood of St. Januarius at Rome. Here we also saw a Virgin Mary as large as life, with the infant Saviour in her arms, and adorned with a new muslin petticoat trimmed with lace. With these things, however, we were soon wearied, and we left the church, thanking that God who had cast our lot in another land, and taught us better things.

From the church we proceeded to the Boulevards, which are extremely mean, and uninteresting, as a public walk, and had a most forsaken and deplorable appearance. From thence we were shown the dock which Buonaparte had begun, for the improvement of this port. It was designed to receive vessels of 300 tons burden, and would certainly have added greatly to the commercial importance of Dieppe. The work however has been suspended since his overthrow.

At night the streets and the quays presented a most lively and imposing scene. They were thronged with people—all in motion—while the long windows of the houses, with their folding-doors of glass, for the most part thrown open, and affording a view of the interior of their several apartments, poured on the moving and variegated groupes below a flood of light, that gave the whole town the gay and brilliant air of a fête or carnival.

Your's, &c.

LETTER III.

Rouen.

My dear ———

We left Dieppe this morning, and reached Rouen, 42 miles, about 3 P. M. Before leaving Dieppe we took another ramble round the town. It was market day, and we were much pleased with the appearance of the people, especially the women. I never saw such beautiful women any where as in Dieppe; and the neatness of their dress is beyond praise. Their high caps of white linen, white as the driven snow—their cheerful and good-humoured countenances, and the native elegance and gracefulness of their manners, cannot fail most deeply to interest a stranger. The same, however, cannot be said of the men. There is a meanness, and slovenliness, and an air of wretchedness and misery about them which exceedingly disgusts. I can truly say, that I did not see a single man in Dieppe that had, to my English eyes at least, the appearance of a gentleman.

I was not a little amused at the ceremony which took place at the office of police at the granting of our passport. Sir S. —— was the only one of our party closely examined and described. He was surveyed from head to foot—his look—his height—his dress—his age—the colour of his eyes—his complexion—all were most accurately ascertained and minutely described by the clerk in office—who was, withal, an extremely civil and obliging man, and whose manner of performing it tended greatly to diminish the disagreeable effect of the scrutiny he was obliged to institute.

The road from Dieppe to Rouen, affords some pleasing views, and must interest the traveller, from the highly cultivated state of the country through which it passes. The soil of Normandy is extremely rich—nor did we see a single spot of which the cultivator had not made the most. Here and there the prospect was enlivened and diversified by gentle hills and extensive woods. The only appearance of desolation and neglect was in the chateaux. We passed many of them, but the greater part seemed to have been deserted by their tenants, and abandoned by their owners to decay. The windows covered with boards, and the gardens and orchards overgrown with weeds, had a melancholy appearance, and could not fail to suggest, to the reflecting mind, the bitter curse and dreadful consequences of war. To this source of miseries and crimes may be traced much of the desertion which we noticed. Many of the owners of these mansions had probably fallen in battle—while some, it may be, had fled their native land, and the inheritance of their fathers at the time of the revolution, never to return. Nor was there anything remarkably neat or pleasing in those which were inhabited. Nothing of the compactness, and neatness, and snugness, and comfort, of our country retreats, nor of the taste and magnificence of the mansions of our nobility. We saw no park or extensive pleasure-ground—no well-arranged plantations, and smooth-shaven lawns—no graceful serpentine walks, neatly gravelled, and shaded from the sun.—But every thing in the appearance and arrangement of the houses and grounds was coarse, and stiff, and formal, and dirty.—How unlike the chateaux, and enchanted castles of romance—such as the writers of novels and tales have painted them! They seemed to say, "we are foreign—we are not to *your* taste;" I took the hint, and passed them unenvied by.

The approach to Rouen is extremely pleasing.—The windings of the Seine through a fertile valley, and amongst populous villages, and well-built and extensive manufactories, present a variety of enchanting pictures to the traveller's eye. For the factories are not here, as in the North of England, a deformity to the landscape covered with smoke, and surrounded by black roads—dirty cottages—and rude and filthy inhabitants—but being generally white and remarkably clean, they harmonize with the verdure of the country, and, besides being ornamental, afford animation and variety to the picture. For about a mile before entering Rouen the road is lined on either side with stately trees, which nearly meeting in the centre overhead, afford a most cool and refreshing shelter from the heat of the noon-day sun. Lamps are suspended over the middle of the road by ropes and pullies from the branches of the trees.

We have taken up our quarters at the Hotel des Princes, in the *place* Pucelle D'Orleans. In the centre is the statue of this famous personage, erected upon the spot where she was burnt. The house in which she was tried and condemned is close by.

We have already witnessed, in this city, the Roman Catholic worship in all its pomp. We were at the cathedral this evening, and heard the vespers. To-morrow is one of the greatest festivals of the Romish church, the *Fête Dieu*, and the most magnificent procession in honour of it is to take place. The Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen is to grace it with his presence. The people are lining their houses with carpets, sheets and tapestry—and strewing the streets through which it is to pass with flowers. It is to move at four o'clock in the afternoon. Adieu.

Your's, &c.

LETTER IV.

Rouen.

My dear ———

This city was formerly the capital of Normandy, and is now the first city of the department of the Lower Seine. It has six suburbs, and is said to be seven miles in circumference. The houses are chiefly built of wood, and the streets are narrow and crooked. It is at present famous for its manufactories of cotton, &c. and is to France, almost what Manchester is to England. It contains about 80,000 inhabitants, and is delightfully situated on the northern bank of the river Seine, over which there is a bridge of boats, that rises and falls with the tide. This bridge being esteemed a curiosity, of course we went to see it; but it by no means equalled our expectation as to its appearance. Its utility, however, must be obvious, as the tide rises so high, and runs with such rapidity, that no other bridge has ever been able to resist its force.

Pursuing our ramble through the city on Saturday, and suddenly emerging from one of its dark and narrow streets, we burst in a moment upon the sublime and stupendous front of the cathedral. The effect produced by the instantaneous and unexpected developement of so much magnificence, may be more easily conceived than described. We were riveted for some minutes in silent admiration to the spot. The front of the cathedral is equal, if not superior, to any thing I ever saw, not excepting even York Minster. The workmanship of it is most exquisite. One can scarcely imagine it possible that stone can be wrought so highly, rivalling, as it does, the delicacy of paper and the fineness of lace.

It has two towers—that to the north is most ancient, and is Saxon in its architecture. The whole of the front, with this exception, is Gothic, and perhaps one of the purest and richest specimens of this style of architecture in Europe. The spire is remarkably lofty. It is built of wood covered with lead. It was burnt down about fifty years ago, and is now eighty feet lower than it was previous to that conflagration. Its great defect is that it does not harmonize with the rest of the edifice, it being Grecian. We were informed that it is 420 feet in height—but the correctness of this information I am inclined to doubt: for that would make it higher than St. Paul's in London. It is certainly, however, a very lofty and elegant spire.

The church of St. Ouen is also a most magnificent edifice. In some respects it is superior to the cathedral; for though its front is less highly wrought, and not perhaps so vast in its dimensions—yet it has greater uniformity, and the building, as a whole, is more solemn and majestic. The first view of the interior, on entering the great western door, is extremely grand and imposing. There is nothing to interrupt the sight—but clusters of Gothic pillars, towering to an amazing elevation, stretch, in prolonged perspective, on either side to the eastern window, which is the richest exhibition of painted glass I have yet beheld. There is an air of gloomy grandeur about this building that strikes one with awe; and combined with the pomp and splendour of Catholic worship—the voices of the chanters—the pealing of the organ—the chorus of hundreds and thousands suddenly rising till every arch and every pillar rings with the sound—and then sinking into the softest and tenderest notes again, captivates the senses and absorbs the soul.

Yesterday morning we repaired first to the cathedral. High Mass was performing when we entered. The church, spacious as it is, was crowded in every part—the body of it was entirely filled with the military. The attire of the priests was most splendid. Those of a superior order wore a magnificent mantle, richly embroidered with flowers of various colours on a ground of gold. We were present at the elevation of the host, when all in the cathedral fell upon their knees, and, the censers being thrown aloft, the richest odours were diffused throughout the edifice. We remarked that none of the military were uncovered during this most solemn ceremony of their religion. We were told they would not. While these rites were performing in the chancel of the church, a venerable old man, in the attire of a priest, came through the crowd with a basket full of bread broken into small pieces, which he distributed amongst the people. This is the bread of charity. Loaves are presented by individuals to the priest, who breaks them and blesses them, and then they are thus dispersed to all who choose to take. I observed one soldier who took a piece—smelt at it, and then turned up his nose most contemptuously before he ate it.

From the cathedral we went to the Protestant church, and heard a good sermon, as far as it went. The church is large, and has been magnificent; but it is sadly neglected and gone to decay. The congregation was small, but serious and attentive, and the whole service was conducted with great decorum and solemnity. A clerk read from a sort of desk, at the opening of the service, select portions of the Scriptures, including the ten commandments—and also the Apostle's creed. They sung the pslams of David. The minister used a form of prayer in part, and in part prayed extempore. There seemed to be much elegance in the composition of the sermon—and it was gracefully delivered. I regret that this is the highest eulogium it merited.

In the afternoon we saw the procession of the *Fête Dieu*. The host was borne under a magnificent canopy through the streets, which, in honour of the procession, were strewed with flowers: while the fronts of the houses were hung with carpets, tapestry, and linen. Every body was out of doors—and as they proceeded to elevate the sacred wafer at the various altars which pious individuals had raised before their houses in those streets through which it was to pass, the people with one accord fell upon their knees, while the ascending censers filled the air with perfume. Solemn music—a long train of military, and a vast number of priests of various orders and in splendid robes, attended and made up the pageant.

From witnessing this procession we proceeded to a convent, and saw the ceremony of the repose of the host. The altar was extremely splendid, and one blaze of light, from the many tapers that burned upon it. On one side of the altar was the Chapel of the Nuns. We saw the Lady Abbess and one of the Sisters, by pressing close to the railing of the altar; the rest were concealed from our view. The chanting of the nuns, in the vespers, was most thrilling, and the responses of the female choir in the organ loft not less captivating. At one period I was wrapped in a delirium of delight, and could scarcely deem it earthly music, so superior was it to anything I had ever heard, or conceived, of the power of the human voice before. We were to have seen the convent, which is also a school for young ladies, but it being a day of such extraordinary solemnity, the nuns continued at their devotions in the chapel during the whole of it. There are several English girls in the school, and we were introduced into a gallery hung round with specimens of their work.

Before the revolution there were forty-two convents and thirty-three churches in this city. There are at present but five convents and twenty churches. Thirteen of the convents are converted into ware-houses, and post-houses, and are thus rendered much more serviceable to the public. The monastry of St. Ouen, attached to the church of that name, is converted into a library, which contains 70,000 volumes, a museum for paintings, and public offices of various kinds. Near the last-mentioned church lived that notorious infidel Voltaire. His house is at present occupied by an attorney. I must not omit to remind you that this city was the birthplace of William the Conqueror; and that the heart of Richard *Cœur-de-Lion* is in the cathedral. But I shall weary you of Rouen—I have only to add, that there is a man here to be guillotined in the course of the week, for cutting off his wife's head a few days after their marriage, because she had carroty hair—and also a man to be tried for pretending to be the dauphin of France, and heir to the throne.

Your's &c.

LETTER V.

Paris.

My dear ——

We left Rouen early yesterday morning, and reached Paris, between 90 and 100 miles, by nine o'clock last night. You would have supposed, however, had you seen our cattle and harness at starting, that we should have been two or three days, at least, performing the journey.—The horses are taken, just as they happen to be wanted, from the field, the cart, or the plough, and yoked to your carriage, with ropes fastened to their backs with wretched straps, that altogether cut a worse appearance than the most miserable hawker's cart in the streets of London. Nor does the postilion make a less extraordinary figure than his horse. His enormous boots, weighing from five to seven pounds each, in which there is room for two legs of ordinary size—his powdered hair and long pigtail—his enormous whip, in the smacking of which he makes the most wonderful evolutions over his head, and the most terrible noise that can be imagined, and by the regulation of which, on principles known to themselves, he apprizes the postmaster as he enters a town or village, whether the travellers be French or English, and whether they pay well or ill—altogether make up so grotesque a figure, that, though often described, I could not deny myself the pleasure of sketching its outline. With all these disadvantages, however, the road is in your favour, being generally straight and level—kept in excellent repair—soft on either side, with pavement in the centre—and usually lined with trees, sometimes in double rows.

About four miles from Rouen, looking back from the summit of the hill, is seen one of the finest views in France. In the foreground is the Seine, winding through a luxuriant valley, and studded with a variety of little islands crowned with the richest woods. Rouen with its towers and spires, appears in the distance, and all around an almost boundless extent of country rich in cornfields and exquisite in beauty. Indeed, nothing can exceed the height to which cultivation is carried everywhere in Normandy. The land does not appear to be, as it is with us, in the hands of mighty lords and wealthy commoners, nor let out in immense farms of many hundred acres—but rather occupied by humble cultivators of the soil, who have no more than enough to maintain their families, and must, therefore, make the most of what they have. Hence arises one circumstance which, in some parts, certainly injures the picturesque appearance of the country. The land is cultivated in little formal patches, and straight lines; here a stripe of clover, and there a stripe of wheat, and then of potatoes, and so on—this is by no means pleasing to the eye, and gives the sides of the distant hills the appearance of a tailor's pattern book unfolded. But the industry and prudence it indicates sufficiently atone to the lover of mankind, for the loss that is sustained by the lover of the picturesque.

About forty miles from Rouen we first saw vineyards, and I must confess I was greatly disappointed in them. One of our hop-gardens, when the hop is in blossom, is a far more beautiful object. They were in their infancy it is true—the plants were young—and they will attain a greater height and luxuriance. But they never suffer them to grow many feet from the ground, but bend them over from stick to stick, at the height of about three feet from the surface. At present they have a curious appearance up the sides of the hills, for as yet little more than the sticks are seen, so that they look more like fields of broomsticks stinted in their growth than vineyards. But we shall probably see more of them, and my opinion may be altered by a better acquaintance.

We passed two chateaux, near each other, on opposite sides of the road—one of them the residence of Marshal Suchet, the other of Marshal Victor. They were neither of them distinguished by elegance or grandeur, and would pass for nothing more than good country houses in England. We also passed Rigney, formerly the seat of the great Duke of Sully, and now the country residence of Talleyrand. We dined at Nantes, a town of some importance upon the Seine, with a magnificent church.

At Saint Germain en Layne we stopped to take a view of the Palace. It is a gloomy structure, built of a dark-coloured brick, and has more the appearance of a prison than a palace. It was the retreat of the fugitive James II. of England; and here, worn with vexation and grief, he expired. It was originally designed by its founder, Francis I. as a hunting seat for the kings of France, when they enjoyed the diversion of the chase in the adjoining forest of Laye. It has been much neglected of late, however, and has greatly suffered from the Prussian soldiers, by whom it was occupied as barracks during the late war. From the terrace is a very extensive prospect, and Paris is distinctly seen in the distance. The city of St. Germain is chiefly built of stone—the streets are wide—the houses, generally, are on a grand scale, and there is an air of magnificence about the whole. The approach to it by a spacious avenue through the forest is extremely fine. In this forest Napoleon took great delight, and there he used frequently to hunt.

About half way between St. Germain and Paris, we passed, on the right, Malmaison, the favourite country retreat of Buonaparte. The gardens seemed to be very rich and extensive, but the appearance of the house was mean.

The entrance into Paris, by this route, is truly magnificent, and excites in the breast of a stranger the highest expectations of the metropolis he is about to visit. An immense avenue of trees, upwards of two miles in length, and down a gentle declivity, conducts you to the triumphal arch erected by Napoleon, but not yet completed. Round it the road forms a circle, and passing through the Barriere de Neuilly, formed by two temples, in the finest style of architecture, enters the Champs Elysées.—There the eye, wearied with the monotony of a level country and a dusty road, is relieved by the richness of the foliage—the depth of the shade, and the variegated groups, and numerous equipages, that move in the animated scenes around—till in the Place Louis Quinze, where it terminates, all the magnificence of Paris seems to burst in a moment on the enraptured sight. Immediately before you is the great gate of the gardens of the Thuileries, with the grand avenue leading to the chateaux—to the left is the palace of Louis the Fifteenth, a majestic pile, of the Corinthian order—on the right, over the Seine, which is there crossed by a handsome bridge, (Pont Louis XV.,) the Palace de Bourbon, a most chaste and classical structure, now the Hall of the Chamber of Deputies—and beyond, the gilded dome of the Hotel des Invalides—all these buildings are in the highest style of magnificence—and it seems as if architecture had done her utmost in emulating the grandeur of former times to adorn this favoured spot.—The square, from the centre of which these objects are beheld, is immense, and you may judge what must have been their effect, when contemplated for the first time, and glowing amid the splendour of the setting sun. The grandeur of the buildings—the elegance and number of the equipages—the variegated groups of people—the richness of the woods and gardens—the softness of the air—the serenity of the sky—and above all, the thoughts and reflections that crowded on my mind, on entering this most interesting city, absolutely overwhelmed me, and I was glad to find repose in the refreshment and retirement of a comfortable hotel.

Your's, &c.

LETTER VI.

Paris.

My dear ——

You will not expect from me anything like a close and accurate description of the various objects which attract the notice of strangers in Paris. They are far too rapidly surveyed, and blended too much together, for that minuteness of observation or distinction of impression which such a task would require. Where every object is vast, and includes within itself a variety of individuals, each attracting in its kind, and presenting its own peculiar claims upon your attention and regard, you are rather confused than delighted with the rapid survey which a visitor obtains; and the review of the day, when you sit down calmly to retrace its scenes, is more pregnant, perhaps, with vexation than with pleasure. So much has been omitted, which you wish you had observed—so many inquiries have been forgotten, or did not occur at the moment, which you might have made—the effect of each object has been so much weakened by the rapidity with which it succeeded its predecessor—and the whole impression on the mind is so mingled and confused—that all you have heard, and seen, and felt, has scarcely the air of reality, but seems more like the rapid incidents of a vivid and recent dream.

You will not, therefore, form too high an expectation of the length or minuteness of the descriptions I shall give you during my stay in Paris. They must be but sketches. The filling of them up by conversation, or from books, will be a pleasant employment for hours of future leisure. In the mean time I shall be happy if, from so rude an outline, you can form anything like a correct conception of the original.

We are comfortably settled in our Hotel, (Hotel Mirabeau,) which we understand is one of the best in Paris, and which promises to justify the good character it has obtained. It is in the Rue de la Paix—perhaps the broadest, cleanest, and most elegant street in the city. Some, it may be, will except the Rue Royale, which runs parallel with it, and connects the termination of the Boulevard Madeleine with the Place Louis Quinze. The Rue de la Paix connects the Boulevard Capucines with the Place Vendome, and is continued on the opposite side of the Place Vendome by the Rue de Castiglione, a street of equal breadth, to the gardens of the Thuileries. We are, therefore, in the centre of everything, and the Thuileries—the Louvre—the Palais Royal—the Boulevards—the Champs Elysées—the Bridges—the Institute, and the University, are all within a few minutes' walk.

The Rue de la Paix was called, in Buonaparte's time, the Rue de Napoleon—and, in the centre of the Place Vendome, is the famous triumphal pillar, which he caused to be erected to commemorate the successes of his arms in Germany. It is in imitation of the pillar of Trajan at Rome. It is surrounded with bas-reliefs representing his various victories, and composed of the cannon taken from the vanquished. The figures are three feet high, in groups of as many feet in length, and pursue a spiral direction round the pillar from the base to the entablature. It is said there are 2000 figures on the column. They depict, in chronological order, the principal actions of the campaign of 1805, from the departure of the troops from Bologne to the battle of Austerlitz. A band is raised from the pillar separating each range of bas-reliefs, and bearing on it the record of the action each cluster represents. On the summit is a gallery, which is approached by a staircase within, and the whole was surmounted by the statue of their, then victorious, leader. This offensive object has, however, been removed by the present possessor of the throne; and the pillar itself would have shared a similar fate, had not its extraordinary strength baffled every effort to displace it. The pillar is 133 feet high, and 12 in diameter, which is the exact measurement of its model. The pillar is the combined production of *M. M. Lepere* and *Gondouin*, architects—*Denon*, the sculptor, and *Burgeret*, who designed the bas-reliefs. The whole expense of its erection was 1,500,000 francs. It is a truly magnificent object, and stands, in spite of themselves, I had almost said, an imperishable monument to the French nation, of the greatness from which they have fallen. At present the white flag waves upon its summit.

Your's, &c.

LETTER VII.

Paris.

My dear ——

We began our survey of the public edifices of Paris, as you may well suppose, with the Louvre. No description can do ample justice to this Palace of the Arts. There they seem to reign in all their glory, in pomp and magnificence, of which their admirers may well be proud. The edifice itself is the most immense pile of building in Paris, where everything is on a grand scale, and one part of it, when completed, will rival, in magnificence and beauty, the finest specimens of modern architecture in the world. I allude to the Court of the Louvre, in which all the graces of architecture, simplicity, symmetry, and elegance, seem to be combined.

The early history of the Louvre is involved in great obscurity. The name of its founder, and the period of its erection, are alike unknown. Its original design embraced but a portion of the present edifice, and for a long while it was separated from the Thuileries, at a considerable distance, by the walls of the city. It was enlarged and beautified, however, by the taste and munificence of the kings of France, who from Charles IX. to Henry IV. made it their principal residence. From the last-mentioned monarch, whose assassinated body was dragged bleeding through its apartments, and there treated with indignity and neglect, it became the seat of several academies and scientific bodies. At length the proud magnificent Louis XIV. resolved to complete the palace, by finishing the court, of which a part only was erected, and the grand gallery along the banks of the Seine, which was begun by Henry IV. for the purpose of connecting the Louvre with the Thuileries. For this purpose, his Minister, Colbert, sent for the famous architect *Bernin* from Rome. But, though a man of unquestionable genius, and justly celebrated for the many beautiful buildings he had designed, all his plans were finally rejected: while the honour of completing this great national edifice was reserved for Claude Perrault, who, though bred as a physician, excelled as an architect, and has immortalized his name by this lasting memorial of his skill. "The façade of the Louvre, which was designed by him," says Voltaire, "is one of the most august monuments of architecture in the world. We sometimes go a great way in search of what we have at home. There is not one of the palaces at Rome whose entrance is comparable to this of the Louvre; for which we are obliged to Perrault, whom Boileau has attempted to turn into ridicule." The gallery is nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and, for the grandeur of its design—the immensity of its extent—the beauty of its architecture—and the richness of its contents, is unparalleled by any edifice in modern Europe. This gallery, the court above described, and the palace of the Thuileries, already form three sides of an immense parallelogram, which Buonaparte had intended to complete, by carrying out a line of building uniform with the gallery from the opposite extremity of the Thuileries to the other side of the court of the Louvre. The work, indeed, is considerably advanced, and many of the houses formerly occupying the intermediate space are taken down. The area thus laid open is called the Carousal. It was at the termination of one of the streets leading into the Carousal, that the attempt was once made upon Napoleon's life, by setting fire to some barrels of gunpowder, placed there for the purpose, as his carriage passed along. An iron railing runs across the Carousal, to form the court-yard of the Thuileries, and in the centre, before the principal pavilion of the Palace, is the triumphal arch, on which he placed the four bronze horses, so universally admired, taken originally from Corinth to Constantinople—thence to Venice, where, for many centuries, they adorned the *place* of St. Mark, and thence transferred to Paris, to swell the spoils of the Corsican conqueror.

Part of the ground floor of the Louvre is devoted to the specimens of ancient sculpture, of which there is an immense collection—many of them most exquisite, and some of colossal size. There is something awfully sublime, in the impression produced upon a contemplative mind, passing from hall to hall, and gallery to gallery, filled with these noblest efforts of the human genius, wrested from the oblivion of long departed years. As you enter every apartment, a new era in the history of the world seems to dawn upon you—and you find yourself surrounded with the most illustrious beings, by whose genius and whose actions it was distinguished and adorned. Centuries there dwindle into hours and minutes—you pass from age to age as you move from room to room, and, in the lounge of a morning, you seem to have communed with the greatest characters that have appeared upon the busy theatre of the ancient world. Instead of days—months and years might be devoted to the examination of these most interesting objects; and, after all, the eye of the connoisseur, and the mind of the christian philosopher, would discover new beauties, and suggest fresh trains of thought.

The number of apartments devoted to sculpture is in all fifteen, including the Vestibule and Corridor. Their names are chiefly derived from the nature of the subjects they contain. The halls are extremely spacious, and the finishing of of the interior most appropriate. The arrangement of the statues and sculptures, and the distribution of the light, have been objected to as injudicious—but the objection did not occur to me when upon the spot. Everything seemed well to accord with the character of the exhibition and to heighten its effect. The number of articles is at present three hundred and fifty-five, and ample information respecting them is contained in the catalogue, composed by the Chevalier Visconti, Member of the Institute and Keeper of the Statues, which is sold for two francs at the doors.

Ascending from the sculptures by a most magnificent, and what might almost be denominated a colossal staircase, you enter the rooms devoted to the works of *mordern* artists. This collection is extremely fine and very extensive. Our Somerset House is not to be compared with these anti-chambers of the Louvre. But when you enter a gallery nearly a quarter of a mile in length, hung on either side with the finest works of all the celebrated masters that have ever flourished, you can scarcely conceive the scene a reality. It is like some splendid effort of enchantment—the mind is overwhelmed and bewildered by such sublime combinations of art—the eye is lost in the vast and original perspective—and it is long ere you can recover from the impression of so much grandeur to fix your attention on any individual portion of the stupendous whole. As you advance, the genius of every age and every nation of modern Europe appears to instruct, entertain, and delight you—you cease to regret the loss of men who were the boast of their country, and the glory of their times, for here they survive, immortal in their works—while, by their magic power, the events of remotest ages and their illustrious dead, rise to meet your enraptured gaze, and look intently on you from the canvass they have made to live.

The gallery is divided into nine compartments—the first three comprise the works of the French school—the second three the German, Flemish, and Dutch—and the last three the different schools of Italy. The number of pictures in the gallery is eleven hundred and one. They are many of them of immense dimensions, and for the most part in a high state of preservation.

Imposing, however, as these wonderful collections of the Louvre always must be, a connoisseur would tell you that they are shorn of their brightest glories, and that the Louvre *now* has but few attractions, compared with those which invested it when the spoils of subjugated Europe were deposited within its walls. 'Tis well for Europe, however, that these attractions are no more—If, with the eagles of Napoleon, the glory has departed from the Louvre, a milder genius and a happier emblem has succeeded—the dove, with her olive branch, has visited the fields of Europe, over which his ill-omened bird had hovered through so many years of oppression and of terror—and liberty has dawned upon the nations he enslaved. The Louvre as it *is*, then, must be an interesting object to the lover of mankind, while the best feelings of the heart triumph in a loss, which taste and genius may be permitted for a moment to deplore. But I am not a connoisseur—my pleasure, therefore was, in this respect, unmingled—and I enjoyed those wonderful collections as much as if the Laocoon, and the Apollo, and the Venus, which have returned to their respective countries, had been there. Berlin and Vienna—Venice and Rome—Cologne and Brussels, have claimed and received their own. I could not but exult, as I surveyed the places they had occupied, that my own country had nothing to claim!

But, to a contemplative mind, a visit to the Louvre must be always pregnant with the deepest interest, connected, as that edifice has been, with some of the most important and affecting scenes in the history of France, and some of her greatest and most celebrated men. Nor could I forget, as I passed through its apartments, that round the walls of that very palace, now the peaceful retreat of genius, and the consecrated asylum of the arts, the groans of the dying protestants arose to heaven for vengeance, through five successive days of massacre and blood—while "kill, kill, kill," was the incessant cry of the accursed Charles IX., who stood at the windows, a demon in human form—to animate his ruffians when weary of their work, and fire upon the miserable fugitives that came within his reach. This carnival of death began 24th of August, 1572, but the stain is indelible upon the cause that engendered and the name that patronized it!

But the subject and the time alike admonish me to close my letter. I have made too free with the latter for your patience—and should write too warmly, perhaps, on the former for my own reputation as too meekness and prudence.

Your's, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Paris.

My dear ——

To-day we have visited the *Jardin des Plantes*, the Botanical Garden of Paris. It requires not the eye of a botanist to be interested with this delightful place. The precision and formality of science are relieved by the judicious grouping of the plants, and the graceful distribution of the walks and lawns. Every region of the globe is here presented in miniature, rich in its own productions, and with such embellishments as harmonize with the scene and heighten its effect. The menagerie and aviary are rich and well worthy attention: but the galleries of the museum, devoted to the specimens in Zoology, Entomology, Mineralogy, &c. astonish while they delight.—The extent of the collections—the rarity and richness of many of the specimens—the high state of preservation in which they all appear to be—and the perfect classification and skilful arrangement of the whole, as they surpass conception, so they are beyond all praise. Sir S. —— was surprised to find the productions of Java and the Eastern Islands, with which he is so well acquainted, but which, to the generality of Europe, have been little known, all in this wonderful collection.—Scarcely a creature exists —not a stone—or a metal—or an earth—or a crystal, in any of its forms or combinations, that has not its example here; while the different compartments of the garden are made to harmonize with the respective countries whose productions they contain, and thus, in this extraordinary place, you seem surrounded with the varieties of every region, and, in the course of an hour or two, to make the tour of the globe.

The *Jardin des Plantes* should certainly be visited immediately after the palace of the Louvre: for the former must have a tendency to correct any undue impression of the greatness and the power of man, which may have been excited by a survey of the latter. Here the builders of palaces, and the masters of the chisel and the pencil sink into insignificance before the grandeur—the symmetry—the beauty—the variety of his works, who built all things, and is infinitely excellent in all he made. The humming-bird and the butterfly, the topaz and the sapphire, throw a dimness and a coarseness over the delicate touches of a Titian, and the rich colouring of a Claude: while the haughty Louis might see the splendour of his coronation robes eclipsed by many a simple flower that blooms within these fair retreats.—"Oh! Lord, how excellent are thy works, in wisdom hast thou made them all."

This garden owes its origin to La Brosse, physician to Louis XIII. who, in 1636, induced that prince to found an establishment for the cultivation and study of medicinal plants. It was afterwards enriched by the voyages of Tournefort in the Levant—by the botanical labours of Jussieu and Vaillant—but it is indebted for the present consummation of its glory to the munificence of Louis XV. and the genius of Buffon.

There are two gardens, the upper and the lower—in the former is an artificial hill, the ascent to which is by a winding path—and on whose summit is a neat pavilion. There the visitor may repose himself after the fatigues of the morning, and survey, at leisure, the enchanting scenes immediately beneath—or the majestic edifices and busy streets of the capital all around him.

After our morning's ramble, a hint was dropped by Sir S. —— which was eagerly caught by the whole party, and has issued in a determination, with which I, you may be sure, am unspeakably gratified, that is—to make the best use of our time here, and instead of lounging about Paris, to proceed, as soon as we shall have seen the cream of its interesting objects, immediately to Geneva—and thence to the glaciers of Savoy—across the country to Basle, and down the Rhine to the Netherlands. Thus my most ardent wishes will be gratified—and, wearied in this place, as I soon shall be, with the works of men, I shall have the long desired opportunity afforded me of seeing some of the sublimest works of God. We are already amply furnished, through the kindness of friends, with letters for such a tour; and our banker, Mons. Barillion, a most intelligent and obliging man, assures us of its perfect practicability within the period we propose. We might even take Lyons on our way, but I rather think we shall choose the nearest road, by Dijon, that we may have more leisure when amongst the Alps.

Our party are at the Theatre. They are gone to hear themselves laughed at, for I understand the play announced is "*Les Anglais pour rire.*"—Having myself no taste that way, I devoted the evening to a ramble—and strolled across the Place Louis XV. over the Pont Louis Seize, and along the banks of the Seine, to the esplanade of the Hotel des Invalides. I stopped in the centre of the Place Louis Quinze, to recall the mingled associations connected with that dreadful spot. There stood the guillotine, by which the unfortunate Louis suffered, with a majesty that became him as a monarch, and a meekness worthy of a saint. As you wish to participate with me in the emotions and reflections excited by the objects that interest me, I need make no apology for awakening your recollections of that tragical scene by a quotation from the simple and affecting narrative of the Abbé Edgeworth, which now lies before me.

"The carriage proceeded thus in silence to the Place de Louis XV. (called the Place de la Revolution during the reign of terror,) and stopped in the middle of a large space that had been left round the scaffold; this place was surrounded with cannon, and beyond an armed multitude extended as far as the eye could reach. As soon as the king perceived that the carriage stopped, he turned and whispered to me, 'We are arrived if I mistake not.' My silence answered that we were. One of the guards came to open the carriage door, and the gens d'armes would have jumped out, but the king stopped them, and leaning his arm on my knee, 'Gentlemen,' said he with a tone of majesty, 'I recommend to you this good man; take care that after my death no insult be offered to him. I charge you to prevent it.' The two men answered not a word; the king was continuing in a louder tone, but one of them stopped him, saying, 'Yes, yes, we will take care, leave him to us;' and I ought to add, that these words were spoken in a tone of voice that must have overwhelmed me, if, at such a moment, it had been possible for me to have thought of myself. As soon as the king had left the carriage, three guards surrounded him, and would have taken off his clothes, but he repulsed them with haughtiness: he undressed himself, untied his neckcloth, opened his shirt, and arranged it himself. The guards, whom the determined countenance of the king had, for a moment, disconcerted, seemed to recover their audacity.—They surrounded him again, and would have seized his hands. 'What are you attemping?' said the king, drawing back his hands, 'To bind you,' answered the wretches. 'To bind me,' said the king, with an indignant air, 'No! I shall never consent to that; do what you have been ordered to do, but you shall never bind me.' The guards insisted, they raised their voices, and seemed to wish to call on others to assist them.

"Perhaps this was the most terrible moment of this most dreadful morning. Another instant and this best of kings would have received, from his rebellious subjects, indignities too horrid to mention—indignities that would have been to him more insupportable than death. Such was the feeling expressed on his countenance. Turning towards me, he looked at me steadily, as if to ask my advice. Alas! it was impossible for me to give any, and I only answered by silence; but as he continued this fixed look of inquiry, I replied—'Sire, in this new insult, I only see another trace of resemblance between your majesty and the Saviour who is about to recompense you;' at these words he raised his eyes to heaven with an expression that can never be described. 'You are right,' said he, 'nothing less than his example should make me submit to such a degradation.' Then, turning to the guards, 'Do what you will, I will drink of the cup even to the dregs.'

"The path leading to the scaffold was extremely rough and difficult to pass; the king was obliged to lean on my arm, and from the slowness with which he proceeded, I feared, for a moment, that his courage might fail; but what was my astonishment when arrived at the last step, I felt that he suddenly let go my arm, and I saw him cross, with a firm foot, the breadth of the whole scaffold: silenced, by his look alone, fifteen or twenty drums that were placed opposite to him; and, in a voice so loud that it must have been heard at the pont Tournant, I heard him pronounce distinctly these memorable words, 'I die innocent of all the crimes laid to my charge; I pardon those who have occasioned my death; and I pray to God, the blood you are now going to shed may never be visited on France.'

"He was proceeding, when a man on horseback, in the national uniform, waved his sword, and, with a ferocious cry, ordered the drums to beat. Many voices were at the same time heard encouraging the executioners. They seemed reanimated themselves, and seizing with violence the most virtuous of kings, they dragged him under the axe of the guillotine, which, with one stroke, severed his head from his body. All this passed in a moment."

I remember, Dr. Moore relates, that the Abbé kneeled with his face near to that of the king, and, as the blow was about to be struck, pronounced aloud, "*Child of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!*"—The face of the confessor was sprinkled with the monarch's blood.*

In the review, and on the theatre of such scenes as these, every feeling abandons us but that of pity and of horror. The foibles of the man, and the errors of the monarch, are lost in the remembrance of his agonies—the sympathies of our common nature stir within our bosoms, and a thrilling sensation of awe is excited, while standing on the spot which drank his blood.

There must be some bitter emotions in the breasts of the present family, especially the amiable Duchess d'Angouleme, when from the palace whence he was dragged, they look out upon the place where a father, an uncle, and a brother suffered. The grand avenue of the Thuileries perpetually presents it to their view—while the beautiful woods of the Champs Elysées, in which the prospect from the windows of the palace terminate, must lose much of their loveliness, as imagination and memory ever interpose the headless trunk of their unhappy predecessor. Moreover it seems to me, that the consciousness that they sit upon a precarious throne, and, probably, are only sheltered by the bayonets of foreigners from a similar fate, must be another bitter ingredient in their cup of royalty.—Who that values his repose of mind, would wish to share it with them!——

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* The Abbé Edgeworth was the son of an Irish gentleman, who became a convert to the Roman Catholic religion, and settled, with a part of his family, at Thoulouse. The Abbé was bred to the church, and having received orders, commenced his labours in the city of Paris. He resided in the seminary of *Les Missions Estranges*, and soon distinguished himself by his virtues, his talents, and his eminent services in the church. He was at length recommended, by the superior of that establishment, as confessor to the Princess Elizabeth, and by this means became known to the Royal Family, and so prominent a figure in the closing scene of the king's life.

But 'tis time to change the scene and abandon these reflections. Here, in this immense area, Te Deum was sung, for the triumph of the Allies, and the restoration of the Bourbons, when the principal Monarchs of Europe were present at the ceremony. This must have been a most sublime and imposing spectacle. No place can be conceived more suited to such a purpose. The buildings and the gardens that surround it are in the highest style of classic elegance and grandeur, while the recollections of the spot at once marked it as appropriate, and must have contributed greatly to the effect, and enthusiasm of the ceremony.—But the Place Louis XV. is now all life and gaiety. It appears to be a favourite resort of the Parisians. These recollections, if, indeed, they occur at all, seem by no means to diminish the pleasure which the beauty and the bustle of the scene impart.—No stranger to their history, that pauses, and observes the gay and animated groups that pass across it now, would imagine that, in the memory of many of them, it had been a theatre of horror and of blood, and that, but yesterday, a foreign army had encamped in the adjacent woods. But the history of Paris, for the last thirty years, had been like the ebbing and the flowing of the sea—the impressions of one revolution, however deep, have been rapidly effaced by the quick succession of another—and whether the tide has ceased its dreadful alternations, is, with some, a doubtful question, but one by which the majority of the people are, perhaps, but little troubled.—Let them have their amusements and their pleasures, and it is enough for them—the Theatre—the Palais Royal—and the Boulevards, absorb and captivate them.—The dice or the armour afford sufficient occupation for the mind—and with pursuits like these they are content and happy, if, indeed, the artificial gaiety which they awaken can deserve the name of happiness, till the voice of some commanding intellect arouse them, and they turn from their pleasures to abet the schemes of his ambition, or to follow in his career of blood.

Yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

Paris.

My dear ——

We have been much gratified this morning with a visit to the Luxembourg, the most perfect and beautiful of all the palaces in Paris. I shall not weary you with its description—suffice it to say—that it is distinguished by the boldness of its design, and the symmetry of its proportions: more uniform than the Thuileries, and more finished than the Louvre—its general aspect is extremely chaste and elegant. It is built upon the model of the Palace de Piti at Florence, by *Desbrosses*, an Italian architect. Its name was derived from the Duke of Luxembourg, who had a hotel upon the spot, and from whom the land was purchased by Maria de Medicis, the founder of the present edifice. It became the property of Louis XIV., by purchase from the Duchess of Guise, and was given by the unfortunate Louis XVI. to Monsieur, his brother, the present monarch. Like most of the royal edifices of this city, the scenes of revolutionary fury have disgraced it. It was used as a prison during the reign of terror, and the Senate held their sittings within its walls.

Within this palace is the Chamber of Peers. The throne on which Napoleon sat is still standing—but a most ridiculous and contemptible metamorphose has been made on a grand emblematical painting which covers nearly one side of the hall. The figure of Buonaparte formerly appeared in it as genius of France; the head of the Ex-Emperor, however, has been taken away, and that of Henry the Fourth put in its place. You may well imagine how ridiculous the head of the Bourbon looks upon the Corsican's shoulders.—Surely there is a childishness in this which must excite the pity and contempt of surrounding nations. If the image of the usurper was an offensive object to the present monarch, viewed from that very throne on which he sat during so many of his years of exile, why did he not remove the piece immediately from the hall. But if his vanity was flattered by the possession of so fine a production of the pencil, why, in the eyes of an observant and susceptible nation, betray that weakness, and suspicion, and doubt, which such a measure as the displacing of the head of Buonaparte indicates; as though the demon of anarchy still haunted his troubled mind, and he feared lest the usurper should exceed the former miracle of his uninterrupted march from the coast to the capital, and start from the very canvass, again to dispossess him of his throne.

The apartments of the Luxembourg are most superb, and the paintings in the galleries extremely fine. They have been considerably thinned of late, of the works of the old masters, to supply the deficiencies in the Louvre. The living artists are doing their utmost to fill up the vacancies which thus occur. There are already many pictures from the pencil of David—whose works are universally and deservedly admired. His subjects are, chiefly, classical, and his figures and draperies exceedingly appropriate—while there is a sobriety in his colouring, which is well adapted to the antiquity and majesty of the scenes and transactions he delineates. It struck me, however, that there was too much stateliness in his figures, and that the effect would, in many cases, have been much finer, if a little more ease had been given to the form, and a little less formality to the drapery. But you will suppose that the air of Paris has had the same effect upon me, as upon many of my countrymen, who were quite as unpromising subjects for such a change, and that I am actually turning connoisseur—but, if I am, the metamorphose is still far from complete, and I fear that you will smile at the awkwardness of my first attempt in so new and different a character.

There is one picture, however, in the Luxembourg, which has haunted me ever since I saw it, and the impression of which I shall not easily lose. Its subject is the flight of Cain. There is a terrible sublimity throughout the piece, which transfixes the spectator, in astonishment and horror, before it. Every expression of terror—of remorse, and of anguish, is thrown into the murderer's countenance, and there is agony in every muscle of his distracted frame. Every living thing seems to recoil before him as he flies—and all nature is terribly illumined by the lightnings of Almighty vengeance that flash upon the wretched fugitive.

The gardens of the palace are spacious, and laid out with the accustomed formality of broad straight avenues and square parterres. We thought of the ill-fated Marshal Ney, who escaped the arrows of death in so many well-fought fields and arduous campaigns, to pay the forfeit of his adherence to the hopeless fortunes of his exiled master, by an ignominious death in a retired part of these gardens.

In our way from the Luxembourg to the Palais Royal, we met with a curious specimen of French politeness. We stopped at a celebrated patissier's, in order to refresh ourselves with some ices, in which the confectioners of Paris undoubtedly excel. They had none; and we were all turning to leave the place, when every one in the room—the mistress, the waiters, and her customers together, burst into a loud laugh at our disappointment, which was kept up while we got into the carriage.—As I put my foot upon the step, however, I could not but look round to repay the compliment, and we drove off not a little amused with such a sample of the polished manners of the French.

The Palais Royal is an immense mass of buildings—but more remarkable for the beings that haunt it, and the scenes exhibited nightly within its walls, than for the beauty of its architecture, or the vastness of its dimensions, though, in these particulars, it holds a respectable station amongst the palaces of Paris. It is the property of the Duke of Orleans, but a part of it only is inhabited by him. The rest, comprising an immense parallelogram of uniform and massive building, with shops and piazzas on the ground floor, is devoted to business, to pleasure, and to vice. Within the area, are gravel walks and grass plots, the resort of the idle by day, and the vicious by night. In the centre, a noble fountain throws up its sparkling waters, and gives, to the variegated groups that saunter round it, an air of refreshing coolness, amid the dust and heat of a summer noon.

The shops in the Palais Royal are chiefly for the sale of jewellery, clocks, toys, &c. Many of the articles they exhibit are extremely rich and curious. There are musical snuff-boxes of most exquisite workmanship—magnificent and beautiful time-pieces of classical design, and of the purest alabaster—watches, emblazoned, enamelled, and studded with pearl, to awaken the envy, and adorn the persons of the fair—and, in short, every device that ingenuity could conceive, or patient industry execute.

These articles, however, are by no means cheap, considering the duty to which, on importation into England, they are liable. One hundred and fifty Napoleons was the price of a snuff-box, set with diamonds, from which, on opening the lid, there started up a beautiful little bird, that sung a sweet tune, and then suddenly disappeared. With such toys as these the wily Parisians amuse John Bull in his visits to their capital—the temptation is irresistible—and few, perhaps, repair to the piazzas of the Palais Royal, without leaving some substantial memorial of their visit in the hands of one of these skilful artificers.

The first floor is chiefly composed of coffee-houses, eating-rooms, and apartments for gambling; while the upper stories exhibit scenes of licensed debauchery, beyond the power of the filthiest pen to describe. Pleasure, impurity, and fraud, seem to have made this their strongest hold—their favourite resort. From these haunts of villany—these last retreats of the ruined and the desperate, the flames of the revolution were abundantly supplied with fuel. Many a frantic monster, during that dreadful period, rushed from these cells of infamy, raging like a demon from the bottomless pit, to scatter around him "firebrands, arrows, and death"—to exult in the ghastly spectacles of the guillotine—to laugh amid the shrieks of the Abbaye, and to shout *vive la nation, vive la republique*, as the warm blood of his neighbours and friends, perhaps even of his kindred, flowed at his feet! And still this nest of impurity retains its dreadful pre-eminence above all other haunts of vice; and many an unhappy youth, cursing the hour that he entered its infernal gates, in darkness and despair, hurries from its gambling table or its brothel, to consummate his misery in the waters of the Seine.—Of this fatal issue, melancholy instances are perpetually occurring. A building is appropriated for the reception of the bodies discovered in the river; and scarcely a morning dawns that does not add to the disgusting group, and bring some broken-hearted parent to recognize the lifeless body of a lost and ruined child!

The quantity of vice in Paris is, indeed, immense, and its varieties are almost unbounded. Every species of impurity and crime that can or *cannot* be conceived, is perpetrated here without apprehension or restraint, and I have heard of things at which decency crimsons and humanity turns pale, as by no means rare or secret, but of notorious and habitual occurrence in its haunts of vice. To speak of a "state of morals," in connexion with such a condition of society, were only to degrade the term. They seem to have no moral sense—no external standard or inward perception, or feeling of right and wrong. Inclination and expediency appear to be the two great laws by which they act, and whatever these may dictate they immediately perform—"working all manner of iniquity with greediness." I speak not of robbery and murder, or the vulgar vices of intemperance—for these they seem to have but little taste, and drunkenness seldom disgraces their streets, but refer chiefly to the vices that connect with avarice and lust—that gather round the gaming-table, and crowd within the precincts of the brothel. Still, however, these, black and abominable as they are, under any circumstances, do not stalk abroad, as in some cities of the Continent, at noon-day, and utter their horrible shibboleth—their dialect of death in your ears as you pass along the streets, but they abide in their own execrable haunts, and await, in the deep recesses of their polluted temples, the coming of devotees to their accursed shrines.

From this circumstance, the city of Paris appears to be more pure than it really is.—You may walk up and down its public streets and most frequented avenues without offence or disgust—pity, indeed, may be excited, at the frivolity, and gaiety of a people, who, if they felt their national degradation before their fellow men, and their moral delinquency in the sight of God, would clothe themselves in sackcloth, and weep, if it were possible, in the anguish of their spirit, tears of blood. But what they are in the sight of God, is a thought, perhaps, that never occurs to them. With regard to the estimation in which surrounding nations hold them, however, they seem to have some concern. Yet, even here, their natural gaiety comes in to their relief. They know that they are an enslaved and conquered people, and they groan, inwardly, beneath the oppression of foreign armies, subsisting on their soil.—Yet still they talk and laugh themselves into a persuasion that they are independent—that they were never subdued—that they freely recalled the present sovereign and his family to the throne—that they are contented and happy beneath his reign—and thus they dream and talk of freedom while they wear the fetters, and dance, like the maniac, in their chains. The wise and the prudent amongst them, it is true, think and speak differently.—"We know," say they, "that we are enslaved—your armies keep the Bourbons on the throne—we were willing to resign the former leader, but not willing to take your choice of a successor. It is an insufferable degradation, that other nations should guide the destinies of France—and insulted and vanquished as we are—prisoners in our own country—with foreign armies consuming our produce, and forbidding the expression of our feelings—is it to be imagined that we can endure all this unmoved, and not, in the silence imposed upon us, meditate revenge?"

What I have written is not what I have *supposed* to be the feelings of the thoughtful and intelligent, but is the substance of a conversation with a man, whose rank and information give weight to his opinions.

Your's, &c.

LETTER X.

Paris.

My Dear ——

I alluded, in my last, to the feeling that prevails amongst the thoughtful and enlightened, respecting the present state of France. To what I then said, I ought to add, that the general impression is in favour of the King. He is considered a mild and benignant prince—anxious for the welfare of his people.—But alas! the people are restless and turbulent, and a monarch of less amiable qualities would suit them better. The exploits and enterprises of their former ruler have rendered them a martial people—their ears have been accustomed to the shouts of victory—their eyes to the pomp and splendour of military spectacles—and their vanity has been flattered by the spoils of conquered nations collected in their capital. Destitute, then, of that moral principle which exults when the wrongs of the injured are redressed—and those domestic habits and attachments which are favourable to the cultivation of the arts of peace, how can it be expected that they should sit down at once, contented in the tranquillity that has settled on the ruins of their independence—that throws them back upon themselves to brood upon their national degradation—and gives them leisure to contemplate the proud and giddy eminence from which they have fallen. It must be expected, that after the cessation of such a tempest, a considerable agitation should long be felt, and it will be well, indeed, if the elements are not gathering strength for another storm. Perhaps, while the present monarch lives, no immediate danger need be apprehended. If he should adopt a liberal and enlightened policy—if he should unshackle himself from the fetters which a superstitious and a mercenary priesthood are striving, but too successfully, to rivet on him—if he should adopt efficient plans for the instruction of the rising generation in the principles of the Bible, which are those of morality, loyalty, and peace—and if God, by whom kings rule and princes decree justice, should spare him for a few years, to foster and to cherish these wise and salutary measures, the danger will be greatly lessened. By the influence of such an education, pure and upright principles will be instilled into the minds of the rising population—domestic virtues will be inculcated, and domestic habits formed—the national character will become more benevolent and mild—and the people, recovered from the wild and feverish dreams of anarchy and conquest, will learn how much more conducive to their real interests and genuine happiness, is the calm and steady process of affairs, beneath the auspices of a legitimate and paternal prince, than the impetuous torrent that hurried them along, in wild and giddy transport, in the guilty schemes and boundless projects of a proud usurper.

With respect to the other branches of the family, except, perhaps, the amiable, but superstitious, Duchess D'Angouleme, the public feeling is by no means as favourable. It is to be feared, therefore, that the death of the present monarch, should it happen before the public mind is more generally tranquillized and settled, would bring a dreadful day to France! I should not wish to be in Paris, at that period.—There is certainly no great love for the English in the breasts of our French neighbours—nor can it be expected that there should be. They tolerate us, however, for our money—they feel the circulation of our cash throughout their capital, and they are contented for a season, to bury their deep-rooted animosity in their coffers, while they return us secret curses for the wealth we squander. Here and there, they show their spite in ridiculous caricatures, and theatrical exhibitions, with, now and then, a haughty look and a disdainful sneer—like the snarling of the mastiff at the hands that supply his food and rivet his chain!—But, if ever the mastiff should get loose, wo to the objects of his long-smothered and deeply-cherished hate. Much, indeed, of the cringing servility of the French manners is gone. The immense crowds of clerks and apprentices, and coarse and unmannerly clodhoppers, who, fired with the ambition of seeing foreign parts, and laughing at the French, have poured into the Boulevards, and jostled through the streets of Paris—swearing and blustering at the waiters in the cafès and restaurateurs—exclaiming against extortion and imposition in the shops of the tradesmen, and, not unfrequently, taking what they call *French leave*, without a sufficient token of remembrance in an unpaid reckoning left behind—have much sunk the English character in their estimation. *Milord Anglais* is a sound at present but seldom heard—at least my ears have not been saluted with it—and our countrymen are unquestionably held in very different estimation now, to what they were before the revolution, when every Englishman that travelled on the continent, was received with the respect and honours of a prince.

With regard to the higher classes of society, this observation cannot apply. The superior sort of English move about in their carriages, and reside, chiefly, at their hotels—and if they mix in company at all, it is, of course, in that of their own rank.

One is very much struck, in walking through the streets and public places of Paris, with the number of men that meet you with orders of knighthood in their coat. The sentinels on duty are almost constantly in action, presenting arms to them as they pass along, for every one that wears the insignia receives this honour. But some of them are mean and contemptible enough in their appearance: and I have scarcely seen one, by a comparison with whom, any of our city knights, much as they are despised, might not deem himself degraded. Indeed, poverty and splendour—nobility and meanness, seem to be constant companions here, and, I am told, that a court day at the Thuileries, presents some curious illustrations of the combinations. The noblesse of the old régime have been restored, many of them, to their titles, but alas! few to their estates. The lean kine that rose up from the troubled sea of anarchy and blood, have devoured them—and the unhappy fugitives, on their return, receive again the empty title, and the proud insignia, but not the full purse, and the fair domain. Hence, many a peer may be observed, creeping down from an upper room in one of the dark and narrow lanes of this crowded city, and with his bag-wig and sword, making the best of his way through the muddy streets, to the audience-chamber of his prince. But is it not in the power of the monarch to relieve them by a comfortable place, or a more comfortable pension?—Alas! there are so many to be served—and there is so little to spare. On the one hand, the harpies of the church are so clamorous—on the other, the members of his own family—those that have *not*, are so eager to get, those that *have*, are so anxious to retain—the public coffers are so exhausted, and so immense an army is still to be maintained—while there are no resources now to be anticipated from the plunder of other nations, or the lawful spoils of war—that many, it is to be feared, have no brighter prospect, than to drag on the declining years of life in splendid misery—stealing, more like spectres than men, about the palaces their ancestors contributed to rear, and exiled from the mansions in which their better days of childhood and of youth were passed in gaiety and splendour.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XI.

Paris.

My dear ——

A circumstance occurred just before our arrival here, the lesson to be derived from which is very obvious—*caution.* An American gentleman, a friend of Dr. K.'s, has been residing in Paris for some time, for the purpose of study. He has always, in his own country, and especially here, avoided any interference in politics, or expression of political sentiment, and has devoted himself entirely and exclusively to literary pursuits. As he sat at breakfast, however, not many mornings ago, four gendarmes entered his room, and, demanding his keys, instantly proceeded to examine his papers. Finding nothing of a suspicious nature amongst them, they turned to his books, and meeting with some volumes in Arabic, they instantly seized them, concluding, no doubt, that nothing but sedition and treason could be concealed under such strange and outlandish characters, and were proceeding with their wonderful discovery to the police, when the gentleman exhorted them to look on the covers of the book. They did so, and there, to their astonishment, beheld the royal arms. They had, in fact, come out of the royal library. At sight of these indisputable proofs of innocence, at least so far as the volumes in question were concerned, they relinquished their prey, and left the agitated student with a caution, saying, that so long as he should continue in Paris, he must consider himself as under the *surveillance* of the police!*

The American gentlemen here, many of them, wear eagles in their hats. The emblem is mistaken for that of Napoleon, and hence terrible fracas frequently arise. One occurred this morning at the gate of the gardens of the Thuileries. The sentinel on duty snatched at the eagle, to tear it from his hat, as the American passed. The American thereupon planted his clenched fist in the soldier's face—a scuffle ensued, they fell, others came to mingle in the fray, and words and blows were dealt unsparingly, by more than the original combatants. What was the issue I have not heard. There can be little doubt, however, but that the American would obtain redress, for the action of the sentinel must be considered as a violation of both decency and duty. All this happened just under the windows of the palace.

We took horses, and rode this morning to the heights of *Montmartre*, a name and a spot pregnant with disgrace and infamy to France, and which they would gladly obliterate for ever from the annals of their history, and the surface of their soil. From the top of the telegraph, which we ascended for the sake of the prospect, is a magnificent view of the city on the one hand, with its adjacent woods and gardens, and highly cultivated fields and orchards, and on the other, immense plains, stretching to an almost imperceptible horizon, with the venerable towers of St. Dennis, the ancient burying place of the kings of France, in the distance. We found the man who keeps the telegraph intelligent and communicative; but you will feel as little interested in reading, as I should be in writing, could I correctly record it, all he told us of the movements of the allied armies, whose advance to the gates of Paris, by this place, fixed an indelible stain upon the military character of France, and, at the same time, put the FINIS to the career of the usurper's glory. For the afterpiece, which terminated on the plains of Waterloo, and whence the actor retired to his lonely dwelling on the ocean, had more the appearance of a galvanic struggle, a convulsive after-pang, than the cool and steady efforts which express the functions, and bespeak the influence of a principle of life. The houses about Montmartre are mean, though it is to Paris, what Everton is to Liverpool, or Highgate to London. But the houses of the wealthy here are all immured in courts, and shut in from the view of every object, by enormous gates, just like Burlington House, in Piccadilly—only that the courts are far less spacious, and the streets far less wide. They seem but partially to appreciate the beauties of prospect, the advantages of situation, or the salubrity of air. They have nothing like our neat country boxes, and genteel and pleasant villages, scattered here and there, within a few miles round the city—to which the wealthy tradesman might repair, to enjoy, in domestic retirement, a sweet seclusion from the noise and bustle of the great metropolis. But they all live—princes and peers, artists and literati, tradesmen and merchants—crowded together in tall and thickly-inhabited houses—close and narrow streets, filled with perpetual bustle and incessant din, with no relaxation, but a stroll in the Champs Elysées, or the public gardens—and no amusement or variety, but that which is derived from the café or the theatre—the cards or the dice—the light and airy forms of dissipation that flutter in the Boulevards, or the more desperate and determined fiends of vice that brood in the deep recesses of the Palais Royal. And even if they leave the city, and ramble a few miles into the adjacent country, it is to some one of those scenes of pleasure or receptacles of vice, with which the environs abound, and without which, even the beauties of nature, and the freshness of the air, would have but little to captivate and charm!*

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* This reminds me of a curious fact, which was related to me by a foreigner from the North of Europe, and which occurred while he was at Bourdeaux, during the reign of Buonaparte. As it illustrates the state of perfection to which the system of *espionage* was carried at that time, I am induced to record it here. A party sat down to dinner at a public table, when a gentleman sticking his fork into a fowl, began to dissect it, and as he cut off the head, he said, with a laugh, "Here goes the head of the Emperor."—No observation was made, and they proceeded with their dinner; but in the course of it, the waiter came, and, tapping the gentleman on the shoulder, told him, he was wanted in the hall. On entering the hall, he was accosted by a *gendarme*, who asked him, if he was not the gentleman who, in cutting off the head of a fowl at dinner, had said, "Here goes the head of the Emperor"—he replied he was, but "What of that"—"You must come," said the *gendarme*, "with me."—"With you,"—he exclaimed, and putting his hand to his pocket, presented it full of money to the officer, and was turning away—"Stay," said the man, "I am not to be thus dealt with—you must instantly obey my summons." "Alas!" said the gentleman, "am I then to be torn from my wife and children, and hurried to a dungeon, for such a trifle as that—my life and liberty are most precious and important to my family—I will give you—" and he named an enormous sum, "to liberate me, and for ever conceal the affair" "No," said the inflexible *gendarme*. "I am above the largest bribe you can offer, and you must instantly go, for I dare not parley with you any longer." The gentleman then took a card from his pocket, which he held up to the view of the *gendarme*, who immediately made his obeisance to him, and departed.—Now the fact is, the gentleman himself was a superintendent of these spies. The waiter at the tavern was in the pay of Government—he made the observation respecting the head of the emperor in the hearing of the waiter to prove his vigilance—he was true to his charge, and directly apprized one of the *gendarmes* of the seditious and treasonable words that had escaped from the stranger's lips.—He then tempted the *gendarme* with those liberal offers, and finding him faithful, his object was accomplished; and informing him, by the card which he carried about him, and which bore the secret sign, who he was, there the matter ended, to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned.—Who would live in such a land as this!

Perhaps the secret of all this, in a great measure, is, that there is nothing like domestic life in Paris. You will hardly find a comfortable family circle there. Marriages are, for the most part, contracts formed for convenience and not for love. From such connexions, what can be expected but alienation and distance—infidelity and adultery.—Accordingly, I am informed it is no uncommon thing in Paris, for a married woman to have what is called her *L'ami de maison*, who visits her as often as he pleases, without any interruption from the lady's lawful husband—to whom the boudoir of his mistress is always sacred—and who is so necessary an evil in the house, a thing so generally tolerated, that, in many cases, he actually bears his part in the expenses of the establishment. The lady, of course, allows to her husband the liberty she takes, and he is sent abroad to find a similar post of honour in some other house, to that which he suffers the beloved of his wife to occupy in his own. From such a state of things, therefore, every shadow of domestic intercourse and association is excluded. A family table is seldom spread—a family circle is seldom gathered.—They repair to the restaurateurs to dine—to the cafés for coffee, and to the theatre, or even worse resorts, for the evening's occupation and amusement. Thus they live in public—eat and drink in public—and one might almost imagine, from their fondness for publicity that they would sleep in public—or never sleep at all.—Pleasure—exhibition, and intrigue, seem to be the great ends of their existence.—To the nobler pursuits and occupations, that become a rational, accountable, and immortal creature, they seem utterly lost. With the being of a God, or a future state, there is nothing, above ground, in Paris, that has the remotest connexion, except, indeed, the churches, which are the haunts of the deadliest superstition, and consecrated to the pompous worship of the image of the beast.—From the classic air of the public edifices, and the mingled superstition and impurity of the people, one might almost fancy one's self in ancient Athens, surrounded by a thousand temples and a thousand altars conceerated to the deities of lust and pleasure: and a population, the fundamental maxim of whose *practical*, if not *avowed* atheism, is ever present to their mind, and ever operative in their conduct,—*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!*

But I have been almost unconsciously, led to the same disgusting topic, upon which, I fear, I have already dwelt too long in a former letter. To a superficial observer, perhaps, one who merely contemplates the city of Paris, through the medium of its works of arts, or scenes of gaiety and amusement, the pictures I have drawn may seem too strongly marked and deeply coloured—but it can be so regarded *only* by a superficial observer. For my own part, my heart sickens at the review of what I have written, when I think how far beneath the reality any description, of which my pen is capable, must be. The circumstance that the grosser forms of vice are wanting in the public haunts, mark, if possible, a deeper dereliction of principle, and renders the scene more dangerous. In our own metropolis, alas! there is enough of vice, and crimes are perpetrated of the deepest die.—But, then, vice is recognised *as* vice and shunned and abhorred by virtue.—It keeps its own form, uses its own language, and preserves its own limits.—But here, vice has the language and the forms of virtue—walks hand in hand with virtue—is adorned with the same attire—admitted into the same society—occupies the same seat—and, I had almost said reposes on the same couch.—She is to be found in the shop of the respectable tradesman, in forms that in London would be shrouded with the greatest secresy, or, if discovered, brand the vender with deserved infamy—but here, the softer sex become the ministers of lust, by exposing them to such as choose to purchase, and that too with unblushing countenance, as if they were the simplest articles of lawful commerce—the fine arts have lent their aid to decorate and adorn the monster, and to give a soft and classic air to her most disgusting expressions—while the brilliant genius and the exuberant imagination of the author, have invested it as with dazzling gems and a gorgeous robe.——

But all these considerations apart—it is enough for a man that has any principle of religion, or integrity, or humanity within him, to walk the streets of Paris, and reflect, that he is passing through a city, in which, a little more than a quarter of a century ago, the oracles of God were publicly disowned, the Christian Sabbath utterly abolished, reason elevated to the throne of the Supreme, and liberty declared to be the only God—that he is surrounded by a people, who, after having embrued their hands in the blood of their lawful prince, and filled their capital with enormities, at the recital of which, the whole civilized world shuddered with a thrilling horror, while all was consecrated by the sacred name of liberty and freedom—at length placed the crown they had dashed to the earth upon an upstart's brow, and fell prostrate, in all the abjectness of submission, to lick the dust beneath the despot's feet.—A people, that followed at his beck through seas of blood, intoxicated with spoil and glutted with gore, while they yielded to him as to their destiny, and plighted their homage to him as their God—till the great ruler of the nations was pleased to reverse his fortune, and who then, with one consent, abandoned him to his fate—an exile on the ocean, and the shadow of a king.—A people too, who could repeat their servility and their treachery, when his fortunes brightened once again, and again grew dark—and who are now sunk in the arms of superstition and sensuality, as deep, as deadly, and as gross, as that from whose embrace they rushed to the wild extremes of anarchy, and the cold breast of atheism—I say these reflections are enough to quicken the footsteps of a man, who has the fear of God or the principles of humanity within him, lest the earth should open, and swallow up a city which has been the theatre of such enormities, and is still the haunt of such pollution and impiety!

Your's, &c.

LETTER XII.

Paris.

My dear ———

We dined to day at Veres, in the Palais Royal, the most celebrated Restaurateur's in Paris. Our object was to have a fair specimen of French cookery, of which one has heard so much; and also to observe the mode of proceeding in one of these temples dedicated to luxury and appetite. We were rather early, and amongst the first of the devotees: thus we had leisure to survey the scene, and make our observations on the place. Everything here is contrived for effect, and art has done her utmost to give to the eating-house an air of gaiety and elegance. On entering the room, the first object that arrested our attention was the mistress, a young and beautiful woman, most elegantly dressed, reclining at her ease on an elevated seat, commanding a view of the spacious apartment. There was nothing of the coarseness, and hurry, and officiousness of the landlady about her—but delicate, dignified, and easy, she seemed as if enthroned, the presiding genius of the place.—Around her the waiters gather to receive her orders, and to make reports, from time to time, of the progress of affairs; while from the mirrors that surround the room, and reflect the parties, in a most amazing variety, upon each other, she can perceive, almost at one glance, how all her customers are occupied. The next thing to which our attention was drawn, as you will naturally suppose, was the carte, or bill of fare, at the immensity of which, a London epicure—a city alderman, would have started! What a boundless variety!—Fish, flesh, and fowl—rôti, bouilli—fricassée—fricandeau—soups—sauces—inconceivable combinations—indescribable compositions—unutterable names—"earth, air, and ocean plundered of their sweets," and all decked out, combined—adorned—and wrought up to the highest pitch of flavour and of goût, to quicken the most languishing appetite, and win the admiration of the most fastidious epicure. The time advanced—the devotees came in—the shrine of the divinity, for such the fair one that presided seemed, was surrounded, and the mysteries began. The tables were rapidly filled, and as quickly covered, and every party seemed determined and prepared to do his best in discharging the duties and honours of the place. I observed that most performed their part with astonishing rapidity—plate after plate was quickly emptied—dish after dish was rapidly discussed and dismissed—glass after glass of hermitage or burgundy, from the bottle, placed, for coolness, in a vessel filled with ice, thrown off; and, in truth, with all the elegance and refinement with which it was tempered, there seemed to be as great a quantum of actual, downright gormandizing in this temple of luxury, as I ever witnessed in any of the chop-houses about the precincts of St. Paul's. Nor were *we* altogether inactive; appetite received an additional stimulus from curiosity, and many things were tasted for the sake of ascertaining what could be contained beneath the disguise of names and forms that had never saluted the eye or the ear before. The wines were excellent, and the whole was crowned with a sample of the costly liqueurs, and a rich dessert.

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* What I have here written is from my own observation, and the observation of others, better informed than myself. Merchant's Guide to Paris, indeed, informs us of a few villages, remarkable for their commanding prospects and the beauty of their villas, to which the merchants of the capital resort. They must bear, however, a very small proportion to the population of the city, and be very different in their character to the generality of buildings which I have seen in its neighbourhood. I am still of opinion, that, in the vicinity of Paris, the neat, snug, compact cit's country box, which bespeaks domestic comfort, and the rational enjoyment of well-earned competence, is utterly unknown.

I was not a little amused and interested with the scene; not merely from its novelty and gaiety, but because it also added another feature to that expression of national character, a correct and lively remembrance of which I am anxious to retain. Still, selfishness, sensuality, and vanity prevail. Coarse as they deem the English, and refined as we consider the French, I question whether any tavern in London could produce such a bill of fare as that at Veres, though all the cooks of the metropolis should lay their heads together for months, unless assisted by some of their continental brethren in the culinary art. They seem to have studied, if one may so speak, the philosophy of cookery, and to have applied no ordinary knowledge, in the principles of chemical combination, for the pampering of the appetite. Nor, in this gratification of the palate, does their fondness for display and publicity seem to be neglected. By the artful distribution of the mirrors, in the panels of the room, the groups are multiplied, almost to infinity. Every glance of the eye gives to you some animated party, with all the gesture and grimace of the flattery or compliment that may be passing at the time, or in all the deep devotion to the matter in hand, for which a Frenchman can consent for awhile to suspend even these—and thus they have the satisfaction to know that they are seen by almost every eye, without encountering the vulgar gaze of any individual to whom they might directly turn. Here too, the ladies mingle with the gentlemen, without confusion or timidity—a novel sight, indeed, to an English eye! Madame le Countesse sits beside Monsieur le Count, at one table—an English barber, who has come to Paris to see the fashions, and must of course dine for once at Veres, with his party, perhaps, occupies another—while people of all ranks and characters, or no rank and character at all, meet and mingle in the motley crowd—talk—laugh—eat—drink—look gallantry at each other—and then turn out to meet the kindling glories of the Palais Royal—where pleasure lights her thousand lamps, decks her in gay attire, puts on her bewitching charms, unfolds her deep recesses, and waits to lure her victim to the verge of ruin—till, dazzled with the blaze, and giddy with the constant whirl, reason, thought, reflection, all forsake him—and yielding to the delirium of delight, without an effort of resistance, he is engulfed in the dread abyss.—"Oh! my soul, come not thou into their secret, to such mine honour be not thou united,"—"whoso end is destruction—whose God is their belly—whose glory is their shame—who mind earthly things."

This morning we visited the edifice appropriated to the meetings of the Institute of France. Although this institution may be considered in its infancy, not having existed more than eleven years, yet it has attained a high degree of eminence amongst the learned societies of Europe. It is divided into four classes—the first, devoted to the study of natural philosophy, chemistry, and the mathematics—the second, to the cultivation of French literature—the third, to history and ancient literature; and the fourth, to the fine arts. It comprises the most eminent literary and scientific characters of the day, and corresponds with the learned of every nation. We had introductions to some of its members, especially to Baron Silvestre de Sacy, and the Chevalier Langlès, Professors of Oriental Literature. To the polite attentions of the last-mentioned gentleman, we were greatly indebted. The lecture room is a very good one, it is the only room I saw worth mentioning. It is, however, altogether, a noble pile, worthy the purpose to which it is devoted. The front is a semicircle, with a fine dome in the centre, which is not the least ornamental object amongst the many that adorn this majestic city.

From the Institute we proceeded to the Royal Library. Here, in this immense depot of learning and of art, are three hundred and fifty-eight thousand printed books, in all languages, and seventy-two thousand volumes of manuscripts and public records—besides five thousand volumes, containing the works of the most eminent engravers from the invention of the art to the present time.

The library is open to the public, who enjoys its advantages without trouble or expense. I was truly interested to see how good a use is made of so great a privilege. There were several hundreds of persons reading in the different rooms—many seemed busy in making extracts from the books, and the librarians appeared to be very attentive in providing the volumes as they were wanted.

No wonder that France possesses so many authors and scientific men, when the rich treasures of learning and of art are thus freely open to all ranks of people, and the meanest plebeian can as much avail himself of their inestimable treasures as the monarch or the peer. Paris has much the advantage of London in this respect. Besides, that she is much richer in these things, she is also much more free in the exposure of her intellectual wealth. No Englishman can visit the French capital without making the comparison, and feeling its force.—It is true, that the British Museum, and Somerset House are open to the public, but then, in the former, you are paraded through the rooms in groups, with a man in office by your side, and no opportunity afforded for observation or for study—and in the latter the admission is not free.—But in the Louvre—in the Jardin des Plantes—in the Royal Library, you go as often and stay as long as you please—no one interrupts or questions you—and you feel as though, to all the purposes of use and of enjoyment, every object that you contemplate were your own.

It is rather humiliating, however, to be obliged, in some measure to account for this difference, by a difference of national character and propensity. In the first place, there is not such an interest in the works of literature and art pervading the public mind in England, as in France. The great mass of the population, with us, care but little about them—their taste is of a far less refined and exalted character; and the common people in London had much rather give eighteen-pence to see the wild beasts at Exeter 'Change, or some of the gay exhibitions at Bartholomew fair, than the pictures in Somerset House, or the minerals in the British Museum. But, in Paris, the lowest orders of society are tinctured with a love of philosophy, and fired with the admiration of the arts—and the meanest stalls in the Boulevards and upon the quays, contain literary treasures, and specimens of art, to attract the scholar and interest the connoisseur. I need only instance a book stall close by the gate of our hotel, where, amongst a good deal of trash, is a splendid copy of Rapin's History of England, in the original French, with remarkably fine impressions of the plates, and handsomely bound in twelve to fifteen volumes quarto. This work I could purchase, perhaps, for forty francs—the man asks but fifty for it: and the other day I was detained nearly half an hour looking over a stall near the Institute, whence I might have procured some rich materials for my projected museum, at a very moderate price. There were many Chinese and Oriental deities, many gems and curious specimens in mineralogy, and a vast variety of interesting and valuable curiosities. But London has no such allurements for the virtuosi as they traverse her streets; and, with the exception of a few respectable booksellers, who expose their books on stalls before their windows, there is little to be met with but toys, and gingerbread, and rubbish. Can anything more strongly mark the public taste than this? But another reason why these receptacles of literature and art are thus freely thrown open to all ranks in Paris, may be, because the people in Paris never abuse the privilege. Nothing is purloined, or touched, or injured. The propensity to meddle and deface, much less to steal, is unknown. There is no rudeness, or roughness, or incivility in the company, though they may be of the lowest class; and if it were possible for the whole population of the metropolis to pass through the galleries in a single morning, and examine every interesting object they contain, the probability is, that not one of them would sustain the slightest injury or receive a single spot. Unhappily, this is not the case with us. The lower classes of the English are a meddling people—they are impelled by curiosity, and not by the love of science, in their investigations; they must know the *inside* and the substance of everything; and even in classes of society, where the mere vulgar feeling of curiosity could not be supposed to operate, the violation of the tenth commandment has sometimes been followed by a violation of the eighth, and the breach of the sixth has succeeded in cases where mutilation is absolute destruction. It is a grievous thing that there should be any bar upon what literary and scientific treasures and resources a country may possess, and a lamentable thing, indeed, that the rudeness of an idle and ignorant curiosity, a propensity for pilfering, or a love of mischief, should operate, in any measure, as the cause.

A profound silence reigns in those galleries of the library devoted to study, and the strangers who visit them, merely for the gratification of their curiosity, are expected not to interrupt it. Amongst the objects that arrest the attention, is a curious model of the hill of Parnassus, with the geniuses of France at different stages of the ascent—Louis XIV. being in the character of Apollo on the summit; a fine bronze statue of Voltaire; a plan of the Pyramids of Egypt, in relief; and an immense pair of globes, constructed by Coronelli, the famous mathematician and geographer, who was employed by Cardinal d'Estrées to make globes for Louis XIV. They are the largest he constructed, and were painted by the celebrated artist Le Brun. They are eighteen English feet in diameter, and stand in a room built on purpose to receive them. They are considered as being rather curious than useful. They have been put up about twenty years. Amongst the MSS. are many ancient copies of various portions of the Scriptures. With these, you may suppose, I was deeply interested.—Here is a MS. of the Epistles of St. Paul, written so early as the seventh century—it is called the Codex Regis. Here is also a MS. of the four Gospels, written in the eighth century. I was much struck with a beautiful MS. in letters of gold, of the fourth or fifth century, but I could not make out what it was, and I had no one at hand to inform me, as I had lingered long behind the rest of my party, to gratify a taste, which, in this instance, seemed peculiar to myself. We, however, are fully as rich in treasures of this kind, by far the most precious of all that antiquity has yielded us—for the Alexandrine manuscript in the British Museum, which was written, perhaps, about the fourth or fifth century; and the Codex Besæ, in the University of Cambridge, which is considered, by some, of equal, if not higher antiquity, are probably the oldest MSS. of any portion of the Scriptures in the world.

In the Cabinet of Antiques are some very rich and curious articles. I particularly noticed a vase of one of the Ptolemies—an immense agate, deemed the finest in the world, richly carved, brought from Jerusalem——but there would be no end to an enumeration of these things!———

Amongst the National Institutions of Paris, there is none more interesting than the Hotel des Invalides. It is for the reception of old soldiers, on the plan of our Greenwich and Chelsea Hospitals. As a building it is, upon the whole, inferior to Greenwich, but the church, with its magnificent and gilded dome, surpasses anything that Greenwich can boast. The church is exceedingly spacious, and the dome immense. It is covered with beautiful paintings on the stone, representing the battles of Louis XIV. which, viewed from below, have the appearance of the most exquisite tapestry. Round this dome were hung the colours which had been taken from the enemy. They exceeded three thousand in number—and such was the enthusiasm of the hardy veterans, who repose within the asylum from the toils of war, and many of whom had bled to gain these trophies of military glory, that when the Allies entered the capital, rather than see them retaken, they tore them down and committed them to the flames. The dome and the spire that rises from it are gilded without. This was the whim of Buonaparte, and 'tis said he caught the idea from the Kremlin at Moscow. Some are of opinion that it is an instance of bad taste in the ex-emperor, and greatly disfigures the building. Certainly, when near, and viewed individually, it has a gingerbread and tawdry appearance, and does not harmonize with the general sobriety of the edifice—but when viewed at a distance, blended with the many spires and domes of this magnificent city, it has a fine effect, and gives an air of splendour to the whole picture, of which it then constitutes a part. In the front of the Hotel is a magnificent vista to the Seine. On either side are rich plantations, beneath whose shade it was the intention of Napoleon to have placed the statue of every celebrated hero of ancient and modern times. Thus the worn-out soldier might have passed the evening of his days in a military elysium, communing with the shades of the illustrious dead; while succeeding generations would have been roused to emulate their deeds of glory, by these tokens of national admiration and gratitude.

The number of inhabitants in the Hotel des Invalides, is at present four thousand men, besides three hundred officers. We saw the tables laid out in the hall where the officers were about to dine.—They were circular tables, capable of accommodating a party of a dozen each. Everything was very neat and clean, and the whole economy of the institution appeared to be judicious and well conducted.

There is another institution at Paris, of a more private nature, indeed, than the last, but the principle of which is well worthy attention. It is an asylum for the aged. Every individual who has paid a certain small sum, by monthly instalments, from the age of ten years, increasing gradually, and regularly advanced, till the whole amount raised from each contributor is about £50 may, at the age of seventy, claim as a right the benefit of the institution, which allows to each a separate bed-room, with a sitting-room between two. They dine in a common hall, and their table is amply furnished with plain and wholesome food. There is also connected with the establishment an hospital, where the sick have every necessary attendance, and the best medical advice.

From the Hotel des Invalides we proceeded to the Pantheon. It is called a church, but it has not much the appearance of a sacred edifice. It is an immense pile, and in the finest style of classic elegance and grandeur. It was reared as a mausoleum for the ashes, and a temple for the monuments of the illustrious men of France—and the edifice is well worthy the purpose to which it is dedicated. It is built in the form of a cross, and has a dome of vast dimensions. We ascended to the gallery that surrounds it, from whence, perhaps, is enjoyed the finest view of the capital. It is certainly superior to that from Montmartre, as the principal objects are nearer, and the panorama is complete. We were much astonished at the purity of the atmosphere, though it was the middle of the day, and we were in the centre of an immense metropolis. Every building in Paris was as distinctly seen, as if the sun had but just risen upon it, and not one of its teeming population had been awake. This is owing, in a great measure, to the burning of wood, besides, that the atmosphere is much purer in itself. How unlike the view from the top of St. Paul's, in London.—There, every building is black with smoke, and you look down as upon the steam and mist of a boiling and tumultuous sea. But, from this elevation in Paris, nothing can exceed the magnificence and grandeur that everywhere press upon the eye. There is no uncertainty, or indistinctness, or confusion in the view. Every palace, and every temple, and every public edifice stands before you in its own individual majesty, and urges its peculiar claims upon your admiration and respect, as though it were the only object worth remarking in the scene: while the complete panorama, the coup d'œil, surpasses anything I had ever imagined of a majestic city, and such as, in ruins, I could not but conceive, would rival Palmyra or Persepolis of old: for the ordinary houses being all of stone, unsullied by a smoky atmosphere, uniform and lofty, and relieved by distance—their massive clusters and prolonged perspective, give them the appearance of distinct and separate edifices—while the palaces themselves, occupying so large a portion of the space—the mighty length of the Louvre—the gay pavilions of the Thuileries—the brilliant dome of the Hotel des Invalides, mingling with innumerable other roofs, and domes, and spires, and beautiful facades, and varied lines of architecture, stretching along the banks of the Seine, encircled by the magic groves of the Boulevards, intermingled with the bright foliage of innumerable gardens—and presenting the chaste and spotless grandeur of stone wrought after the noblest models, and white as from the quarry, in contrast with the more sober aspect and deeper hues of the surrounding country—altogether compose a spectacle that transfixes the spectator in astonishment, and calls up the most powerful and affecting associations to the contemplative mind. Where are the hands that reared these palaces—and, when another hundred years have rolled away, where will be the men who inhabit and frequent them?—This vast population that breathe and move beneath me—and whose noise ascends like the throbbings of the heart of a mighty empire: what are their pursuits—their expectations—and their aims?—They are immortal—there is a life beyond the grave—there is another city and a fairer land! Are they alive to their high and eternal destiny—are they conscious of their responsibility at the tribunal of God—are they seeking the riches—the enjoyments—the habitations—and the honours of another world? It is said of Xerxes, that he wept when he surveyed the millions that surrounded him on the plains of Asia, and reflected, that in a hundred years they would be no more. The Redeemer of mankind, from a far nobler motive, had compassion on the multitude when he saw them as sheep without a shepherd. And well may the Christian philanthropist weep, when he contemplates the infidelity, frivolity, and vice, in which that vast population are sunk, upon whose majestic city he has gazed with admiration and delight. But I dare not trust myself with reflections such as these. The theme is inexhaustible—and I have already put your patience to too severe a trial.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Paris.

My dear ——

Yesterday we were at Versailles. We proceeded through the Bois de Bologne to St. Cloud, the favourite residence of Buonaparte and his empress, Maria Louisa. I must not omit to mention, that on this occasion we were driven by the postilion who drove Napoleon eleven years, and who, of course, had many times conducted him to that very palace, when Emperor of France. The Bois de Bologne, is to Paris something like what Hyde Park is to London. It is a favourite drive of the Parisians. It has, however, been shorn of its beauties by the British troops, who were encamped there, by whom many of the trees have been cut down and destroyed, so that little else but brushwood now remains.

St. Cloud is pleasantly situated upon a commanding eminence, about six miles from Paris. It is embosomed in delicious woods, and surrounded by all the sylvan beauties which nature, in conjunction with art, can yield. The gardens are tastefully laid out, and considered as equal in beauty, if not in extent, to any the royal palaces can boast. In short, it possesses every attraction as a country residence for a monarch—a retreat, always at hand, from the business of a throne, and the bustle of a court. It consists of a noble front, with two wings, forming three sides of a spacious court, and possessing a delightful view of the capital, and the intermediate country. The style of finishing and ornamenting within is very princely and magnificent, and the furniture is superb. Yet there is a chasteness and a delicacy pervading the whole, which bespeak the highly cultivated mind, at whose suggestions these last touches were given to this favourite resort of fallen greatness. The gallery is peculiarly splendid, and the paintings on the ceiling are remarkably fine—as are those of the saloons bearing the names of the four seasons of the year. The bed-chamber and the boudoir of the ex-empress, are universally admired—the most refined taste pervades the apartments, and the Graces themselves might not scorn to repose upon the sofas. The walls of this palace were enriched with the noblest productions from the Louvre, which were changed as often as the caprice of its master dictated. It is now preparing for the reception of the Royal Family, who intend to make it their residence for a few weeks. In fact, it needs but little preparation, for Napoleon has left them everything that luxury could wish, and they have only to enter and enjoy it—*if they can.*—But alas! the splendour that surrounds them is a memorial of their sufferings, and they must sometimes start from their repose when they reflect, that they press the very couch on which the usurper lay.

We drove through the park of St. Cloud to the village of Sèvres, where we stopped to see the Royal Porcelain Manufactory. We passed through the show-rooms, and were much pleased with the rich and beautiful specimens of art which they exhibit. The painting and enamelling are most exquisite; yet I do not think the workmanship superior to that of the Worcester china. We were particularly struck with a table composed altogether of porcelain, ornamented with the most beautiful landscapes. The price of it amounted to nearly three thousand pounds of our money. Indeed, things were too costly there to be looked at with composure, and I was not a little pleased when I saw that we were all well out; for I was fearful, lest, by an unlucky turn, some one of our party should have upset and broken one of these precious articles, by which a deeper impression would have been made upon the pocket than the beauty of the paintings had produced upon the mind.

Leaving the Porcelain Manufactory, which, by the by, I should have told you was established in 1745, and was purchased, in 1759, by Louis XV. from which period it became a royal establishment, we proceeded to Versailles.

Of this famous city and its magnificent palace, so much has been said and written, that I scarcely need to occupy my paper with a single remark. Still, however, I know you will expect something from my pen respecting it, as I have been there, and, therefore, I proceed cheerfully to gratify your wishes, without cherishing the vain conceit that in so doing I shall increase your information.

The partial and hasty view of the city of Versailles, which I obtained in passing through it, did not impress me very powerfully in its favour. The streets are straight, and wide, and uniform, but they are dull, and forlorn, and comfortless—and afford but little indication of the bustle which once pervaded them, or the magnificence to which they still conduct. But the palace is a wonderful structure. It is stupendous and magnificent in the extreme, and reminded me more of the productions of the ancient Romans than anything I have yet beheld in this land of palaces and mighty works. We were first conducted to the library, which is apart from the palace, and separated from it by the street. It is an immense collection of books, bibliographically arranged, and deposited in a suit of spacious rooms. From the library we proceeded across the street to the orangery. The collection of orange trees is very large, and many of them are of an immense age. One was pointed out to us that was nearly four hundred years old. Having passed through the orangery, we ascended, by a flight of more than a hundred steps of enormous width, to the grand terrace. There is another flight of steps, equally stupendous, at the opposite side of the orangery, conducting to the same terrace, which is, therefore, as wide as the whole space between them. Arrived on the terrace, a range of building presents itself to the astonished eye, vast in extent and exquisite in beauty. For my own part, I was powerfully affected by it, and stood for some seconds, overwhelmed by the spectacle, and utterly unable to express my emotions. It is more than eight hundred feet long—of the finest stone, and in the noblest style of Grecian architecture. There is a want of perfect correspondence, however, in the roofs of the wings, by which the uniformity of its appearance is, in some measure, destroyed. This, it seems, Buonaparte had intended to correct. The roof of the chapel, too, in the left wing, is in a barbarous style, and ill accords with the general chasteness of the edifice. With these exceptions, the palace of Versailles must be pronounced a most sublime structure, and altogether, unequalled in the productions of modern times. We passed through the principal suites of rooms, but to attempt a description of them would be absurd. Hall after hall—saloon after saloon—gallery succeeding gallery, in an almost infinite variety of magnificence, met the dazzled eye, and bewildered the mind with their immensity and splendour. The grand gallery is, perhaps, the richest room under the sun: all the pomp and luxury of fiction, the richness and exuberance of eastern tales, are realized in the embellishments of its walls, and all the glories of the arts seem concentrated in the paintings of its roof. The artist was the celebrated Le Brun, and the subject, the actions of Louis XIV. the builder of the palace. You may form some idea of the grandeur of the place, when I tell you, that Buonaparte, in the height of his ambition and the zenith of his glory, deemed it too vast and sumptuous for his residence. What an instance of humility and modesty, you will say, on the part of the emperor! How is it, that in this particular, also, he did not imbibe the spirit of his predecessor, to gratify whose vanity the edifice was raised—and who once said to his ambassador, "The King of England may know the extent of my force, but he cannot measure the elevation of my mind. Everything to me is contemptible in comparison with glory." And was not this the very spirit of Napoleon. Did it not breathe in all his manifestoes, and animate all his conduct. As he had the ambition and the vanity of the Bourbon, I wonder, that he did not aspire to inhabit his palace also—but 'tis well for him that he did not. The glories of the Thuileries—the beauties of St. Cloud—the classic elegance of Malmaison—and the romantic grandeur of Fontainebleau, are enough to compare with the wretchedness of Longwood and the rock of St. Helena, without the superadded splendour and magnificence of Versailles.

The gardens are on a scale of magnificence corresponding with the palace, but laid out with the usual formality. There are innumerable fountains, woods, lawns, parterres, canals, temples, grottoes, and all that art, in concert with nature, could devise, to render them worthy the monarch of a mighty empire. The playing of the fountains is a great object of curiosity at Versailles, and it costs a prodigious sum to set them in motion. We might have witnessed it had we chosen to violate the sabbath for the gratification of our curiosity. Wearied with so much magnificence, and disgusted with the character of its author,* whose vanity is marked by every object that meets the eye, and whose baser passions are indicated by not a few, we returned to Paris. Our coachman took us home another route, chiefly along the banks of the Seine, which afforded us as we approached the capital, a fine view of the bridge, erected by Buonaparte to commemorate the victory of Jena, and also the foundations of the palace which he had begun to build for the infant King of Rome.

I must not omit to mention how much we were all delighted with the mistress of the hotel where we refreshed ourselves at Versailles, and where I was compelled to repose for awhile. There was a kindness, and frankness, and artless simplicity about her, which exceedingly interested us. She was free, affable, and easy, without being frivolous, cringing, or obtrusive; and her anxiety to please, seemed to spring more from the amiableness of her disposition, than from interest or politeness. Nor shall I easily forget the feeling of sympathy with which she regarded my indisposition, and prepared a sofa for my repose. She was the first human being, except our own party, upon whom I have looked with emotions of confidence or pleasure, since my leaving England; and there was about her an air of maternal tenderness and unaffected sincerity, which seemed to warrant that confidence, and could not fail to touch me, under circumstances of indisposition, and in a land of strangers.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Paris.

My dear ———

We have been over the Thuileries. I was much struck with the magnificence of the interior. Although here is not the exquisite taste of St. Cloud, nor the massive grandeur of Versailles, yet the apartments are sufficiently splendid in their furniture and decorations, to render them worthy the residence of a monarch. To enter into a description of the exterior of the palace, would be a waste of time. You have heard or read, again and again, that it is a long range of buildings, erected at different periods, and exhibiting various orders of architecture, differing in height and ornament, connected together and terminated by elegant pavilions. If the laws of symmetry and proportion are violated by this curious architectural mixture, it must be confessed that there is an air of romantic beauty pervading the whole, and that the appearance of the pavilions, and those portions of the palace which are occasionally seen above the foliage or through the avenues of the gardens, is extremely gay and fascinating. Of this palace, where everything seems to have risen as by enchantment, to flatter the vanity, and administer to the luxuries of its inmates, Madame Bertrand was once the mistress: all that it contained was at her command. I was much affected, as we were surveying its magnificence, with an anecdote of her, which was related by Sir S. ——. When he was at Longwood, Madame Bertrand exceedingly interested him by the amiableness of her manners. He was touched by a survey of the miserable hovel to which she was there confined—and still more, as. looking round the wretched apartment, she shrugged up her shoulders and said, "Ah! Monsieur, voici les Thuileries!" What instructive lessons do these palaces read to those who visit their beautiful galleries and magnificent saloons, if they are but disposed to consider them aright—and none more impressive than the Thuileries. What a horrid tragedy was acted within these walls on the night of the memorable tenth of August: when the wretched king and queen were compelled to leave the palace of their ancestors, miserable fugitives in their own capital, and seek a shelter from the brutal fury of the populace in the hall of the National Assembly—what a refuge!—only to meet there with indignities less supportable than death—while the hours of darkness that succeeded were occupied in deeds of slaughter, and the morning dawned upon the mangled bodies of the slain lying exposed in the halls, and on the staircases, and about the avenues of the Chateau. The more sober politicians of those times hailed the approach of the revolution, as a kind and generous being who would give them liberty and peace. They little thought that they were letting loose a many-headed monster, whose music was dying groans, whose element was blood, and who would lead them over the bodies of their murdered citizens, to the vassalage of a still fiercer despotism. Like the incendiary, who desires to destroy only the property of his enemy, they saw the conflagration spread far wider than they contemplated, and bidding defiance to every effort to extinguish it, involve friend, and brother, and neighbour, all in one horrible and promiscuous ruin! Then, indeed, like our first parents, their eyes were open, but it was only to gaze on misery and wretchedness. Then they discovered that the people were not ripe for the boon they would have imparted: but, dazzled with the light that dawned too rapidly upon them, the promised liberty was soon converted into madness—and freedom, to use the language of an elegant writer, "perished like a garland in the grasp of popular fury."

But I have wandered from the Thuileries—and no wonder: its history, for the last few years, exhibits such strange vicissitudes, that the mind must wander, that reflects at all, as it meditates upon the scenes and personages with which its apartments are connected. Five and twenty years ago, abandoned by the monarch whose ancestors had reposed within it for many generations, it became the bloody theatre of revolutionary fury. Murder stalked up and down its magnificent staircases, and strewed its splendid halls with the mangled trophies of its triumph. By and by. a new and more despotic tyrant rose, whose very name, at that time, was scarcely known in Europe, and planted the symbol of his tyranny on the spot where they had drenched the fleur-de-lis of the Bourbons in blood. After a lapse of not many years, that tyrant falls, and the brother of a murdered king is restored to the palace of his fathers. Again the Bourbon flies and the Corsican returns—again the Corsican is driven from this palace and his throne, and the banners of the Bourbon once more wave from its pavilions. What a romance!—what a fairy tale would it be deemed, had not our eyes witnessed it, and the truth been too plainly demonstrated in the blood and treasure which all these revolutions have caused to flow! I could not but think of the story of the Sultan and the Dervise—a house with so many changes in its inhabitants, is not a palace, but an inn!

We saw the state bed-room in which Napoleon and the empress slept. The room is used by the king, but not the bed—he is too unwieldly to get into it, but lies on an iron bedstead, brought in nightly for his accommodation, and placed at the foot of the state bed. The decorations of this apartment are very costly and magnificent.

On entering the suite of rooms through which we were conducted, we passed through the hall in which the king's body guard, *Garde du corps du Roi*, are in attendance. They are remarkably fine young men, and all of them gentlemen of the highest rank, junior members of the first families of France. They do the duty of common soldiers about the person of the king.

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* It seems that the haughty Louis was somewhat dissatisfied with it himself before his death, for he is said to have exhorted his successor to the following effect: "I have been too fond of war, do not imitate me in that, or in being too expensive. Take advice on all occasions, and endeavour to discover the best, that you may follow it. Relieve your people as soon as you can, and do that which, unfortunately, I could not do." He also rejoined upon him not to be forgetful of his duty to God. Such advice from the lips of such a man, and at such an hour, is affecting and powerful. None, since the days of Solomon, had lived in greater splendour, or pursued more eagerly the gratification of his passions; yet, to the king of France, as well as to the king of Israel, it was all "vanity and vexation of spirit." What different views we have of the scenes and occupations of life, on a dying bed, to those which lured and fascinated us in the gay and giddy vortex of dissipation and of pleasure. Let, then, the dying speak, while the living listen to their voices.—Let the gay and the dissipated hear their testimony, and give it all its weight, for every one of their own poets saith,

"———that tongues of dying men enforce attention
Like deep harmony——
For they speak truth who speak their words in pain."

The gardens of the Thuileries are a favourite promenade of the Parisians. They are abundantly supplied with chairs, the accommodation of which, together with the perusal of a newspaper, is afforded for four sous. Whenever I have passed through the gardens, I have observed vast numbers enjoying the repose and information obtained at so cheap a rate: while the solitary politicians, seated here and there, with their favourite journal in their hands—the cheerful and animated groupes, engaged in conversation, to which the joke or the compliment seemed to add their enlivening influence—the solitary passenger gliding in the dimness of the twilight which the thick foliage of the trees sheds over the interior of the gardens at noon-day—and the gay and giddy crowds that saunter up and down the more public avenues, merely to see and to be seen, various in costume, in expression, and in manner, always presented to me an interesting picture, and awakened the liveliest sensations in my mind. What scenes have those gardens witnessed—by what beings have they been haunted—what demons in human form have stalked along their avenues—how has the sound of the tocsin invaded their deep recesses at the stillness of the midnight hour—when shrieks and yells of agony and horror ascended from their groves, and the paths were red with the blood and strewed with the bodies of the slain. He must be a stranger to feeling that can walk unmoved upon spots immortalized by deeds of horror, and not shudder as he compares the wanton gaiety that now pervades them, with the dark transactions by which they will be strongly and indelibly marked in the page of history.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XV.

Paris.

My dear ———

We have passed another Sunday in this heathen land. A Sunday in Paris!——You are anxious to know how it was spent—what we saw and heard on that holy day—and whether there was anything in the public services we witnessed in which the heart could find satisfaction, consolation, or repose. There was nothing. *Sunday* it might be called—the heathenish name may well be affixed to the first day of the week here, but 'twas no *Sabbath* to me: and, if what I have seen may be taken as a specimen, I am fully justified in saying, that, in the city of Paris, a Christian Sabbath never dawns. Can that be called a sabbath which is devoted to pleasure, to amusement, and to vice? But you are anxious to know how *we* spent it. I shall hasten to gratify your curiosity, reserving any remarks I may have to make on the state of religion, to the close of this letter, or to another epistle.

Upon going out into the street, which I did pretty early, in order to wait on Monsieur B. to whom I had a letter, and who was not at home when I called the preceding evening, I saw similar preparations to those which I had witnessed at Rouen. The houses were lined with tapestry, carpets, sheets, and linen of various sorts, with wreaths and garlands of flowers, in honour of the procession which was to take place, it being the day on which some of the parishes in Paris were to celebrate the Fête Dieu. The rest had celebrated it the preceding Sunday. The procession, which had then taken place, was graced by the Duchess D'Angouleme; and some said she was to walk through the streets on the present occasion, but this proved to be a false report. I found Monsieur B. and enjoyed half an hour's conversation with him. He is a pious, intelligent, and amiable young man, and the first individual, of congenial spirit with myself, with whom I have met in this strange land.

I could not make a long stay with Monsieur B. having engaged to be home early, to accompany our party to the chapel of the Thuileries, to hear high mass performed before the Royal Family and the court. At the hour appointed, a royal footman appeared at the gate of our hotel to conduct us to the Thuileries. Thus honourably escorted, we arrived at the palace, and were received by the Père Elysée, first surgeon to the king, who politely introduced us to the officer who has the care of arranging the company in the galleries of the Chapel Royal, for no visitors are allowed to remain below. To the condescending attentions of that officer we are much indebted, and the kindness of his manners, which evidently arose from the sweetness of his disposition, I shall not easily forget. He is the first Frenchman whose physiognomy has pleased me, and with *his* we were all exceedingly delighted. By him we were placed next to the royal gallery, which is in front of the altar, so that we were close to the king and his attendants, when they made their appearance. The front seat of the side galleries are reserved for the ladies of the court; behind them the company are ranged, with one of the garde du corps, placed at the back of each seat. None of the visitors sit. The company was very numerous, and many were disappointed, not being able to obtain admittance. At length symptoms of preparation appeared in the royal gallery—the folding-doors which communicate, with the other parts of the palace were thrown open —the chairs and cushions were adjusted—two men, most curiously and gorgeously attired, as heralds, in the costume of two or three centuries back, made their appearance, and everything indicated the approach of royalty. But the king delayed. Meanwhile, every eye was eagerly fixed upon the door by which he was to enter, and expectation was at its highest pitch, when a commotion was heard in the adjoining apartments—a gentleman hastened to the front of the gallery and cried, *Le Roi!* when the king entered, supported by two marshals, and attended by the Duke de Berri, the Duke and Duchess D'Angouleme, and about thirty or forty nobles, ecclesiastics, marshals and generals of his court. The full choir, composed of all the celebrated musicians and opera singers in Paris, instantly thundered, and the mass began. It was an august spectacle; and the impression of the moment was more than I can describe. High mass in the palace, and before the court of a popish prince, with all the fascinations art could lend, to bewilder the senses by the splendour of its decorations, to overwhelm the mind by the burst of its music, or to ravish the soul by the more thrilling notes of the human voice: the brother, the daughter, the nephew of a murdered king, worshipping in the sanctuary and in the palace, which had witnessed their predecessor's sufferings, and been wet with the blood of his attendants: an assemblage of personages who have been, more or less, connected with all the wonderful and tremendous revolutions by which Europe has recently been agitated, whom we have contemplated at a distance with awe, and whose names will be immortal on the page of history: all these things were perfectly new to me, and I must have been a stoic, indeed, if I had not felt, in some degree, the influence of such a singular combination of objects, with the interesting associations they awakened in my mind.

The principal figure in the groupe, on more accounts than one, was the king, his amazing corpulence would have rendered him so, had other circumstances been wanting. It was with the greatest difficulty that he walked to his chair, the possession of which was not accomplished without some inconvenience to himself, as the evident panting for breath which the exertion occasioned sufficiently indicated. The two gentlemen by whom he was attended on his entrance, took their stations, one on each side of the back of his chair, and whenever he sat down, lifted up for him the laps of his coat. The effect of that ceremony was rather ludicrous. This occurred but once or twice in the course of the exhibition, for the whole seemed little else, as the king retained his seat during the greater part of the service, while the rest of the royal party frequently rose and kneeled. I presume the king's infirmities have obtained a dispensation for him from the ecclesiastical powers, whom, as a good catholic, he is bound in every particular to obey. At the elevation of the host, however, the whole court kneeled, the monarch not excepted; we were the only parties standing in the place. It was an affecting sight to see a prince and all his courtiers bending before the King of kings in the act of solemn worship—or rather it would have been an interesting spectacle, could I have been persuaded that the homage was spiritual and sincere. But, alas! the reflection, that in the monarch, and his family, and his court, I beheld the victims of superstition, of infidelity, and of vice—and in the worship in which they were prostrate, the idolatrous adoration of the image of the beast, came powerfully upon my mind; the charm was dissipated, and the emotions at first awakened, were succeeded by those of pity, abhorrence, and disgust.

There was something in the expression of the king that exceedingly touched me. There was an air of dejection in his countenance, and a melancholy wildness in his eye, that spoke unutterable things. He looked around him, as if uneasy and distressed—as if suspicious of some lurking danger—as if in pursuit of some object on which his eye might fix with confidence and pleasure; but disappointed in the search, he retired again into himself, and was absorbed in his devotion. He appeared like some prodigy brought out for public exhibition and surrounded by his keepers—the mere image and representation of royalty; but his looks, when he surveyed the company, seemed to say, "I am *indeed a king*, but, oh! how reluctantly; how happy should I be, could I escape from this distressing pomp, this splendid misery—mine is an uneasy throne, and a crown of thorns." I may be wrong, but this was my interpretation of his looks; and on communicating with the rest of our party, I found that others had put on them a similar construction.

The Duchess D'Angouleme is an interesting woman: her figure is tall and graceful, and her dress was simply elegant. She was deeply engaged in the service during the whole of the performance, and seldom took her eye off the breviary which she held in her hand. Her husband, however, was not so devotional. He is a thin, active looking man, not very tall, with a physiognomy by no means prepossessing, but a quick and piercing eye. He was very restless during the ceremony—was perpetually looking about him, and then, as if suddenly recollecting himself, he returned to his breviary, and seemed to run over his prayers with great rapidity, making the appropriate crosses and gestures with prodigious haste. The Duke de Berri is a taller and a stouter man, more sedate and thoughtful, with features strongly marked and approaching to sternness. He was more occupied with the service than his neighbour, the Duke D'Angouleme.—The rest of the party seemed little concerned in the matter, and, except that they kneeled at the elevation of the host, appeared to take no interest whatever in the service; and as they stood during the whole of the time, and were a sort of exhibition to the company, they looked not a little pleased when it was over. At the close of the ceremony, the monarch was with difficulty lifted from the chair, and having moved respectfully to the company, he turned—took the arms of his attendants—the princes and nobles followed, and the whole pageant passed away. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* A few minutes ago, the eye gazed upon royalty—the ear drank in the most delicious and ravishing tones of music—the mind was dazzled and bewildered by the pomp of Catholic worship and the splendour of a court. But now the dream was ended—the sort of pleasing delirium into which the mind was thrown, was dissipated; and as the gay and giddy multitude passed away to some new exhibition, some fresh object of attraction, began to review the scene by which it had been captivated. I am not at all surprised at the influence which the Catholic religion exercises upon the minds of its votaries. To those who never think upon the subject of religion, but are wholly absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure or of vice, and such, it must be allowed, are the great body of the French people, it must possess peculiar and powerful recommendations. The service being in an unknown tongue, at once intimates to them that they have no concern but with the repetition of the words, they need not meddle with the ideas the words convey, the priest thinks for them, and that is sufficient: while the pomp and splendour of the exhibition gratifies their vanity and meets their love of show. "Why do you read your prayers in Latin," said a friend of mine to a French lady, "do you understand Latin?" "No, sir," said she, "it is very ridiculous that we do, but we cannot help it." "But why persevere in a custom which you think ridiculous?" "Ah?"—said she, and a significant shrug spoke her meaning. "Do you think the Bible enjoins all these ceremonies?" "The Bible, sir,—I don't know, I never read the Bible." "Never read the Bible, and yet profess to be a Christian!" "Ah! you know we are Catholics." "But is a Catholic anything different from a Christian?" "Oh! I don't know, we leave all to our priests." "The priests, then, fill a very responsible situation?" "Ah! but this is *our* way, and Catholics don't trouble themselves much with these things." True it is, like Gallio, they care for none of these things, and this woman is a specimen of thousands, and tens of thousands in France. Multitudes care so little, that they never go to mass at all; and those who do deem it enough to go and mutter over the appointed prayers, with the appropriate crosses and gestures, and return—and thus infidelity and superstition divide the land between them, and shed over the thoughtless, and ill-fated population the stupor and apathy of spiritual death.

From the Chapel Royal we proceeded to the *Oratoire*, in the Rue St. Honoré, the Protestant church. It is a very spacious and venerable edifice, and was well filled with an elegant congregation, consisting chiefly of ladies. Monsieur Manod was in the pulpit, but I could not get near enough to hear distinctly his discourse. From what I *could* hear, it appeared to be upon the greatness of God. His manner was animated—his action sufficiently abundant, but not remarkably graceful, and his voice by no means well managed. He seemed to preach *memoritor*, and he made frequent and long pauses between the paragraphs. In the little that I caught, there was no allusion to the grand and fundamental doctrines of the gospel, repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and those of our party who were nearer to the preacher, and who heard distinctly, informed me that in these respects it was lamentably deficient.

There are three ministers in the *Oratoire:* the opinions and the sermons of two of them are much in unison with those of the *rational* Christians, or Unitarians of our own country. The other, however, whom I had not the good fortune to hear, is of a different cast, and his preaching is said to be decidedly evangelical. Besides these, there is Monsieur B. who, though he does not preach, studied at the seminary in Gosport, and is employed under the auspices of the Missionary Society, in doing what he can towards the establishment of schools and the distribution of religious tracts. It did not appear to me that he had done much, or that much at present is likely to be done, except in the instruction of children. The school connected with the *Oratoire*, however, is by no means large—I think not more than one hundred children altogether.—With respect to the distribution of religious tracts, there seems to be a prejudice in the minds of the people against those printed in England, merely from the circumstance that they are English; if any extensive circulation of them should take place, it must be through the medium of the French press.

But, alas! alas! Paris is a hopeless scene—populous and splendid as it is, and rich in the sublimest productions of human genius, it is a spiritual desert, of moral waste. The life of God does not animate its people—the voice of prayer is not heard in its dwellings—its public haunts are thronged by practical if not avowed atheists. Those who are called religious, are the victims of the grossest superstition—those who bear the office and wear the habits of the priesthood, are, many of them, the secret votaries of infidelity. Such as call themselves Protestants, are sunk in the coldest indifference, and awfully fallen from the doctrines and the spirit of the reformers; and perhaps, it is not exaggeration to say, that a man of lively devotion and of genuine piety, in Paris, is as great a rarity as a civilized being in the wilds of Africa: while the light of true religion, if it be not utterly extinguished, shines like the glimmering taper in a sepulchral vault, struggling with the noxious vapours that everywhere surround it, and scarcely distinguished amid the deep and palpable darkness upon which its feeble rays are shed.

The state of religion amongst the Protestants, where one should naturally look with some degree of confidence, may be pretty correctly gathered from the circumstance, that they are quite as indifferent to the sanctification of the sabbath-day as the Catholics—and in this, it is awful to relate, their ministers set them the example. The Protestant clergy in Paris, may be seen on the morning of the sabbath, discharging the most sacred duties of their office, and in the evening sitting at the card-table, and deeply engaged in play. I could not have believed the report, had I not been informed of the melancholy fact by several persons who had seen them so occupied at that season, and I might have witnessed it myself, had I chosen to profane the sabbath by going to the parties in which they visit. Nor is the case with regard to the violation of the sabbath by the Protestant clergy of Paris singular, and to be attributed to the superior dissipation of the capital. At Nismes, concerning which we have heard so much lately, and the sufferings of whose persecuted Protestant inhabitants cannot too deeply excite the pity and abhorrence of mankind—at Nismes, two gentlemen, friends of mine, were absolutely ridiculed by the Protestant ministers, for refusing to travel on the sabbath day. I am aware that it may be urged as their apology, that the continental sabbath terminates with the morning service; that there is no obligation at all upon the consciences of the people, with respect to the evening of the day. It is true, this is the case with the *Catholic* population; but from *their* errors these men profess to have separated themselves, and from *them* we have a right to expect better things: and, I need scarcely observe, that better things would be seen, if the principles, whence only they can issue, were imbibed and felt. But what must be the tone of religious feeling, if it be proper to use the expression, in connexion with such a state of things, when it is not sufficient to maintain, in the ministers of the reformed churches, an outward separation from the dissipations of the world, or a decent respect for the sanctity of the sabbath-day! There is something in *travelling* on the sabbath-day, abhorrent to the feelings and convictions of a pious mind: there is something in the devotion of that day to *business*, at which a man of ordinary moral principle would shrink; but in the prostitution of those sacred hours to *cards*, and that, too, by the ministers of religion—ministers of the *Protestant* faith!—every sense of propriety, every idea of decency, established by education and maintained by habit, in an English breast, is violated; and men who make no pretentions to piety themselves, start from such a dereliction of principle and decorum with disgust. Does not the command, "Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day," extend its obligations to the continent of Europe? Have we, in our little island, and amongst our rigid professors of religion, misunderstood the extent of that command, and stretched it to the *whole* of the sabbath, whereas it only intended *half?* One would almost be induced to think, by a comparison of our English sabbaths with those of the rest of Christendom, that we had: but yet, the edict stands upon the inspired record, and so plainly written, that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not, cannot err, in his interpretation.—*Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day.*

If the old adage be correct—"like priest, like people,"—if the flock in general follow the footsteps of the shepherd, and the congregation take the standard of their religion and morals from their pastor, what can be expected from the great body of the people bearing the name of Protestant. Alas! it is the name only—the principles and the spirit with which it was once associated, which animated the founders of their churches, and rendered their martyrs triumphant at the stake, are gone; and I have heard the observation from many whose long residence in France, and intimate acquaintance with the people of both communions, have enabled them to form an accurate opinion on the subject, that if there be any vital godliness in this country, it is not amongst the Protestants, but the Catholics. A gentleman, who knew them all intimately, assured me he did not believe there was one decidedly pious family in the *Oratoire* at Paris. When a few of them, who professed a regard for religion, were presented by an English lady with some religious tracts, they paid not the least attention to them, but said, "Ah! Madam, these things do very well in England"—and then, throwing them down, with a shrug of the shoulder, which, with the French, is infinitely expressive, told her, that they were not worth a perusal.

If, shocked by the melancholy state of morals and religion amongst the Protestants in France, we turn to the Catholics, the grieved and afflicted mind obtains no relief. There, however, we form no expectations, and are certainly spared the pain of disappointment. It is not enough to say, that the sabbath is with them like every other day; it is more gay, more dissipated, more devoted to pleasure and to vice. On that evening, above all others, the stage throws out its fascinations, and twenty theatres with their unfolded doors receive the giddy multitudes. 'Tis then that the public walks are most thronged—that the boulevards are the gayest—that the cafés are the fullest—that the haunts of pleasure and of vice, are most crowded with votaries—while the various assemblies and parties of the higher classes, complete the scene of dissipation, and perfect the circle of the vices that desecrate in this abandoned city, God's most holy day. It is the females chiefly who attend mass and confession on the sabbath morning—and this only to make way for every indulgence during the rest of the week. The men pay but little regard, even to the external forms of their religion; while multitudes of those whose profession and interest attach them to the church and compel their observance, secretly despise them: so that the Catholic religion in France is little more than infidelity under another title—scepticism attired in the habit of a monk—and the same system, with the name of *Voltaire* erased, and that of *Pius the Seventh* inserted in its stead!

When I contemplate the present state of France—when I see one part of the population the victims of the grossest superstition, and under the deadly influence of a mercenary and an artful priesthood—when I see another part, bowing at the shrine of infidelity, and devoted only to the gratification of their sensual appetites and basest passions—when I see the few who profess a purer system, and who ought to show a better way, sunk in the arms of a spiritual apathy, as dead to the things of God, as unconcerned about the Redeemer's kingdom, as indifferent to their own eternal interests, as gay, as volatile, as much the lovers of pleasure, as the rest, and think of the introduction of the gospel amongst them, and their moral and spiritual improvement, I am ready to exclaim, *if the Lord should open windows in heaven, this thing might be:* but to all human probability, it is an era far distant, and against its arrival, the most formidable obstacles seem to have arisen. I limit not the Holy One of Israel—I know that all things are possible with God, and he that breathed upon the slain in Ezekiel's valley of vision, can quicken into spiritual life, even in this abandoned city, an exceeding great army, to profess his name and propagate his word, and, if necessary, to seal their testimony with their blood. Let British Christians feel for the melancholy state of the neglected continent; and while multitudes of their countrymen are repairing to it for the various purposes of amusement and of pleasure, and often leave no very favourable traces of British piety, or British morals, or even British honesty, in their passage through it, let others visit it with a more benevolent aim—to promote amongst them the circulation of the Scriptures, to excite their attention to the word of God, by conversation and by tracts, and to forward, by their contributions and their advice, the establishment of schools, for the instruction of the children. Divested of the habits and prejudices which are deeply rooted in the hearts and lives of their parents, *they* present a more hopeful scene for the cultivation of the moral and spiritual philanthropist. There, by the blessing of heaven, the seed that is sown may germinate, and future generations reap the abundant harvest. Though there are many discouraging circumstances, and the case may seem desperate, to the contemplation of an ordinary faith, yet I am persuaded much may be done in this way—and while success has crowned the exertions of Christian benevolence in every other quarter of the globe, and the moral wastes of India and of Africa, and the wilds of America, have already began to bud and blossom as the rose, the pious efforts and the fervent prayers, which seek the moral renovation of the continent of Europe, shall not be in vain!

Yours, &c.

P. S. Perhaps if a Frenchman, acquainted with the violations of the sabbath which occur in our own country, and the scenes of gaiety and dissipation which abound in our own metropolis on that day, were to read this letter, he might be disposed to retort upon me the old proverb, "Physician heal thyself." The travelling, the feasting, the business, the dissipation, the diversion, the recreation, to which, in various ways, and through all the ramifications of society, this day is devoted even amongst us, constitute, unquestionably, a great national crime, and must be peculiarly offensive to Him, who has set apart this day, above all others, for himself, and hallowed it by his express and positive command. Yet, still the difference is great; and deeply as England is involved in this enormous guilt, every Briton that feels interested for the welfare of his country, must rejoice that she has not gone the lengths in this crime that most of the states of Christendom have done. *Her* violations of the sabbath are *individual; theirs* are *national. Her* government protects the sabbath; *theirs* leaves it undefended, nay, is the first to violate it. None of *our* public places of amusement, licensed by the state, are opened on that day; *here*, they *all* are.—No public works with *us* are suffered to proceed on that day; *here*, they are little, if at all disturbed: and from the pavier in the street, to the actor on the stage, all seem as busy in promoting the convenience and amusement of the people on *that*, as on any other day. While with regard to the maintenance of public worship, and the numbers that attend, there is no comparison. It *feels* like the sabbath-day in England. Trade and commerce cease, and there is much to remind the sabbath-breaker, as he passes along, that he is profaning God's holy day. But this is not the case here; the city and its inhabitants present one uniform scene of gaiety and indifference: and were it not for the processions which sometimes occur upon the festivals of the church, a man, who never counted the days or consulted his almanac, might live for months and years in Paris, and not know that a sabbath had passed.

LETTER XVI.

Sens.

My dear ——

We left Paris on Tuesday morning, and are thus far on our way to Geneva. Our last day in the capital, like most last days, the last day of life not excepted, was one of hurry and fatigue. Too much was crowded into it, and, therefore, with all our diligence, some things were left undone. We were glad, however, to escape from the tumult of the city, and have exceedingly enjoyed our journey to this place.

But before I take you finally from Paris, suffer me to tell you how much I was gratified with a visit to the Museum of French Monuments, and the catacombs. These should certainly be viewed last of all the exhibitions in that metropolis, as they have a tendency to sober the mind, after the more gay and dissipated scenes which have engaged it. Here you converse with the dead, and the associations awakened, are immediately connected with eternity. In the Museum of French Monuments, you are surrounded by the affecting memorials of departed greatness. Here, the monuments, rich in sculpture and eulogy, reared to the memory of the illustrious dead, are collected, from the various cathedrals and churches throughout the empire, and arranged according to their respective centuries. The hazardous enterprise of rescuing these sublime efforts of sculpture from the hand of revolutionary fury, were undertaken by *M. Lenoir*, in 1790, at the peril of his life. But for his intrepidity, diligence, and zeal, very few of them, in all probability, would have survived that era of desolation, and France would have lost this most interesting and impressive monumental record of her monarchy. It embraces a period from Clovis I., whence their first connected records proceed, in 481, to the time of Louis XVI. The building appropriated to the reception of the monuments was formerly the convent of the Augustins; and the garden is converted into a terrestrial elysium, where, beneath the shade of cypress and of poplar, the ashes of Boileau, La Fontaine, Descartes, and many other illustrious men, repose.*

The catacombs present a different scene. There, underneath the ground, you pass through innumerable streets and lanes, whose buildings, if one may so speak, are composed of human bones, collected from the different cemeteries of Paris, and arranged according to the receptacles whence they were collected. It is, indeed, a golgatha—a place of skulls! You pass through parishes of the dead. It is Paris in the grave. Here its once gay and busy people lie ranged in their last house, according to the houses they occupied whilst living.——It is an affecting sight—it is like going down into the very heart of the empire of death, and intruding into the capital of the king of terrors. One pile alone, contains two millions four hundred thousand human skulls, and the different heaps extend for a mile in length. Nothing can be conceived more solemn and affecting than a visit to these dreary abodes. The indistinctness with which objects are seen by the feeble light of the tapers you carry in your hand —the intricacy and uncertainty of the path you traverse, and which is only indicated as the right one, by a black line drawn along the roof of the cavern, the loss of which clue might be fatal to the party—the thick and palpable darkness into which the innumerable passages branch out—the ghastly and affecting materials of which the walls that on every side enclose you are composed—the appropriate mottoes and sentiments engraven upon rude stones, with various sepulchral devices, interspersed throughout the melancholy piles—the deep silence that reigns around, broken only by the voices of the visitors, in curiosity or terror,—conspire to render this the most interesting and instructive of all the exhibitions I have ever seen. There the gay volatile spirit of the French seems to have sunk into something like seriousness; and thoughts and words that refer to the Supreme Being, and an eternal world, are recorded. I give you a specimen. In a recess cut in the rock, and under an arch that rests upon a wall of skulls, is placed a sarcophagus, upon which is a tablet with this inscription:

Silence mortels
et vous vaines grandeurs
Silence, c'est ici
le séjour de la mort.

Returning from the catacombs we attended a meeting of the institute, and were much interested in seeing and hearing Baron Humboldt, the famous traveller of the Andes. He presented, on that day, the last part of his work on equinoctial plants, and also read a paper on the comparative temperature of the different regions of the globe. He is a plain man, mild and amiable in his appearance, with more of the English farmer about him, than of the traveller, or the peer. There might be from seventy to eighty members present. It was to me an interesting, but affecting scene. Perhaps I had never witnessed a greater concentration of talent than appeared in that room: but, alas! to what was it all devoted, and to what results had the cultivation and employment of it in the various departments of literature and science conducted its possessors? Most, may be, all of them, had discovered that the Bible was a forgery, and some, that creation was the work of chance! Here are the wise and the learned, thought I; but what pitiable beings they are, without a revelation and without a God. The village sabbath-school is a nobler scene by far. I could imagine, that if angels wept, their tears would flow in pity for the one, while they gaze upon the other with smiles of joy: for in the sabbath-school, that knowledge is pursued which makes its humblest possessor wise unto salvation; but in the Institute of France their pride of learning makes them fools, and *by their wisdom they know not God!*

But I fear you are already as tired of Paris as I have been; and yet, now that I am about to leave it, a thousand things rush upon my memory—visits unrecorded, and objects undescribed, the omission of which would be, indeed, without excuse, if it were not that the evenings of the ensuing winter promise many opportunities for the narrating of the former, while ever tour and every guide to Paris will furnish you with ample details of the latter. Do not imagine, then, that after having ventured upon matters of far graver import, and now that the sublime and glorious regions of the Alps fill my imagination, I shall return, to number one by one the barriers of Paris—to describe the portals and the pillars of the several churches—to descant upon the colour of the waters of the Seine—or to sketch the many baths and washing-houses, that float upon its surface, rendered picturesque enough by the nymphs that inhabit, and the shrubs and flowers that adorn them. Neither imagine that I have time or inclination to weary you with all the stories I have heard of Buonaparte, and his mortal enemy, Blucher; the magnanimous Alexander, and our mighty Wellington; the revengeful Prussians, and the fiery Cossacks! All these would fill a volume, rather than a letter, and will be communicated much more easily by the fireside than through the medium of the post.—Nevertheless, I may pause to confirm the report, that every body here speaks well of Alexander—that his moderation and forbearance, when Paris fell into his hands, were worthy of a great mind, and that his conduct throughout the period of his stay in that city, was such as to secure the esteem and veneration of all who witnessed it. He affected no state. His only equipage was a plain carriage and pair; while that of his imperial brother, of Austria, was a magnificent coach, drawn by eight white horses. One of the first inquiries Alexander made on his arrival in Paris, was after M. La Harpe, a gentleman of whom he had learnt the French language. He sent his aid-de-camp to say he should be glad to see him. The tutor was then out of town, but the monarch waited on his lady, and on his return, the worthy Frenchman had the honour of entertaining the Autocrat of all the Russias at his humble board, for the Emperor, without deeming his dignity endangered by the condescension, invited himself to dinner.

I have said little of Buonaparte, and for obvious reasons. But one thing I must not omit to tell you, as I think it will be new to many on our side the water. Amongst the various projects which he entertained, was that of becoming the founder of a new religious sect; or rather of establishing *unitarianism.* He became acquainted with this system from the writings of a Baron Gussey, which accidentally fell into his hands. He found that the great generals of antiquity had nothing left but a name behind them—they had no followers. But the founders of new religions were immortal in their disciples. The institutes of Moses had existed for four thousand years —the gospel by Jesus Christ were revered over a great part of Europe—Mahomet had his millions of votaries—Confucius, Calvin, and Luther, still existed in their sects—"I will, therefore, be the founder of a new religion," said he, "I will establish *unitarianism*, and its disciples shall be *Napoleonists.* I will smile on protestantism, and give religion liberty, as the means to accomplish my design. My people are so versatile, they will follow the court; on them I will heap my choicest favours, and thus destroy a religion, whose ceremonies and doctrines are inconsistent with common sense." I believe the source whence this information is derived, is one on which full reliance may be placed.

From Buonaparte we pass naturally enough to Fontainebleau, the palace in which he drank to its dregs that bitter cup, whose deadly and degrading influence is on him to the present hour.

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* Alexander Lenoir was born in Paris in 1762. He studied in the college of Mazarin, and cultivated the art of painting under Gabriel Françoise Doyen, painter to the king. In 1790, when the property of the church was declared the property of the nation, he formed the idea of collecting all the sepulchral monuments into one depot. The project having been submitted to M. Bailly, mayor of Paris, was approved by the National Assembly; and a special decree was granted for the accomplishment of the proposed collection, constituting M. Lenoir, at the same time, keeper of the monuments.

In the prosecution of his object, his life was continually in danger. Once he was wounded in the hand by a bayonet, while endeavouring to preserve the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu from the fury of the revolutionary army by whom it was attacked. But he has lived to see his labours abundantly recompensed, by a collection of more than five hundred monuments, rescued by his intrepidity, arranged by his skill, and committed to his care; —the admiration of all enlightened foreigners, and the theme of his grateful country's praise.

Having waited on our ambassador the preceding day, and obtained our passports for Switzerland and Germany, we left Paris at seven this morning, by the barrier of Fontainebleau, and immediately entered on a level country, which afforded us some fine parting views of the capital. The gilded dome of the Invalides was glittering in the splendour of the morning sun; and many an edifice, with whose form I had become somewhat familiar, was seen rising in sober majesty above the inferior buildings, as if to receive our last farewell. To me there is something affecting in the *last look*, on whatever object it is cast—for the last of everything reminds us of the last of life, the last day we shall spend on earth—the last look we shall fix upon terrestrial scenes—when we must turn from the beloved objects, whose society and sympathy have sweetened our cup of wo, and filled our span of time, to the loneliness of death, and the realities of eternity.

The ride to Fontainebleau is extremely pleasant. On leaving the capital the road quickly enters a highly cultivated country, and occasionally affords extensive and beautiful prospects, in which the windings of the Seine are no inconsiderable feature. To the right, is a rich and extensive plain, stretching from the immediate vicinity of Paris to Orleans, a distance of thirty-six leagues. This plain may be denominated the granary of Paris; it yields the finest corn in France, and from it the Parisians are abundantly supplied with bread.

France is not yet intersected with canals to that extent that England is; but there is one in this direction which unites the Loire with the Seine. It traverses the forest of Orleans and the adjacent plain. It was began so long ago as 1682, by Philip, Duke of Orleans. It is a stupendous work, for it is carried by a tunnel under ground for an immense distance, having in some places valleys as well as hills above it. In the whole of this excavation there is no masonry, but the tunnel is hewn entirely out of the solid rock of chalk. The distance under ground is computed at nine miles. We passed through many small towns and pleasant villages, between Paris and Fontainebleau, and observed one or two chateaux, in a style of magnificence which we had not previously witnessed in this class of residences. At the small town of Charenton we passed the Marne, which, a little above that place, empties itself into the Seine. The prospect here was very pleasing and extensive; and from the stillness, serenity, and sylvan beauty which pervaded them, you may suppose such views would be extremely refreshing to us, after the heat and bustle of the capital. The city of Melun is worthy of notice, for its pleasant situation and extreme antiquity. It is one of the most ancient cities of France, and is mentioned by Julius Cæsar in his commentaries. The citizens say it was the model after which Paris was built. Certain it is, that the situations of the two places are very similar: Melun stands upon the Seine, which, as in Paris, divides the city into three parts. It is the principal place of the Department of the Seine, and Marne.

Leaving Melun, and passing a beautiful chateaux on the left, we quickly entered the forest of Fontainebleau, at a distance of about thirty miles from the capital. The road now became extremely interesting. The bright foliage that lined it was refreshing to the eye; while the occasional vistas which it passed, and the gentle eminences that it traversed, afforded, now and then, hasty glances of woodland perspective, and extensive prospects approaching to the sublime. Here and there the hills presented a bold outline; enormous masses of dark gray stone lay scattered, as by accident, along their sides, and, mingled with the furs that clothed them, presented a thousand fantastic forms and combinations to the eye, while the imagination, without much effort, suggested a thousand more. This forest contains about twenty-five thousand English acres, and there are several others of prodigious extent in France. Those of Ardennes and Orleans may especially be named. We have Mr. Authur Young's agricultural travels with us, and I perceive that he estimates the annual revenue of the forests at twelve millions sterling, the rent being taken at twelve shillings per acre.

At the time of the revolution, all the forests belonging to corporate bodies, and such as fled their country, were declared the property of the state. To these were added the forests of Belgium, and those on the left bank of the Rhine. But the arbitrary regulations under which the private proprietors of woodlands groaned were not abolished. Persons appointed by the government examined the woods and marked every tree which they judged proper for the service of the navy, after which the owner could no longer say that it was his, or touch it with his axe; while every man who intended to cut his timber, was obliged to give six months' notice to the overseers of the forests, who had the power to permit or to forbid the execution of his purpose, at their pleasure. How much the strength of a country, and the independence of a people must be weakened, by such arbitrary laws, such vestiges of feudal tyranny, I need not attempt to prove. Happy is that land, where the property as well as the person of the inhabitant is sacred, and the right of every man's inheritance, and the produce of his labour, is as much respected by the state, as by the private individual.

The town of Fontainebleau is embosomed in the forest. Its situation is not much unlike that of Lyndhurst, in Hampshire, which is also dignified with a royal hunting-seat; but the town of Fontainebleau is large and populous, and its palace of immense extent, while Lyndhurst is small and unassuming in its appearance, and has long been deserted by that royalty, to whose dignity its palace could never have been equal, and of whose residence it now possesses but a few memorials. But while, in her palace and her population, Lyndhurst yields to Fontainebleau, in her forest, she far surpasses it. We saw no extensive avenues and stately vistas, vast in their breadth, and extending mile after mile before the wearied and astonished eye, till lost in the indistinctness of more distant foliage, that seemed, amid the brightness of a summer noon, to mingle with the blue ether of the heavens. We saw no stately, well-proportioned, and majestic beech, that spread their ample shade across the sylvan road, by which a marching army might obtain a shelter from the scorching sun. But the new forest in Hampshire abounds with such characters of grandeur; and pressing closely upon the little town, its capital, throws its shadow into its streets, and gives it an air of deep retirement, such as I have never witnessed in any other place, and such as, although in the midst of the forest, Fontainebleau does not possess.

But its palace is interesting on many accounts, and cannot but be approached with deep emotion, by a mind that embraces the events of high antiquity with which it is connected, and the still more momentous deeds of modern times, which would amply suffice to rescue it from oblivion were it but a building of yesterday, and to place it amongst those memorable spots, whose names the page of history will preserve, and whose scenes and transactions future ages will incessantly revolve.

There is little, indeed, in the external appearance of the palace to interest the traveller; but the interior will fully repay him for the trouble he may have taken to survey it. Having been built at various periods, it presents a motley mixture of the very worst styles of architecture. Squat, ugly, and dwarfish, without the least pretension to regularity, it is as great a deformity in building as we sometimes see in nature. It surrounds an ample court, on three sides, while the fourth is formed by the road, from which a view of the edifice is obtained through a series of tall iron railing, the gilded points of which terminating in the form of a spear, are a sufficient indication that "Napoleon the Great" has been its inhabitant, for all his imperial railing was after this fashion. The palace consists of four distinct chateaux, erected at different dates, and each one having its separate garden. The whole edifice contains nine hundred rooms. Six hundred years back is this palace mentioned in history. Francis the First took great delight in it, and to him it is indebted for much of its internal magnificence. Henry the Third of France was born within its walls. The haughty Louis XIV. paid it an annual visit, and it was amongst the royal houses which the famous Golbert repaired and beautified for that proud and ambitious monarch. But its greatest celebrity is derived from a modern name—a name at which Europe and the world once trembled, but a name that has prematurely passed away—whose charm was strangely and suddenly dissolved, and for which a mysterious destiny has seemed to anticipate the oblivion of the grave. You may well imagine with what eager curiosity we inquired for the chamber in which Napoleon signed his abdication of the throne of France, I might almost say, of the thrones of Europe, for they clustered round him like so many constellations, of which he was the central and combining luminary. Nor shall I easily forget my sensations, when I not only entered the interesting apartment, but was shown the little table on which the important deed was done—the momentary deed, which transformed him from an emperor to an exile, and banished him from the palaces of France to a lonely dwelling on the ocean. What was the agony of his feelings at that moment—how he was at once transported by rage, by vexation, and despair—is sufficiently indicated in the vehemence with which he threw his pen-knife on the table, the marks of which are distinctly visible. The images that were present to my mind, and the reflections that crowded upon me in that small apartment, I shall in vain endeavour to embody in language. I felt as if riveted to the spot—I threw myself upon the couch he pressed—I looked again and again at the table on which he wrote—I surveyed every article of furniture the room contained, as if I expected that some of the inanimate things around me would find a voice to satisfy my ardent curiosity, and tell me all the momentous history of that day's transactions; and I believe that I had been left sometime alone ere I was roused from my reverie by the return of the guide, to apprize me of the advance of the party. I then took a sketch of the memorable table and departed. We were also shown the room in which he held his last council, the table of which was still standing, surrounded by the magnificent chairs of state, nearly as when he rose from its gloomy deliberations. We, moreover, passed through the suite of apartments which were occupied by the pope, when Buonaparte held him as a prisoner in France. All the furniture which his holiness used remains precisely as when he left it. The guide described him as a mild and peaceable old man, and I believe he endured the insults and injuries heaped upon him by the emperor, in a manner not wholly unbecoming the sacredness of his character and office. The theatre and the chapel, (a singular combination, but one uniformly found in the palaces of France,) are both extremely elegant. The floor of the former is composed of the finest marbles, while the ornamental part of the latter is very costly, and rich in gilding. Many of the rooms are splendid, but comfort seems to have been chiefly studied throughout the whole. The gallery of Francis I. is surrounded by the busts of eminent men, sculptured in white marble, and supported upon marble pillars. Our great Duke of Marlborough and the illustrious General Washington are each honoured with a place.

This palace suffered greatly during the reign of anarchy. It was stripped of all its furniture at that period, and is indebted for the elegance which at present reigns in its apartments to the taste of the fallen emperor.

Leaving Fontainebleau, we passed a column which they are erecting to commemorate Buonaparte's abdication, on the third of April, 1814. It stands at the confluence of several roads, and is not merely an affecting memento of the instability of human affairs, but is also a striking object amid the woodland scenery that surrounds it. The grotesque appearance of the rocks, and the fanciful grouping of the trees, continued to interest us for many a mile, till at length, amid the splendours of a glorious sunset, we arrived at this place safe, but not altogether without catastrophe, for we discovered at Pont sur Yonne, the last post, that the axle-tree of our carriage was in a state nearly approaching to fracture, a circumstance, in which the regret awakened by the delay it will occasion, is greatly moderated by thankfulness that we are safely arrived. Adieu. Yours, &c.

LETTER XVII.

Geneva.

My dear ———

Have you courage to renew the journey with me, and after traversing for three wearisome days a level country with little to relieve the eye, to cross the precipitous and rugged mountains of the Jura, to get a view of this charming lake, and the sublime and romantic scenes that lie beyond? Happily, *you* may accomplish the journey without the fatigue it occasioned us, for we have been exposed throughout the whole, with the exception of the last day, to the heat of a burning sun, whose rays I never felt so intensely hot before.

But before we leave Sens, where the repairs of our carriage were accomplished with much greater expedition than we had anticipated, I must conduct you to the cathedral, for it is one of the most ancient in France, the first stone of it having been laid, according to *tradition*, for I presume there are no written documents which convey the information, by the proto-martyr Stephen. It is, as you may suppose, from its high antiquity, a most venerable structure. The front is spacious and imposing, and adorned with various sculptures. In surveying it we had the advantage of the moon; and in the deep solemnity of mind which the view of it inspired, I was fully prepared to accede to all that Mr. Walter Scott has so elegantly said on the subject of moonlight visits to such structures:

"If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight." &c.

We repaired to the cathedral again in the morning. The interior is extremely spacious, and the style of architecture plain. It struck me as very much resembling Notre Dame in Paris, and it is said to be equal to it in its dimensions. In the nave of the church are two remarkably fine painted windows; at the altar is a most exquisite piece of sculpture, representing the murder of the first Archbishop of Sens; and there is also a monument erected to the memory of the Dauphin, the father of the present king, which deserves the notice of the traveller.

While strolling about the church, we were accosted by a curious little man, who invited us to see the relics. We accepted of his invitation, and being shown into the vestry, were gratified with a sight of a piece of the true cross, *le véritable croix*, as he affirmed, and also a morsel of the Redeemer's robe. The piece of wood was preserved in a glass cross, tipped with silver, and for that precious fragment he said they were indebted to the generosity of Charlemagne. Besides these, he showed us the robe of the Dauphin, and that of Thomas Becket, who was murdered at Canterbury. That haughty prelate fled to this country from the vengeance of his incensed monarch, and was here received with great marks of attention by the pope. They celebrate his martyrdom annually with great pomp in this cathedral, and upon these occasions, the robe in question bears an important part in the ceremony.

From Sens our route lay through the province of Champagne, so justly celebrated for its wines. Through the whole of that day's journey we had the Yonne more or less in view, and the highly cultivated state of the country presented a succession of pleasing prospects to the eye, and awakened still more pleasing sensations in the mind. The vintage promises well this year, but the last it almost entirely failed, in consequence of which the price of wine is higher than usual; notwithstanding this, however, we drank Burgundy at three francs and a half, and Champagne at five francs per bottle.

Auxerre, through which we passed about noon, is delightfully situated on a gentle declivity, and is watered by the Yonne. It is the principal town of the department of that name, and being favourably placed for commerce, carries on a considerable trade with the capital and the surrounding provinces, in timber and in wines. Its cathedral is one of the finest we have yet seen on the continent, excepting only that at Rouen. The style of architecture is gothic; and it possesses a rich profusion of painted glass. Some of its windows are extremely fine. It stands on a commanding eminence, and is seen to great advantage from the surrounding country. In this church our attention was arrested by a wooden monument, to the memory of the late unfortunate royal family of France. It was painted, or rather daubed, in imitation of marble. We at first imagined that it was only a temporary thing, a model, perhaps, of one to be erected on the spot; but we were told that it had been there three years. I never saw so contemptible a thing in the meanest country church in England. I hope, for the sake of their own feeling, that none of the present royal family will ever visit this cathedral, or that this rubbish will be removed before they come. If this were a fair specimen of the loyalty of the people of France generally, as we are led to suppose it is of the people of Auxerre, one could not well draw the conclusion, that the throne of the Bourbons rested on a *rock*. They call it a monument to the memory of the unfortunate royal family; but it stands, a monument of their own meanness, a disgrace to the cathedral, and an insult to the sufferings it records.

We were glad to hear our landlady at Auxerre talk of the mountains, and inform us that on their account we must have six horses. We were weary of a level country, which, however beautiful, soon becomes uninteresting and insipid—and were impatient to obtain a glimpse of those romantic beauties, which had lured us so far beyond our original design. We would fain have reached Dijon that night, but we found it utterly impossible, and were obliged at the close of the day to halt at a poor little country place, Vermanton, and put up with such accommodation as its only inn afforded. The obliging manner of our hostess, a fine, active, sprightly woman, and the civility of her maids, soon reconciled us to our entertainment, which was not of the most luxurious kind. The situation of the place was extremely rural. We had not, indeed, seen any of the mountains of which our landlady had said so much, but gentle undulations of country everywhere surrounded us, and presented a grateful variety to the eye. The simplicity of a country village reigned throughout the place. The evening was tranquil and serene, and the song of the nightingale was sweet. I walked out to enjoy the delightful calm of nature, and felt the force of those exquisitely beautiful lines of our great poet:

Now came still evening on, and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied, for beast and bird,
They to their grassy couch, these to their nests,
Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descant sung;
Silence was pleased: now glowed the firmament
With living sapphires: Hesperus that led
The starry host rode brightest, till the moon
Rising in clouded majesty at length,
Apparent queen, unveil'd her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

From Vermanton we proceeded by Maison Neuve to Dijon. At Maison Neuve we dined, or rather tried to dine, but there was literally nothing fit to eat. Everything was dirty, filthy, and unwholesome, and the bread the worst part of the provisions. Indeed, during the whole of our journey through the provinces, we have had very indifferent bread, owing to the badness of the wheat last year. 'Tis well that the present promises an abundant and wholesome crop. From Maison Neuve to Dijon, the appearance of the country very much reminded us of England. We began to lose the vineyards, which are by no means picturesque; and the lands became, in a great measure, enclosed. At Vitteaux, a small village, where is the post, we passed the castle of Sombrino, a fine chateau, but now in ruins. It was once a place of considerable strength, but fell a victim to the desolating spirit of the revolution. The race that once possessed it, and called the surrounding lands their own, are passed away, and it is now the property of the postmaster. Presently, we reached Republic, a house or two, erected in the time of the revolution, and intended as the commencement of a town to be so called. Here the country assumes an air of boldness and of grandeur. The hills became lofty, well wooded, and abrupt, and the valleys exceedingly rich and beautiful. It was late when we arrived at Dijon, and the gates of the town were shut. Upon application, however, they were quickly opened, and we passed, by a magnificent portal, into a fine wide street, and were presently surrounded by the comforts of a respectable inn.

It would detain you too long were I to take you over the curiosities of Dijon, of which there are many, in buildings, in public institutions, and in relics of antiquity. It is the metropolis of this part of France—the chief place in the department of the Cote D'or, and the capital of Burgundy. It is surrounded by walls, and entered by five gates. Its streets are spacious and clean; the houses, generally speaking, are large and handsome; and there is an air of life and gaiety about it, not very common in the provincial towns of France. Indeed, we could not but notice tho almost total absence of life and activity in the several places through which we had passed, as affording by no means a favourable indication of the improved state of things in the provinces. There was an air of gloom and desertion pervading them. The houses had a cheerless and neglected appearance. No one was seen in the streets—they looked as if deserted by their population, or inhabited by a people who never went abroad. The smacking of the postilion's whip, indeed, brought a few people together at the door of the post-house, but these were chiefly women, old men, and children, who seemed to have nothing else to employ their time, and no other mode of subsistence than from the precarious charity they obtained of travellers. The roads have been as much deserted as the towns. Here and there we saw a few people, chiefly women, in the fields; but the visible population, even the sprinkling of towns and villages, such as they are, was extremely thin for the extent of country.

We had heard much, before we left Paris, of the perturbed state of the provinces; and, indeed, we were warned not to attempt travelling through them, till order was in some degree restored: and we learned upon the road, that we were the first party that had passed that way for ten days. We found, however, as we suspected, that the reports had been greatly exaggerated. There had been, indeed, some little disturbance at Sens, owing to the high price of bread, but it was immediately quelled, and all was perfectly tranquil. The appearance of a *gendarme* or two upon the road, was the only indication of a state of *revolt*, as they called it, we met with, and we passed unmolested, and with perfect ease, by all the dangers of which the Parisians warned us.

Although they are at present suffering much, as the poor in England are, from the failure of the last harvest, yet the general condition of the peasantry in France, has undoubtedly been much bettered by the revolution. The feudal tenures are abolished, with all the enormous cruelties and oppressions that followed in their train—while tithes and game laws have no existence here. By the sale of the church lands, and the estates of the refugees, the soil became more equally divided. The poorer classes were purchasers of from one to ten acres, and upon these small portions are enabled to live with tolerable comfort, in part supported by their own little farms, and in part by the produce of the work which they perform for others. There existed, prior to the revolution, a sort of tax called the *corvées*, by which the people were obliged to repair the roads by their own personal labour. This was a most oppressive imposition in itself, and was often greatly abused by those who had the peasantry under their control. There was also the military *corvée*, by which the inhabitants of the villages through which troops marched were obliged, at whatever expense of inconvenience and toil, to repair the roads along which they were to travel. This mark of despotism is wiped away. The roads are now in the hands of the government, and they mend them at their pleasure. The consequence is, however, that while the main roads which are travelled by the mails and frequented by the great, are kept in good repair, the rest are in a lamentable state. But this is a trifling evil compared with the oppression and tyranny involved in the former system.

There was a singular mode of tenure prevalent before the revolution, which is now also done away. The proprietor and the farmer entered into a sort of partnership concern. The former found the land, with the stock, the seed, and the implements of husbandry, while the latter furnished the requisite labour; and the produce, except what was necessary to keep up the stock, was equally divided between them. This compact, though it may look well to the eye, at first sight, yet, on minuter inspection, will be found to indicate a most melancholy and depressed state of things at that period. For the poor farmer, without any capital of his own, was wholly dependent on the will and caprice of his superior in the firm, and liable to be turned pennyless upon the world at his pleasure. But this system is also abolished, and what the farmer now cultivates is either his own personal property, or his by a money rental, so that he is unfettered in his plans of improvement, and is encouraged by the prospect of reaping the undivided produce of his labour.

There are no poor's rates in France. This method of providing for the poor was suggested in one of the reports drawn up by the committee appointed to inquire into the state of the poor, at the time of the revolution, but it was rejected by the National Assembly. The support of the poor is somewhat precarious. In large towns there are hospitals for the sick and aged poor, and these are chiefly supported by a toll laid on all provisions entering the town. But in the country places there are no such asylums, and the support of the indigent is less certain. We have seen many beggars on the road, but certainly not so many as I expected, and by no means so many as besiege the traveller in Ireland; such as there are, are chiefly old men and children. The most troublesome fellows are the boys, who surround you whenever you leave your carriage or your inn, each eager to become your guide, to the cathedral, or other objects of curiosity in the place, which they run over with great rapidity. Whether you wish for their assistance or not, they continue to pursue you, and it is almost impossible to get a walk in any direction through a town, without some of these pests at your heels.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XVIII.

Geneva.

My dear ——

It was a lovely morning when we left Dijon, and the road presented a more animated scene than we had witnessed in any previous part of our route. This compensated for the insipidity of the country, which is flat and open, and with little variety to relieve the eye, though in a high state of cultivation, and smiling with the promise of an abundant autumn. We passed many groupes of cheerful peasantry repairing to the town, and many wagons, of a curious structure, heavily laden, and drawn by horses, as curiously yoked to the carriage and to each other.

Approaching to Auxonne, the number of people on the road increased, and we observed a considerable difference both in their costume and their complexion, particularly in the women. Their faces were extremely brown, and to defend themselves from the scorching sun, they had an enormous kind of white beaver hat, of very coarse materials, but of immense dimensions, broader than the hats of the Chinese, and to the full as capacious as that of any coal-heaver in London. They cut a curious figure thus attired about the head; and, together with the cocked-hats of the men, which most tenaciously retain two peaks only, out of the three, that give it rather the appearance of a small inverted canoe, present a truly foreign picture to an English eye. We found Auxonne crowded with people and cattle, it being a horse fair, and while the horses were putting to, which was not very expeditiously done, we amused ourselves with strolling through the streets and mingling with the crowd. We have certainly found more life, more business, more cheerfulness, and more apparent comfort, in the remote provinces than in those nearest to the capital. I pretend not to account for this, but merely name the fact, as not altogether undeserving of remark. Auxonne is remarkable for two things, the double wall that surrounds it, and its long and venerable bridge, which, by three-and-twenty arches, crosses the Saone; the river which flows past that town to Lyons. At this place I furnished myself with a straw hat, such as is usually worn by the people of the country, my own being almost insupportable amid the burning heat to which I was constantly exposed.

There was little to interest us on leaving Auxonne, till, at the brow of the hill, immediately before we entered Dole, the carriage suddenly stopped, and the postilion cried out, *There's Mont Blanc! There are the Alps!* I started from a deep reverie into which I had fallen, and lifting up my eyes, beheld the whole chain of Alps, forming the line of the horizon, at the immense distance of one hundred and thirty miles, and yet distinctly seen with the naked eye. Mont Blanc appeared towering above them all, and glittering in the sunbeams like a crystal lake. The emotions of my mind at that moment were unutterable. I had not power to speak—my heart beat with increased rapidity within my bosom—and now that the sublime and stupendous objects, upon which my imagination had dwelt so long, and with so much ardour, were actually before me, I could scarcely realize the scene, or believe the vision true. And, indeed, there was something so unearthly in their appearance—distance, and the splendours of a summer noon had so melted and softened them down—that they looked like a singular combination of dark and brilliant clouds resting on the earth: while the suddenness and unexpectedness of their appearance, all contributed to heighten the effect, and give it more the air of enchantment than reality. You may smile, perhaps, that I should make so much of what some would deem a very little thing, and occupy so many lines in telling you where, and when I first saw the Alps. But if there are any scenes that interest me, next to the important discoveries of the sacred volume, they are the sublime and beautiful in nature—such objects as surround me now, and such as are to feast my eyes and fill my heart, if life and health are spared, through the ensuing week. The man who does not kindle at these displays of the Creator's power—that has no spirit stirring in his breast to harmonize and mingle with them, had better stay in cities, and study man! But I am happy sometimes to escape from *man*, to study *nature*—and amidst her awful or her lovely scenes, to converse with God. I send you a sketch of the scenery to which I have now alluded. It was committed immediately to paper, while the outline was before me. It has the merit of correctness, therefore, though I am well aware it is destitute of every other:

——— 'Twas noon,
And from the summit of the hill I gazed,
Over the fertile plains of southern France
That lay outstretched beneath a cloudless sky,
Rich in the produce of the bounteous year.
But, oh! the amazing barrier that afar
Stayed my advent'rous sight, and fixed my eyes
As in aerial regions betwixt earth and heaven.
I saw the Alps—the everlasting hills.—
A mighty chain, that stretched their awful forms
To catch the glories of the mid-day sun,
And cast their shadows o'er the "realms of noon."

Oh! 'twas a goodly sight;
Like some delicious summer evening's dream,
When worlds etherial float before the mind,
Peopled with beings of celestial mould,
That glide and glitter mid the cloudless sky,
And sip the dew from amaranthine flowers,
And drink the splendour of unsetting suns.
Yet, fair as fiction, 'twas an earthly scene;
A lovely portion of this lower world
By distance softened to the gazing eye.
Some rear'd their fronts and stretch'd their mighty length
Like heaps of shadow from the abyss of night;
And some like crystal seas and lakes of glass,
Hung by Omnipotence in middle air,
Appeared the boundary of this earthly scene—
This side the wond'rous ocean all was earth;
Beyond, the aerial billows roll'd and broke
In gentle murmurs on celestial shores.

I deem myself fortunate in having been thus favoured in my first view of the Alps. I believe they are not often seen at so immense a distance, though it is said that Mont Blanc is sometimes distinctly visible from the ramparts of Dijon.

We reached Poligny in the afternoon. It is a little post town delightfully situated at the foot of a romantic rocky hill, which may be considered as the first step in the mountains of the Jura. They are a chain of hills running through the whole of the province of Franche Compté, from Lyons in the south, to the Rhine in the north, and forming, in that direction, the natural frontier of France. You enter them at Poligny, and do not leave them till within a few miles of Geneva. They are a chain perfectly distinct from the great body of the Alps, though the departments in which they are situated are called the Higher and the Lower Alps.

The pass from Poligny into the Jura is extremely fine, and affords the traveller a rich specimen of the scenery that lies beyond. The road winds up a rocky and well wooded ravine, doubling and trebling till it reaches the summit, from which is an extensive prospect of the level country we had passed, and to which we now, without reluctance, bade adieu. It was long before our carriage reached the head of the ravine; we watched its progress as it slowly crept along at our feet, rendered insignificant by distance, but adding to the picturesque effect of the surrounding scenery by the stragglers it drew after it from the cottages, and the bustle it occasioned in its route. We admired the taste displayed by the hand of nature in the grouping of the firs in this romantic glen, the elegance of their forms, and the pleasing variety of hue, which their foliage exhibited from the deepest to the brightest green. In the valley, about a quarter of the way up, is an extensive building, which was formerly a monastery. The chapel is said to have been a very beautiful edifice. It was destroyed in the revolution, and the house, which was once the abode of monks, is now inhabited by the peasantry of the place, from whom we gained our information. Having reached a more level road, dark and gloomy mountains rose before us, and about night-fall we arrived at Champagnole, a little village at the foot of a lofty hill of that name. The mountains of the Jura, black with forest, and rendered hideous by the darkness of the night, which was hastening to inwrap them, rose beyond it. There was something appalling in the loneliness and wildness of the place, and the blackness that everywhere surrounded us. But we soon forgot the gloom that reigned without, by the warmth and cheerfulness of a blazing fire.

These forests, we were informed, abound with wolves, who, at certain seasons, are remarkably daring and ferocious. A friend of mine, who passed that way last year, learnt at Champagnole, that they had carried off a child from the outskirts of the village a day or two before his arrival. Happily, they kept a respectful distance from us, and neither alarmed us with their appearance or their voice.

At Champagnole we found the people in great distress. The number of travellers has considerably diminished this year, and this circumstance, together with the high price of corn, had induced them to sell most of their horses, so that we were fortunate in obtaining six for our carriage. If any party arrived after our departure, they must have waited for the return of our horses.

We were all day travelling over the Jura, occasionally descending into fertile and well-peopled valleys, and deep ravines, and often toiling up roads cut like shelves out of the rocks, at a height from which it was terrible to look down on the woods that waved, and the clouds that rolled beneath. I exulted, however, in the new and interesting scenery; the eye was no longer wearied with the sameness and monotony of a flat and higly cultivated country, subdued and fashioned by the art and to the taste of man; but all around was wild and independent—summits inaccessible to human footsteps, and rocks that bade defiance to human culture, with here and there a smiling valley, that just supplied enough for the necessities of its inhabitants, but denied that abundance which pampers luxury and increases wealth, too frequently the sources of tyranny and oppression. The farm-houses, too, reminded us, from the peculiarity of their structure, being composed simply of planks of fir, with vast projecting roofs of the same material, that we were approaching Switzerland, the cradle of freedom, and the retreat of Protestantism; while the general character of the cottages, and their romantic situations, naturally brought to my mind the many happy hours I have passed amid the mountains of Wales,—a country interesting to the lover of the picturesque from the grandeur of its scenery, but more so to the Christian, from the piety and zeal of its inhabitants. The only unpleasant circumstance in crossing the Jura, and which bespoke the deep poverty of the people, was the great increase of beggars. They were chiefly children, and their numbers and their importunity was truly astonishing. From the very slow rate at which we travelled, they were frequently enabled to follow us for a considerable distance, and this they did, entreating in the most piteous accents, and repeating the same words with a sort of measured intonation, *Monsieur, s'il vous plait donnez moi charité.* These were the sounds that perpetually assailed us, and we were glad when a little level road allowed us to go on at a quick rate, and thus lose, for awhile, the distressing din.

Leaving Champagnole, the road enters a sublime ravine, and ascends through rich forests of beech and fir, to Maison Neuve: there a delightful valley opens to receive it, well peopled and rich in pasturage; but, as if disdaining the lowland country, it soon turns from the peaceful vale, and climbs the rocks, and penetrates the woods that rise above it, and at length reaches St. Laurent, where, turning abruptly to the right, a deep romantic glen unfolds it beauties, while some of the loftiest summits of the Jura are seen beyond, dark with forests, and speckled with snow. At St. Laurent, we found the inn occupied by people who had come on occasion of a funeral. No one would have guessed their errand from their cheerful countenances; but such was the sprightliness and gaiety that seemed to reign throughout the party, that, but for their sable attire, we might have supposed they had come to celebrate a wedding or a wake. The scenery from St. Laurent was extremely wild and desolate. Clouds, mountains, and forests were all around us, with glens, but partially and indistinctly seen, beneath; and we had attained to a considerable elevation, when, about noon, the town of Morez burst upon our view. It is situated in the heart of the Jura, at the bottom of an immense cleft in the rocks, through which rolls a romantic stream, and where a few verdant fields are seen to shine. It happened to be market day, and the effect was most interesting—to emerge in a moment from the solitudes of gloomy mountains to the hum and bustle of a crowded country town! We looked upon it, like aerial beings taking a peep at what was passing in the lower world. It was a grateful refreshment to the eye and to the heart, and reminded us that we were still in the land of the living, and not quite beyond the reach of civilized society.

At Morez we met with two English gentlemen, returning from Italy. They observed, that although they had recently crossed the Simplon, yet they were much struck with the sublimity of these passes of the Jura. A few minutes chat with a countryman was very pleasant so far from home and in a land of strangers.

From Morez we ascended, by a steep and difficult path, that scarcely deserves the name of a road, to *Les Rousses*, an inconsiderable village, and thence still continuing the ascent, we passed the base of the Dole, one of the highest summits of the Jura. There we observed in the most sheltered situations, a few scattered houses, resorted to in the season, for the purpose of making the Gruyer cheese, which is celebrated all over the continent for its exquisite flavour.*

The road here became not a little terrific, running along the loftiest ledges of the mountains, where the breaking of a wheel, or the restiffness of a horse, might have been fatal to our party, till suddenly turning to the left, we saw at an almost inconceivable depth, the lake of Geneva at our feet. We enjoyed not that magnificent view of the Alps, which in clear weather is obtained from this point, and which has been so frequently described by travellers, for the rain had come on previously, and the whole scene was enveloped in clouds and mist, through which the lake was but dimly seen, and upon which it was fearful to look down. The descent from this point was extremely steep, and the road which winds down the side of the mountain rather too rapidly for the traveller's comfort, in one place made to pass through a huge projecting rock, that threatened to obstruct its way. But it was the work of Buonaparte, and rocks were mere playthings with him, as his passage of the Alps, and the passes of the Simplon attest. I left the carriage at the brow of the hill, and reached Gex, the next post town, and the last in France, considerably before it, so difficult is the descent. Sullen grandeur was the character of the scenery around me. Occasional gleams of light were cast upon the lake; and the clouds were seen rolling along the valley, and creeping up the bosoms of the mountains, now covering and now unfolding their summits clothed with copse-wood and crowned with forests of fir. But I paid for my gratification, and what I conceived my safety, by excessive fatigue and a wet skin.

At this place they brought us the most delicious wine we have yet tasted. We asked for the *vin de pays*—they called it *lunell.* It appears to me to be in wine, what the pine-apple is among fruit—it combines in itself the flavour of every other, without an undue predominance of any.

Night now came on, and in the dark we passed Furney, the seat of the infidel Voltaire, and entered the gates of Geneva. We heard the roaring of the Rhone as we crossed the bridge, and our ears are perpetually saluted with the rippling of the lake upon which our hotel is situated.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XIX.

Martigny.

My dear ——

It often happens that where we expect the greatest gratification we enjoy the least. I have felt the force of this reflection in my visit to Geneva. The shortness of our stay did not allow us, indeed, to see any of its society: and the information I had previously obtained of the state of religion was not such as to excite in my mind very exalted expectations of pleasure from that source. Few of the doctrines and little of the spirit, which once rendered it the glory of the Protestant world, now remain: and that truth, which was asserted and maintained by Calvin, a name to which the city of Geneva is more indebted for its celebrity than to the grandeur of its scenery, the beauties of its lake, or the stern character of its ancient independence, has scarcely an asylum within its walls.* The pastors of its churches are almost to a man, Arians, or Socinians. A few, perhaps, may cherish the genuine principles of the reformation and feel their influence. I know, indeed, that this *is* the case, but they bear no proportion to the majority, who are sunk in infidelity and scepticism, and can do but little towards the diffusion of that divine light, and the spread of that glorious gospel, by the resuscitating energy of which the Church of Geneva may again awake from the philosophic dreams of infidelity, and emulate the zeal, the piety, and the simplicity of former times.

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* The principal place for the manufacture of this cheese, and whence, indeed, it derives its name, is Gruyires, a small town in the canton of Friburg, in Switzerland. A great part of the salt consumed in the manufacture of these cheeses is drawn from Franche Compté. It sells at six batz, or eighteen French sous per pound.

* What was the state of things in this respect, in Voltaire's time, may be pretty correctly gathered from the friendship that subsisted between that arch-infidel and the pastors of Geneva. In a letter to D'Alembert, in 1757, he writes, "The magistrates and the priests come to dine with me as usual. Continue to leave with me and Tronchin the charge of the pleasant affair of the Socinians of Geneva." In another to the same correspondent, he says, "It cannot be otherwise than that, in Calvin's own town, with a population of four and twenty thousand free thinkers, there should still remain a few Calvinists; but they are extremely few, and are well abused. All honest folks are deists." These are surely awful testimonies against them; for what communion hath light with darkness? What concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an *infidel?* Another evidence as to the state of religion in Geneva about that time, may be gathered from the article Genève, in the French Encyclopædia. The writer of that article says, "To say all in one word, many of the pastors of Geneva own no religion but pure Socinianism. They reject all those things that are called mysteries and consider it as the first principle of a true religion, that it shall propose nothing to be believed that offends reason. Also, when pressed upon the necessity of revelation, that dogma so essential to Christianity, most substitute the term utility, (*utilité*) which appears to them more soft. In this, if they are not orthodox, they are, however, true to their principles." No wonder, that in the very next paragraph in the same horrible article, should be the following passage: "It is not surprising that the progress of infidelity should be less deprecated at Geneva than elsewhere, since their religion is reduced almost to the adoration of one only God—respect for Jesus Christ and the Scriptures being the only things which distinguished the Christianity of Geneva from pure deism." "The pastors of Geneva," says Rousseau, "are asked if Jesus Christ is God: they dare not answer. They are asked, what mysteries they admit: they dare not answer. A philosopher casts upon them a haughty glance; he sees through them; he discovers them to be Arians, Socinians; he proclaims it, and thinks that he does them honour. Immediately alarmed, terrified, they assemble, they consult, they are agitated; they know not what saint to call upon; and after manifold consultations, deliberations, con-

But I was somewhat disappointed in the general appearance of the city. The style of building, in the commercial part of it, is extremely uncouth and barbarous. The roofs of the houses project entirely over the footpath, and are supported by long pillars from the streets. Lines of little shops, not unlike the movable offices which you see upon the quays in London and in Liverpool, are placed between the footpath and the horse-road, so that the light being impeded both from above and below, the whole has a mean and gloomy appearance. There are some good houses in the upper part of the town, built of stone, and very lofty, commanding magnificent views of the lake and the surrounding country. There is little uniformity in the streets of Geneva. They are wild and irregular, and, with few exceptions, very steep, in perfect accordance with the character of the neighbouring scenery. Many parts of the city reminded me of Chester, especially those streets in which the roofs of the houses project as I have described. They present a nearer approach to the rows of that ancient city than anything I have seen elsewhere. Geneva is surrounded by fortifications, and is entered by gates and drawbridges. The entrance from the French side is very handsome.

On Sunday, I debated much in my own mind where I should worship. Unhappily, the gentleman to whom I had an introduction was from home, and our *maître de place* could give me very little information on religious matters. Aware, however, of the state of things in the churches of Geneva, and ignorant who and what I might hear, I determined for the English Episcopal chapel. I felt the devotional part of the service extremely edifying, and was much impressed with the scriptural character and deeply devotional spirit of the liturgy. I wish I could say as much of the sermon. The chapel was very respectably attended by English families, resident chiefly in the vicinity of Geneva. There were several carriages, and some with coronets, at the door, after service. We were then too late for any of the churches; and indisposition, the result, I believe, of extreme fatigue, induced me to remain at home the rest of the day.

There was more external decency observed in Geneva than at Paris; but, nearly the whole of the afternoon, they were fiddling and dancing in the opposite house to our hotel, quite after the manner of a continental Sabbath; and from six in the morning, I was completely robbed of my repose, by a Frenchman in the next chamber to mine reading aloud what appeared to me to be a French play with all the intonation and vociferation of an actor, studying his part for the performance of the evening.

The views of the lake from my bed-room window would have been delightful, but the incessant rain that fell during the whole of the day, and the thickness of the atmosphere in the morning, deprived me of their full enjoyment. But the lake, in this part of it, is ever restless; the Rhone about to issue from it prevents its repose, and its murmurs are pleasing to the ear. They awakened many interesting associations in my mind, and the impression was, perhaps, as powerful, as if all the majestic scenery that surrounds it had been perfectly unveiled to my view.

We had not been long in Geneva before we were waited upon by a Monsieur Crotet, who offered his services as our guide to the glaciers of Savoy. He had served the Princess of Wales in that capacity, and possessed her attestation, together with that of many other distinguished characters, to his qualifications for such an office. He traced out to us the plan of our route, upon a beautiful model of the Alps of Savoy, executed in relief, which he brought with him for the double purpose of information and of traffic. At his suggestion, it was determined to send the carriage round the opposite side of the lake to meet us at this place, while we took a calash from Geneva as far as St. Martin's, on our way to Chamouni, where we must abandon it, and be content to proceed on mules.

These important matters being duly arranged, we took a drive round the environs of the city, and were much delighted with the variety, the beauty, and the grandeur of its scenery. Happily, the rain had ceased—the clouds began to ascend and to disperse, and the views of the lake, and the mountains, in every direction, were most enchanting and sublime. From one favoured spot, at the head of the lake, a greater variety of grand and interesting objects meets the eye, than perhaps are to be seen from any other spot in Europe. A venerable and populous city lies at your feet—a vast and magnificent lake, in calm and placid dignity, spreads its pellucid waves beyond—a landscape rich in all the produce that the diligent cultivation of a fruitful soil can furnish, what the French call, *une Champagne riante*, is immediately around—while vast and gloomy mountains form a stupendous background to the picture, stretching their awful forms to meet the distant horizon, and hiding their lofty summits in the clouds. In clear weather, the hoary-headed Mont Blanc appears like the presiding genius of the scene—the venerable monarch of his kindred Alps. The mountains most distinctly visible when we enjoyed the prospect, were the Salève, on the right, rising to upwards of three thousand feet, and the uninterrupted length of the Jura to the left, whose highest point is upwards of four thousand. From this spot, which we left with reluctance, we proceeded to the banks of the Arve, and pursuing its direction for awhile, at length alighted at the entrance of a copse, through which we made our way with difficulty, the path being hilly, and very slippery from the recent rains, to a place where we saw at our feet the much celebrated junction of the Arve and the Rhone. The Arve has a thick and soapy appearance, derived, in all probability, from the mountains of ice and snow, in the midst of which it rises. The Rhone is of a fine dark green, and issuing fresh and unspotted from the lake, seems for awhile to disdain a connection with its muddy spouse. For two or three miles, the haughty Rhone keeps up its reserve, and the rivers roll side by side, in the same bed, without mingling their waters. At length, however, yielding to the destiny that has made them one, they embrace and blend with each other; the distinction is quickly lost, and the polluted Arve is absorbed in the turbulent and majestic Rhone. Both rivers are, indeed, extremely rapid, and this gives an impetus to their course, which, as they previously run nearly in the same direction, may account for the curious circumstance of their preserving a distinctness so long after their junction.

I felt no inclination to visit Furney, the residence of Voltaire. When I consider the pestilential influence of his character and writings, and the infernal elements and diabolical spirit which compose and animate them, my heart sickens at the mention of his name; and I should have shuddered to enter the dwelling once inhabited by the bitterest and most malignant enemy of the Redeemer, that ever, perhaps, appeared in a human form!

We left Geneva at four in the afternoon, with every favourable omen, as to the weather, and all in excellent spirits, little anticipating the severe test to which the courage and philosophy of some were shortly to be put. For my own part, I must confess, it was with considerable emotion, that I crossed the drawbridge of Geneva to commence this tour. The few days that were then immediately to follow, promised to be amongst the most varied and interesting of my life, and were to give to my actual sight, those sublime and stupendous features in nature, which had filled my imagination, as depicted in the narratives of travellers, and the songs of poets—of which I had talked, and read, and dreamt, but which, till recently, I had never hoped to visit. Mons. Crotet, our newly-acquired guide, appeared at the appointed hour,

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ferences, the whole terminates in a nonplus; in which is neither said, Yes, nor No. These clerical gentlemen of your's are, in truth, singular beings. One knows not what they believe or what they disbelieve; one does not even know what they pretend to believe; their only method of establishing their own faith is by attacking that of others." Thus it was fifty years ago; how it is now, may be learned from the catechism which the pastors of that church have lately published, in which everything essential and vital in Christianity is omitted; nothing is left to be believed, and unbelief is the very essence and spirit, if it can be called so, of the system. I rejoice, however, that there is a remnant of holy and devoted men still in Geneva, who retain the most ardent attachment to the doctrines of their forefathers, and fear not to preach them faithfully. These men have recently been encouraged by the countenance and zeal of a few British Christians, and by their united efforts, with the blessing of heaven, we have reason to hope that the pure principles of the reformation may yet prevail again in Geneva. Those who wish to see more on this melancholy subject, may consult a most important article in the Eclectic Review for January, 1818, on the above-mentioned catechism, and the catechism itself.

mounted on his *bidet*, in a splendid uniform of blue and gold, which he had new, in honour of the Princess, with a silver medal suspended from his button-hole, indicating him to be a courier of government, and a man in authority to procure horses or mules, or in any other way to expedite the advance of the parties he conducted. This paraphænalia, I assure you, has proved by no means useless, for they seem to be as well aware of what is likely to promote their own interest in this, as in any other part of the world.

A few miles from Geneva we entered Savoy, and passed from the Protestant republic of Geneva, to the Papal territories of the King of Sardinia. Here the scenery of the Alps began to open before us. On the right, the Arve was seen winding through a highly cultivated and luxuriant valley; on either side, hills and rocks rose to a considerable elevation, and behind, the mountains of the Jura closed in grandeur the delightful view. We passed through many peaceful villages, whose inhabitants appeared to be a simple and a happy people, and about sunset, reached, by a long avenue of elms, the little town of Bonneville, romantically seated on the Arve.

Our arrival created no small stir amongst the inhabitants. Heads in abundance appeared at the doors and windows as we passed along the street, and a crowd was soon assembled round our carriage when it stopped.

The town is embosomed in the mountains, and watered by the Arve. It has a fine ancient bridge over the river, from which the surrounding scenery is viewed to great advantage. The former rises abruptly, on the right, to the elevation of 4500 feet from its base; and on the left, Mont Brezon, to nearly the same altitude. The former is elegantly formed, and terminates in a peak; the latter is extremely wild and savage in its aspect, and little more than a bare and rugged rock, with occasional patches of verdure.

In the evening, we were somewhat interested with the conversation of an old soldier, who came to offer his handy-work in the plaiting of hair for sale, and who spoke broken English, having been a prisoner in England. He told us they were miserably poor, and had suffered intensely by the failure of the last harvest. He said that few, very few, could read, yet they were not destitute of Bibles. "But of what use are they," said I, "if nobody can read!" "Oh!" said he, "some can read, and those who can, read to those who cannot." "This," I replied," "is as it should be, so far is it goes—but would it not be better, that those who cannot read should learn, that all may read it for themselves?" He shrugged up his shoulders at this, and made no reply: but his looks seemed to say, either, "I do not comprehend you," or "that is a matter quite out of my province to meddle with; we leave all these things to our priests."

Before leaving Bonneville, we strolled into the church-yard. The church is a neat and simple structure, not unlike some of our country chapels in Lancashire; and the congregation, as they came out from mass, consisting chiefly of women with their blue cloaks, tended to confirm the general resemblance of the scene. We were particularly struck with an immense cross of wood standing by the pathway in the church-yard, and furnished with all the apparatus for crucifixion—the ladder, the hammer, the nails, the sponge, together with representations, correct models no doubt, of the lantern which Judas used when he came to the garden to betray his master, the dice with which the soldiers cast lots upon his garments, and the cock which crew after that Peter had thrice denied him. Poor deluded people! duped with such toys as these! How is the pleasure derived from the beauty and grandeur of their country mingled with pain and regret, excited by the contemplation of their moral and spiritual condition.

We left Bonneville at an early hour. The road passes over the bridge to the foot of the Môle, and traverses a lovely valley, bounded by lofty mountains, and rich in scenes of pastoral beauty. The Môle was a fine object in the landscape scene from the windows of our inn at Bonneville, and did not fail to renew our gratification as we passed along its base in the morning. Though nearly 6000 feet above the level of the sea, it is clothed with verdure to its summit. Its companion, the Brezon, is, however, of another cast, and in its bare and rugged crags, presents a striking contrast to the Môle. The road is lined on either side with walnut trees, which afford a grateful shade. The pine-built cottages are by no means thinly scattered throughout the valley, and there is something remarkably neat and simple in the appearance of the people. The same character of countenance pervades them all, especially the women, so that they seem like brothers and sisters of the same family. It was the *shepherd's fête*, an annual festival, celebrated by the shepherds in these valleys, on the Nativity of John the Baptist. On this occasion, the shepherds, in their best attire, pay their respects to the shepherdesses in the morning. Service is performed in the church, to which they make a point of attending; and festivity and mirth fill up the remainder of the day. Many of the houses which we passed, had garlands and crosses of flowers nailed over the doors, and some of the cattle were adorned with similar *insignia*, in honour of the festival. We could not have seen the people to greater advantage. And yet, we did not observe that gaiety and cheerfulness which we had anticipated in the peasantry of Savoy, and which, one should suppose, an occasion like this would have excited. The truth is, they suffered too much from the entire failure of the last harvest, to resign themselves to thoughtless gaiety, till they see the crops well gathered in. The valley from Bonneville is considered as the first portal of the Alps.

Passing the village of Sigony, we were shown the opening of the valley far up the mountain to the right, in which was formerly the convent of the *Chartreuse du Reposoir*, whose once hospitable inmates were wont to welcome the traveller to their lonely dwelling, when, destitute of good roads and comfortable inns, these valleys were explored with difficulty and with danger.

From this place the mountains closed upon us. The rocks began most fearfully to overhang the road, and seemed as if hastening to embrace each other. Here, at the commencement of this narrow defile, the Arve is rather *heard* than *seen* to roll its noisy and contracted stream. Where the river has found a bed, man has also fixed his habitation,—for, crossing a romantic bridge, and turning abruptly to the right, we entered the little town of Cluse, enclosed on either side by rocky ramparts, and sheltered, one should imagine, equally from sunbeams and from storms. Here all further proceeding seemed to be stopped, at least for carriages, for there appeared to be scarcely room enough for the flowing of the Arve; but, on leaving Cluse, our admiration was excited by the safe and easy road, which is judiciously cut at the foot of the rocks, and we were filled with astonishment at the ingenuity and perseverance of man, till the opening of the valley awakened our attention to the sublime and magnificent features of nature all around us. This is called the second portal of the Alps. The Arve rolled at our feet, and as we followed the various windings of the valley, seemed to spread itself into a series of lakes, each presenting its own peculiar characters of loveliness and majesty. The sides of the mountains were occasionally bare and rugged, but for the most part they were clothed with forests of fir: while above, pointed summits and fantastic crags, everywhere met the eye, and filled us with admiration and awe. A few miles up the valley, the guide pointed out to us the entrance of the cavern de Balme,—a sort of arch in the cliff, about six hundred feet above its base. It is a natural gallery in the rock, and well worthy the attention of those who have leisure to visit it. The ascent, however, is difficult, and we contented ourselves with the guide's description. The valley now becomes still more spacious; but its boundaries increase in grandeur, while the eye is relieved by the *Bosquets de Maglan*, which begin to impart their exquisite softness and agreeable variety to this charming scene. There are groves or clumps of beech trees, situated in the meadows, which rise in gentle swells from the verge of the Arve, and spread their green and undulating carpet, spotted with cottages, and watered by innumerable streams, to the bases of the neighbouring rocks. At one of these, famed as the retreat of the Naturalist, Bourrit, we alighted. It was a lonely and sequestered spot. The copse afforded us a grateful shade from the noon-tide sun—the murmurings of the restless Arve were the only sounds that broke upon the ear—while all around, tremendous precipices rose to heaven, and seemed to shut us out from the cares of mortals, and the busy world. My imagination never pictured a fairer scene, or dipped its pencil in brighter hues. I rose, as if by enchantment, and the spell seemed for a moment to have included us in its potent influence, for we were riveted to the scene, and felt an almost unconquerable reluctance to depart. But our guide admonished us of the lapse of time, and having let off a hand-grenade, that we might enjoy its echoes as the rocks returned them, we repaired again to the carriage. Such, thought I, is human life. Such, and so fleeting, are its joys. We have scarcely time to realize them, ere they are fled—like those occasional gleams of light, which sometimes break upon us in a stormy day!——

Leaving this sequestered spot, we passed, on the left, the delicate waterfall, D'orli, and a few miles beyond, we paused to admire the beautiful cataract of Arpenas, perhaps the most elegant in the Alps. Its height is estimated at eight hundred feet. The water rushes with considerable volume over a tremendous precipice of dark and fantastic rocks. At first it divides into separate streams, that in their fall somewhat resemble descending rockets, till at length, caught by the rocks beneath, they meet and mingle in one mass of foam, more light and graceful than the softest pencil could portray. At this cataract we had a remarkable instance of that deception which is produced to the eye, by the magnitude of the objects which compose the scenery of these Alpine regions. Viewed from the road, at the distance of not many hundred yards, the fall itself appeared to be by no means so considerable as its measurement determines, while at its foot there was a little verdant hillock, to the summit of which it seemed that a few steps would elevate us. To this hillock we determined to proceed, as a good station from whence to view the cataract. But what was our astonishment, when we saw "the mole-hill rise into a mountain" before us; and having, with no small toil, reached its top, beheld the cataract itself multiplied to an almost inconceivable vastness, rushing into a perturbed abyss beneath, that confounded us by its uproar, and bedewed us with its spray.

As we passed the neat and rural village of Maglan, which is not far from the waterfall, the people were leaving the church. We were much struck with the beauty of the women. I never saw such an assemblage of pleasing, open, and intelligent faces before.

At St. Martin's, the little town of Salenche was seen, on the opposite side of the Arve, seated at the foot of its romantic mountains, while its neat white spire arose in modest elegance above the surrounding woods.

St. Martin's is a solitary inn, with the appropriate sign of Mont Blanc, well situated for the accommodation of travellers. This is a place which some of our party will long remember, and none of us, perhaps, shall easily forget, for there commenced the several toils, and the highest pleasures of our tour. We could no longer proceed in the comfortable vehicle which had conveyed us from Geneva, but were compelled to commit ourselves to the obstinate dispositions, and uneasy paces of the mules of the country. We have since learned, however, that we might, perhaps, have been furnished with the *char-a-banc*, the only carriage which traverses these Alpine paths. It is a sort of car, very low, upon which two or three may sit, being drawn sideways, with their feet resting on a swinging board, which almost touches the ground. We met the daughter of Admiral N——— in such a carriage, in one of the wildest parts of the route, and we saw it cross a roaring mountain torrent, under circumstances of apparent peril, which we could not contemplate without emotion—but which the unconcern of the guides, and the fearlessness of the animal that drew the car, convinced us existed more in our imagination, unaccustomed to such scenes, than in reality. Having named the lady, I ought to add, that the noble admiral, mounted on a mule, was by her side.

Behold us, then, well seated on our safe and hardy animals—surrounded with skilful and experienced guides, with Monsieur Crotet at their head, as the captain of the host,—fairly on our way to Chamouni. Yes—we were to sleep that night at the foot of Mont Blanc, upwards of three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and surrounded, in the midst of summer, by eternal snow! You will not wonder at the enthusiasm which these anticipations kindled, or that, with the remembrance of them, it should awake again. Do not expect, however, a description of the scenery through which we passed in this most original and romantic ride. The rapid succession of grand and interesting objects—the ever-varying circumstance of light and shadow, of sunshine and of cloud, of brilliancy and of gloom, under which they were contemplated,—the individual features of the landscape, which sometimes fixed us in silent admiration, and the grand and stupendous whole, which occasionally overwhelmed the mind—all require descriptive powers to which I have no pretension. The pencil of a Claude, and the pen of a Byron, were equally inadequate to convey to the mind of one who has not witnessed similar scenery, any adequate impression. Yet, I am anxious you should, in some degree, participate my pleasure, and, transported in imagination to these regions, travel with me. Hopeless, then, as the task of description may appear, I will yet attempt it, convinced that with you, the intention will be a sufficient atonement for the failure.

The road, or rather path, from St. Martin's, is up a deep and fertile valley, watered by the Arve, rich in woods of fir, and bounded by mountains of various forms and of tremendous altitudes. Their rugged peaks were sometimes lost in the clouds, at others, their summits towered in majesty above them, and, disdaining the veil in which they would have shrouded their glories, left them to rest upon their bosom, or to creep along their base—and often bathed in the blue ether of the heavens, the rocky peaks appeared as if themselves ethereal, and exhibiting, what mineralogists call, the play of colours, looked like masses of transparent matter, composed of the purest elements and richest hues—rendered still more glorious by the splendours of the retiring sun. At the little village of Chede, at the upper end of the valley, and where the mountains began most sublimely to close upon our path, we turned aside to see the beautiful cataract of that name. It is extremely elegant in its form. The scenery that surrounds it is sylvan and sequestered. The torrent that composes it, rushes from the neighbouring mountains, and dashing down a succession of precipices, hurries, fretted and uneasy, over its rocky bed, to pour its tributary streams into the waters of the Arve. I was shocked to meet with an instance of avarice and extortion even here—in this deep retirement of nature, where one should imagine such sordid passions could have no excitement. A miserable old woman, at the little farm-house where we left our mules, muttered out her discontent at a handsome remuneration for a little milk and a few wild strawberries, with which she presented us on our return from the cataract. Here, thought I, in this old woman, whose face was the personification of every mean and malignant passion,—here is a fine example for those dreaming sentimentalists who rhapsodize, about the power of grand and romantic scenery to refine and elevate the mind! Our friend, Mons. Crotet, however, gave her a very wholesome lecture on the sin of covetousness, and we left her, not a little affected at such an exhibition of human nature, and in such a place. We looked for extortion in the streets of Paris, but little expected to find it by the waterfall of Chede!

The path now became extremely steep and difficult, and we continued to ascend, till we halted to rest a moment at the little lake of Chede, whose water is famed as the purest of the Alps. From this spot we distinctly saw the summit of Mont Blanc—saw the clouds roll off, and leave its hoary head, white with the snows of ages, perfectly uncovered, and finely contrasted with the deep azure of the sky it seemed almost to touch. It was the first near view we had obtained of the monarch of the Alps. When we saw him last, it was at the distance of one hundred and thirty miles; but now he appeared so near, that a few minutes would be sufficient to bring us to his base. And yet there were many long and weary miles between. Bruce's emotions of rapture, on beholding the source of the Nile, could hardly have exceeded mine, at this moment. The eye was dazzled in gazing on the vast and spotless object that absorbed us. It glittered in the sunbeams like transparent glass, and pure and chaste as were the light clouds that lingered round it, they were dark, compared with its superior brightness; while the obscurity in which they wrapt the lower scenes and inferior mountains, gave to that which we beheld an appearance of still greater elevation, and rendered it like a crystal mountain in a sea of clouds. The southern needle of Mont Blanc, too, was fully dismantled, and showed its beautiful point to the enraptured eye. It seemed as if the parting clouds had afforded us a glimpse of a new world—and imagination peopled it with beings pure as its spotless soil. All the scenes I had before admired, appeared dark and grovelling, compared with the bright regions which I then beheld; regions of the purest white—untrodden solitudes of snow, meet only for the visits of celestial beings—the connecting link between earth and heaven. On such a spot, one could imagine angels would alight when sent on messages of mercy to mankind,

> "And there from finished earth, triumphant trod
> The last ascending steps of her creating God."

I thought of the men who had reached its summit, and could scarcely realize the idea of such a hazardous and daring enterprise—there was nothing in the appearance of the scene at all terrestrial, and I felt as if to ascend Mont Blanc, would be to betray a temerity somewhat similar to Babel's builders, whose ambition aimed at nothing less than heaven.

Hence the way became still more rugged, and what timid people would call *dangerous*, and dangerous it was, if riding along ledges of lofty rocks, with deep ravines beneath, and undefended from the precipice, were so: and every now and then crossing mountain torrents, swollen and rendered fearful by the recent rains. Our guides indulged us with a short repose at the little village of Servoz, whose neat church with its modest spire, was an interesting object as we sat at the door of the inn, enjoying the majestic scenery that encircled us.

Will you allow me, ere we proceed again, to tell you of the fate of an amiable youth, named Eschen, who, in 1801, perished in a crevice of the *glacier du Buet*, a mountain in this neighbourhood, upwards of nine thousand feet above the level of the sea. He set off to explore it without a competent guide, and fell, as in such a case is almost inevitable, a victim to his imprudence. A monument was erected by M. d'Eymar, Prefét du Léman, both as a mark of respect to his memory, and as an admonition to future travellers. It consists of a pyramid, rounded at its summit. I copy the inscription for your perusal. On the principal face of the pyramid,

A la mémoire
de Fréderic-Auguste Eschen,
naturaliste, littérateur, poëte,
né en 1777, à Entinen,
cercle de la Saxe inferieure ;
englouti dans une crevasse
du glacier du Buet;
le 19 thermidor an VIII ;
retiré de cet abyme par Jh. M. Devillaz,
I. Claud de Bernard, ses deux fils,
et Jh. Otll ;
Inhumé dans ce lieu par les soins
de A. M. d'Eymar, Prefét ;
Monument éleve
le 21 fructidor an IX,
Sous la Magistrature
de
Bonaparte, Cambaceres, Lebrun,
Consuls de la République Française.

On the right face of the pyramid,

Le Gouvernement Française
honore les sciences
et les arts,
protége les savans et les artistes,
il accueille avec hospitalité
les estrangers
de toutes les nations
qui visitent le sol de la République.

On the left face of the pyramid,

Voyageurs
un guide prudent et robuste
vous est nécessaire ;
ne vous eloignez pas de lui ;
obeissez
aux conseils de l'expérience.
C'est avec un recueillement
melé de crainte el de respect
qu, il faut visiter les lieux
que la nature a marqués
du sceau de sa majesté
el de sa puissance.

You may be sure we were not unmindful of these friendly hints, and the air of vanity which pervades the inscription, and which marks it as truly French, was overlooked for the moment, in the importance of the admonitions it conveyed, and the benevolence by which it appeared to have been dictated. We, however, had little reason to apprehend a similar catastrophe from a similar cause, for we had guides in abundance. We seemed, indeed, to collect as we advanced, for on leaving Servoz, the number was considerably augmented, and ere we reached the vale of Chamouni, we formed no inconsiderable cavalcade. Our guides, too, many of them, fully answered the description of the *nécessaire*, as far as the *robuste* was concerned ; their *prudence*, however, remained to be tried ; but they looked like sober, decent men, and conducted themselves with great civility.

From Servoz our guides urged us to quicken our pace, for the day was drawing to a close, and we felt that night would be no very desirable circumstance on such a road. Moreover, the clouds were gathering blackness, and the rain began to descend, and everything indicated a cheerless, if not a tempestuous night. The ladies were already much fatigued by their ride, for the paces of the mules were exceedingly rough, and we were all pretty well exhausted with our day's journey, when about nine o'clock we reached Le Prieuré, the principal place in the vale of Chamouni.

I should tell you that in our way we passed the remains of an avalanche which fell last year. It covered a considerable part of the road, and crushed a large portion of the neighbouring wood beneath its weight. The enormous mass of unmelted snow lay like a fallen mountain across the path, we were obliged to descend into a meadow, by a circuitous route, to compass it. The cottage of a peasant was buried beneath the heap, and one of its inhabitants was with difficulty saved.

On entering the vale of Chamouni, the first village you meet in *Les Ouches*, and the first object that arrests your attention is the glacier *des Bossons*, to the right of that village. At first it struck me as rather insignificant in its appearance, and, I must confess, I felt some little disappointment. It looked like the arc of a circle inclined from the lower part of the mountain to the valley, composed of ice, and covered with crystals, of various forms, pyramids, prisms, &c. of a bluish tinge. We found as we advanced, however, that its diminutive appearance, arose from distance and the magnitude of the surrounding objects. As we approached, it gradually enlarged its dimensions—the deep ravine down which it seems to rush, (though it is fixed and motionless,) opened to our view, and it assumed all its real magnitude and importance as we passed close by its base, and its icy pyramids seemed almost bending over us. But it had a sickly hue, and created a very different feeling in my mind to what I had anticipated from the first sight of a glacier. There is too much of death in it ever to awaken pleasing sensations: the gloom of the evening contributed to deepen the melancholy it inspired, and though the corn was waving at its foot, and the grass was green in the meadows, yet the woods were black that rose, on either side, above it, the forms of the mountains were wild and gigantic, and it seemed, at best, but a pale and ghastly feature in a dark and savage landscape.

I know not whether I shall be deemed guilty of the arrogance with which travellers are sometimes charged, if I should assume your ignorance of the subject, and proceed to tell you what a glacier is. For my own part, I had a very incorrect idea of it, till I saw one, so imperfect is the notion which words can convey, of an object, when there is nothing familiar to us with which to compare it. Why, then, you may say, attempt the hopeless task, of describing a glacier to me? Have you a new and improved method, by which you expect to succeed better than your predecessors? No. But I feel as though I should not do justice to my correspondent, my subject, or myself, if I did not make the attempt; and, perhaps, by the help of what I may say, and what others have said, you may correct some erroneous notions which, like me, you may have entertained respecting it. Well, then, to be methodical, *first*, as to the situation of a glacier—it is not itself a mountain of ice, but lies in a deep, sloping ravine, or cleft, between two mountains, and is a mass of ice filling up the valley to a considerable, but different height, as the base may be. As to what it *is*, and how it is formed, I am not philosopher enough to determine, and he must have a good share of self-confidence that could boldly say he was—but it looked to me as if an enormous multitude of icy pyramids had rushed from the summits of the neighbouring mountains, till meeting in this ravine, they became crowded together, when, suddenly arrested in their progress by the valley, they pressed closely on each other, till some fell,—many were ready to fall,—some were squeezed by the pressure into prisms,—some lost their delicate peaks, and the whole became wild and irregular in its appearance—as you frequently see a mass of quartz crystals irregularly formed and disposed upon a bed of limestone. I am in doubt, indeed, whether you will be any wiser after this attempt at description than before. But, I must confess, I am utterly at a loss how to describe to you an object so novel, and of which, a few hours ago, I myself had no correct conception. There are five of these glaciers in the vale of Chamouni; the principal, however, are those of *Des Bossons*, and *De Bois*. They usually lie in a direction north and south, rarely east and west: and the reason is, perhaps, that the action of the sun would be too powerful for their preservation, if they were not deeply imbedded in ravines rarely visited by his rays.

It is a curious circumstance, that this romantic valley, in which are some of the sublimest objects in nature, should have been undiscovered till about sixty years ago, when two countrymen of our's ventured to explore it. The history of their expedition is rather amusing, not from the dangers they encountered, but from those they apprehended, and the measures which they took to guard against them. All that was known about it, till then, amounted to this, that there was an exceedingly sublime valley somewhere to the south, in the heart of Savoy, a few of whose inhabitants occasionally came to Geneva with its produce, and spread the report of its grandeur. Interested with these accounts, Dr. Pickard and a Mr. Wyndham, who happened to meet with some of these mountaineers, on a market-day at Geneva, determined to visit it. Accordingly, they made ready as for a most formidable enterprise, and furnished themselves with fire-arms, as though they were going amongst a barbarous people. But when they reached the vale, they were not more astonished at the sublime appearances of nature it exhibited, than at the extent and civilized state of its population. They saw many populous villages scattered in the midst of corn-fields and of meadows, surrounded by woods that are ever green, and ice that never melts—in a valley, eighteen miles in length and about one in breadth, environed by mountains of appalling height, and presenting an endless variety of grand and terrific forms—peaks of bare and rugged rock, and summits covered with eternal snow, that seem to prop the heavens, and forbid the daring footsteps of man—while from their sides and from their brows they rolled down vast accumulations of ice, to blend their fantastic shapes and mingling hues with the softer scenery below—and in the midst of all, the life and business of husbandry and pasturage advancing, at an elevation of more than 3000 feet above the level of the sea, and in a seclusion till then unknown to all the world beside themselves and the simple natives of the place. The first impression of the scene, even upon those who are apprized of it, is powerful,—what must it have been to these adventurers. It was an interesting discovery, and future travellers may well record their names with gratitude. But I must close this letter. Some lines of Lord Byron occur to me as admirably descriptive of the scenes in which it leaves me:

"——— Above me are the Alps,
The palaces of nature, whose vast walls
Have pinnacled in clouds their snowy scalps,
And throned Eternity in icy halls
Of cold sublimity, where forms and falls
The avalanche—the thunderbolt of snow!
All that expands the spirit, yet appals,
Gather around these summits as to show
How earth may pierce to heaven, yet leave vain man below."

Your's &c.

LETTER XX.

Lausanne.

My dear ——

We were, happily, much favoured by the weather during our short stay in the vale of Chamouni, and enjoyed a most auspicious day for the ascent of *Montanvert*, and the visit to the *Mer de Glace*. *Montanvert* rises abruptly from the vale of Chamouni, and may be considered as one of the bases of Mont Blanc. Its height is 2752 feet above the valley, and it is beautifully wooded to its summit. From this latter circumstance it has derived its name. It is usually ascended by travellers, as it commands the sea of ice, and the wilderness of snowy mountains, that surround and overhang it to the south, with the vale of Chamouni, Mont Breven, and the Col de Balme, and many other majestic elevations, to the north.

Mr. H. and myself took an early breakfast, and leaving the ladies in the care of Sir S——, left Chamouni at half past seven, and reached the summit of the mountain about ten. The ascent is exceedingly steep, and is frequently made in part upon mules, but we performed the whole on foot. Our guide was Michael Ferrez, one of those who accompanied M. de Saussure in his first ascent to Mont Blanc, a robust, careful, civil, and intelligent man, to whose assistance and information we were greatly indebted. At the commencement of the expedition we were each furnished with a long pole, with a spike at the end, for which we found abundant use before our return. About half way up the mountain, we paused to rest a moment at the fountain of Caillet, where Mons. Florian met the beautiful girl who furnished him with the subject of an interesting tale, called *La Belle Savoyarde*. She was presenting a basket of strawberries to an English traveller, as he passed. We drank some of the water, and found it very refreshing after an hour's previous toil; it was cool and clear—whether, like Mons. Florian, we drank in inspiration with the draught, remains hereafter to be proved. As far as *I* am concerned, I am happy that *you* are to be the judge. I have little to fear from one so partial—you will not censure even if you cannot praise.

In our ascent we observed the ruin which had been wrought by many avalanches, while our ears were assailed by the thunder of others, occurring in higher districts of the mountains, and out of our sight. Trees torn up by the roots, withered branches and blasted trunks were scattered in every direction round us, and sometimes a considerable space was completely cleared by one of these tremendous agents of destruction. An avalanche that fell about two hundred years ago, completely buried the principal village which was situated at the foot of the mountain, in consequence of which, the inhabitants who escaped removed to the opposite side of the Arve, which flows through the centre of the valley, and built the present village of Chamouni, or the Priory. The higher we ascended the more steep and difficult the way became, and we began to find the poles with which the guide had furnished us of considerable service. His mode of using them, however, was very different from that which my previous habits suggested. He taught us to hold them with both hands, resting the weight of the body upon them, and at the same time inclining the figure towards the face of the mountain. In this case a false step would have been less dangerous, than if the inclination of the body had been towards the valley. But soon their assistance became absolutely essential when we reached the *Crottes*, for so the guide called the shoots or rivers of frozen snow that, towards its summit, descended down the sides of the mountain, and over which the traveller must pass. The danger here was certainly considerable, the inclination of the ice being extremely steep, and the surface perfectly smooth—one false step would have been inevitable destruction. Our guide crossed first, making holes for our feet with his own. He then returned, and taking one at a time by the left hand, while the right grasped the pole which was to preserve the balance true, directed us to look neither above nor on one side, but only at our feet, for if we stumbled, and touched the ice with any part of the body but the foot, nothing could save us from being precipitated down the ice, and dashed against the rocks or the stumps of trees below. You may be sure we implicitly followed his directions, and having passed the first in safety, the rest, for there were several, appeared less formidable, while the danger was diminished in proportion to the confidence we acquired. Ladies, however, frequently cross these icy shoots, supported and defended from danger by two poles, which pass under the arms, and are carried by two guides in the manner of a sedan chair. In this way, the daughter of Admiral N——— passed, two days before us, being the first heroine who had climbed to the summit of *Montanvert* this season. Upon one of these shoots, our guide showed us the way in which Mons. de Saussure and his party descended from Mont Blanc. It was an interesting, but somewhat terrific exhibition, and by no means adapted to *spectators*, much less to *practitioners*, of delicate nerves. He ascended the mountain, and got upon the shoot of ice, about a hundred feet above us, and planting his heels firmly in the frozen snow, he placed his pole under his right arm, leaned the whole weight of his body firmly upon it, and then started down the shoot; he passed us with the swiftness of an arrow from a bow—his body almost in a sitting posture, his heels and the spiked end of his pole alone touching the ice, and deeply indenting it. The effect was horrible. It seemed impossible that he should ever recover himself. But, to our astonishment, we soon perceived him slacken his pace, turn himself nearly round, with all the ease of a skilful skater, and leaving the ice, walked towards us without any appearance of alarm or fatigue. In this way he said they descended many miles in the space of a very few minutes. We inhabitants of cities and of plains should be long in learning such a dangerous art. My companion, however, from his familiarity with perilous exploits at sea, was far less apprehensive of danger in these icy expeditions than myself; and I shall not easily forget the benevolent anxiety with which the guide who was helping me across one of the shoots of ice, cried out to him, "*J'ai crainte pour vous*,"—when he saw him fearlessly following us, with no assistance but his pole. The carefulness of the guides is very great. Every consideration, indeed, conspires to make them cautious. The lives of travellers are committed to them, and their bread depends upon the safety with which they conduct them. I believe, no accident was ever known to happen, where the party had an accredited guide, and followed his directions. Those who will go alone, or act independently, must take the consequences, and they have often been calamitous and fatal.

Having reached the summit, the scene that burst upon us was perfectly original—it was the sublime of the highest order—and seemed to realize more than any region my fancy could create, the beautiful sentiment of Montgomery, who, describing the scenery of Africa, calls it,

"A world of wonders, where creation seems
No more the works of nature, but her dreams."

We were then at an elevation of 6106 feet above the level of the sea—immediately beneath us was the *Mer de Glace*, a broad and tempestuous river of ice, running nearly thirty miles up into the bosom of the Alps—to the north, the deeper valley from which we had ascended—to the south, the gigantic barriers that separate Savoy from Piedmont—and around us, inaccessible peaks and mountains of eternal snow, that seemed to pierce the heavens—finely contrasting the deep azure, still more deep in these elevated regions, with their gloomy masses or their hoary summits: while the roar of cataracts and the thunder of avalanches, were the only sounds that broke upon the profound stillness of the dreadful solitude.

On the summit of Montanvert, a benevolent Frenchman, Mons. Desportes, has erected a small building for the repose and accomodation of travellers. It is very properly called the *hospice:* "*à la nature*," is carved over the door. We gladly entered it. A man had previously ascended and kindled a fire; he also furnished us with bread, and a portion of *eau de vie*, to mingle with a glass of water, an appendage almost indispensable in these cold and elevated regions. As we sat by the fire, we amused ourselves with looking over the album, which is kept there for the insertion of visitors names, with their remarks. The man pointed out to us amongst the autographs of many eminent personages, that of the ex-empress of France, Maria Louisa, who visited this place while Buonaparte was in Elba, under the name of the Duchess De Colorno. The empress Josephine was also here on the 29th August, 1810. She wrote the following lines in the album with her own hand. The original was purloined from the book by a countryman of ours, but the lines are preserved:

"Ah! Je sens, qu'en milieu de ce grand phenomene
De ce tableau touchant, de cette terrible scene,
Tout eleve l'esprit, tout occupe les yeux
Cœur seul, un moment ce repose en ces lieux."
JOSEPHINE.

But we were not permitted long to enjoy our repose. The guide soon summoned us to the sea of ice, and we began, "with cautious steps and slow," to descend the steep and rugged face of the mountain. As we approached the surface of the glacier, those inequalities that appeared from the summit of Montanvert to be no more than gentle undulations, rose into considerable elevations, of from fifty to a hundred feet, intermingled with half-formed pyramids, bending walls, and shapeless masses of ice, with vast blocks of granite and frightful chasms, exhibiting a scene the most savage and fantastic that ever entered into the imagination of man. It is improperly called "the *sea* of ice," although the surface cannot, perhaps, be better compared than to a stormy sea, but it is in fact a *river;* and if you conceive of two enormous mountains, rising to the height of eight or ten thousand feet, forming a deep ravine about a mile and a half in breadth, that pursues a straight course for several miles, but divides at the upper end into two glens, that run up to the highest elevations of the Alps, and that terminates at its lower extremity in an icy precipice of nearly two thousand feet, whose base is in a still deeper valley—if you then imagine innumerable torrents to roll, deep and impetuous, from the summits of the mountains—conceive them as collected by those two glens, meeting in this deep ravine, and as they hurry to dash with their collected waters down the precipice into that deeper valley, arrested by a mighty hurricane—wrought into the wildest forms by the fury of the tempest, and then, by the *fiat* of the Almighty, instantly congealed—if, moreover, you add the innumerable fissures and chasms torn in the ice by the undermining torrents and the unevenness of the bed below—you will have a tolerably correct idea of the sea of ice. And if you gather round it lofty peaks and snowy summits, cataracts and avalanches, clouds and storms, you will have completed the outline of this wonderful picture.

Having reached the glacier, we walked over a considerable portion of its surface, following with great precision the footsteps of our guide, and occasionally accepting the assistance of his hand as we crossed the fissures or climbed the waves that everywhere interrupted our progress. These fissures are the chief danger against which the traveller has to guard. The ice in their immediate neighbourhood is often extremely slippery, and when they lie at the foot of a descent, the steps which he sets down it must be proportionably hazardous. Early in the season, too, the smaller fissures are frequently covered with the recent snow, and thus the unsuspecting stranger would be lured by the appearance of a smooth and unbroken surface to his ruin. A girdle of imperfectly frozen snow runs along the brink of the Mer de Glace, like a border. The guide passed with peculiar caution over this, and never planted his foot till he had first ascertained the nature of the surface with his pole. Some of the fissures are of an amazing depth. Our guide told us that a traveller had attempted to fathom one of them with a line of four hundred feet, but in vain. We rolled an enormous mass of granite into one, and distinctly heard it for thirty seconds, dashing from side to side down the dark abyss.

Hitherto, a regard to our safety had confined our attention entirely to our footsteps and the objects beneath us; but having nearly reached the centre of the glacier, the guide exhorted us to pause, and look above us, and around. We did so, and were amply recompensed for all our toil, by a scene, of which it is not, perhaps, extravagant to say, that it has no parallel on the face of the globe. I shrink from the vain effort at description; but the grand outline is indelibly impressed upon my mind, and I am confident will never be effaced while any traces of the past shall remain upon the tablet of my memory. We were embosomed amid the shaggy waves, and yawning abysses of the icy sea—over these, on every hand, appeared the mountains, that rise almost perpendicularly from its brink, clothed in part with scanty herbage, and adorned with the little crimson flowers of the rhododendron ferrugineum, that bloom upon their sides. Still higher, were the regions of eternal snow, that, ever and anon, hurled from their hoary treasures the cataract or the avalanche, to augment the billows, and to swell the undermining torrents of the glacier. As the eye looked up the valley, the view became more hideous and appalling. Every trace of vegetation gradually died away, and the snowy mountains and the icy seas appeared to meet and mingle with each other—for, where the Grand Jorasse rears its colossal form, as if to bar the entrance into the valleys of Piedmont, and frown defiance on the bold attempt—all is one vast wilderness of snow, except that, on every hand, immense pyramids of dark and rugged rock emerge from these pure regions, to pierce the heavens, and stand in eternal silence, the gigantic guardians of this wondrous vale. Some of them present a front of four or five thousand feet to the winter storm. They are called needles, from the fineness of the points in which they terminate, and each one has its appropriate name and characteristic features. In front, looking up the valley, are the great and little Jorasse, at whose feet the icy sea divides—together with the vast peaks of the Tacul and the Giant. At the foot of this last, Mons. De Saussure passed seventeen days and nights making those experiments which have immortalized his name. Immediately on the left, rose the needles De Moine and De Dreux,—the one, a peak most elegantly formed, and piercing the skies, the other, an obelisk of a reddish hue, towering to the height of nearly six thousand feet above the vale. On the right, was the summit of Montanvert, with many other summits pressing on each other, as if eager for pre-eminence—the stern heralds and mighty pioneers of the hoary monarch, enthroned in silent majesty, behind them. Turning, we looked down into the vale of Chamouni, from which we had ascended—the nearer horizon being the precipice over which the glacier de Bois seems to roll its icy torrent; while beyond, Mount Breven stretched its enormous length to form the northern boundary of this singular and majestic landscape.

Although it is only from the middle of the sea of ice that these objects can be viewed to advantage, or any adequate conception formed of their immensity and grandeur, yet I found it difficult perfectly to divest myself of the idea of danger, and to give myself up to that complete abstraction of mind, which seemed necessary to their full enjoyment. The powerful impression of the scenes themselves—the effect of the real or imaginary dangers that surrounded me—the dark and unfathomable gulfs into which at every step I looked, and might, without the greatest caution, have been precipitated—the vast and terrific forms of the mountains, that rose and overhung in every direction the dreary solitude—the unusual deepness of the blue empyreal above me—the dazzling brightness of the snow—the blackness of the rocks—the thunder of the avalanches—such was the influence of all these new and wildering images and sounds upon my mind, that I seemed as if transported to another world—awe gave me an elasticity of spirit——But I feel that I am mounting higher than my wings will bear me, and beg your permission to descend, ere I expose myself to the ridicule and disasters of a fall.

There is one singular spot which we were anxious to have visited, but the guide assured us that the toil would be in vain, as the season was not sufficiently advanced for the excursion. Far up this stupendous glacier, and where it turns to the left, at the foot of the Grand Jorasse, and takes the name of Lechaud, embosomed in eternal snows, is a green and verdant isle, called *Le Jardin*, profuse in Alpine plants and flowers, and yielding an herbage, for which the peasants annually drive their cattle across the Mer de Glace. It is an expedition which must be accompanied with considerable danger to the cattle, yet accidents very rarely, if ever occur. This is the highest verdant spot in Europe, being upwards of eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. At present it is thickly covered with snow, which does not dissolve till the beginning of July. It resumes its wintry mantle in October, continuing uncovered only three months in the year.

We left the glacier, and ascending again to the *hospice* of Montanvert, I sat down upon a block of granite, to take a parting view of the scene. How poor is language as the expression of one's feelings, at such moments. The heart is full with thoughts and emotions, that the tongue cannot utter or the pen record. My mind passed from these sublimest scenes of the *material* to the *immaterial* world—I seemed, at once, to feel all the littleness and all the greatness of my nature. How insignificant a creature I appeared amid these gigantic forms—yet I exulted in a conscious being that should survive and surmount them all—that could, even now, commune with Him who bade these billows stiffen, and these summits rise—and say, as the eye embraced the mighty whole, "My Father made them all."[*]

Having again visited the *hospice*, and added our names to the many recorded there, we began to descend, taking another course to that by which we gained the summit, and skirting, at no very considerable distance, the front of the great glacier *de Bois*. The height of this frozen cataract, for such it appears, is two thousand feet, and many of the shaggy pyramids and rugged towers that seem to totter at its brink, and form its wild and fantastic crest, are said to be from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high. It is a truly sublime and awful object, and with all its attendant circumstances, the associations it awakens, and the feelings it inspires, sets description at defiance. We observed the eye of our guide perpetually directed to it, and ours were fastened on it more frequently than comported with our safety, for nothing can be conceived more steep and rugged than the path by which we were descending. But we were soon apprized that the attention of our guide was not directed to the glacier in vain, for he desired us to look to a certain point, where we perceived an immense mass of ice, one of the frozen turrets of the glacier, trembling on the verge of fate, and just ready to fall. It inclined yet more and more over the brow of the precipice, till the scanty portion by which it was held at its base yielding, it slipped down with immense rapidity, and a thundering noise, and, instantly dashed into myriads of atoms, rolled like a majestic cataract of quicksilver glittering in the sunbeams, and spent itself upon the surface of the glacier over which it spread. This, the guide assured us, was one of the largest avalanches he had ever witnessed. We had seen many, but none to compare with this. Its roar, like that of the deepest thunder, reverberated amongst the mountains, and many seconds elapsed ere it completely died away: and such was the fury of the icy torrent, that if any obstruction had been in its path, it would certainly have been overwhelmed in its impetuous course. You may be sure we considered ourselves highly favoured in being the witnesses of such a spectacle. How far the opinion of the natives, that in certain circumstances, the tread, or even the breath of the traveller, is sufficient to bring down these masses of ice, balanced with such trembling uncertainty, is correct, I had not an opportunity to determine—neither, you may suppose, did I wish for one, from my own personal demonstration, since the probability is, that had I been the subject of the phenomenon, some one else must have told the story. I was, however, much struck with the general truth of our friend Montgomery's description of an avalanche:

"By an hundred winters piled,
Where the glaciers,[†] dark with death,
Hang o'er precipices wild,
Hang suspended by a breath.

"If a pulse but throb alarm,
Headlong down the steeps they fall;
For a pulse will break the charm,
Bounding, bursting, burying all.

"Struck with horror, stiff and pale,
When the chaos breaks on high,
All that view it from the vale,
All that hear it coming die:"—

that is, if they cannot get out of the way. We viewed it very securely, though very near it, being quite clear of its course, with a deep glen between us and it. There is, however, another danger to which travellers are exposed in descending these mountains, from which we were not quite so free, that is, the sudden disengagement of immense masses of rock, from the higher cliffs, which come bounding down the mountain, and from which you can never make your retreat with certainty, however you may be apprized of their approach, since every mass of rock against which they strike in their passage, gives them a new direction.

We now applied ourselves with more diligence and care to the business of descent, and a most difficult and toilsome affair it proved. Conceive me, then, like Manfred with the crystal hunter—and imagine, if you please, the guide's advice—

"——— there—now lean on me,
Place your foot here—here, take this staff and cling
A moment to that shrub—now give me your hand
And hold fast by my girdle—softly—well—
The Chalet will be gained within an hour—
Come on, we'll quickly find a surer footing,
And something like a pathway, which the torrent
Hath washed since winter.——Come 'tis bravely done—
You should have been a hunter."

I must say, however, for truth requires it, that the compliment at the close was not paid to me—I was too dull a scholar to deserve it, though the previous advice and encouragement were again and again repeated. I found the pole with which I was furnished of but little service—I wanted courage to use it, and was too dizzy to repose that confidence in it which is necessary to the full enjoyment of its help. I liked the shoulder of the sturdy guide much better to lean upon, and feel myself not a little indebted to him for his kindness, in the use he permitted me to take of him, in this way.

As we approached the valley, the guide pointed out to us the source of the Arveron, which, in the height of summer, presents one of the most interesting features in this wondrous scene. It issues from the foot of the glacier, and, at that period, the ice above it is dissolved, till an arch of one hundred and fifty feet in the span is formed, from which in dark and sullen majesty, the torrent is seen to emerge. The arch was very imperfectly formed at the time we saw it, being too early in the season. Report says, that this river sometimes changes its position, and leaving its accustomed course, issues in a majestic fall from some outlet far up the face of the glacier. We observed a waterfall at a considerable height glittering in the midst of the ice, but the source of the river was still at the foot of the glacier. This river is of inconsiderable width, but very impetuous, and within half a mile from its emerging to the light of day, it is again lost in the Arve. I presume that it is formed from the snows and ice that dissolve on the *Mer de Glace*, or that fall in avalanches and cataracts from the higher regions of the Alps, which, passing down the fissures of the icy sea, pour their tributary streams at length into one subterranean bed, and start into daylight at its foot. The arch of ice from which it issues, with its attendant rocks and rushing torrents, is represented by those who have seen it in all its grandeur, as one of the sublimest spectacles in nature. Here, alas! a melancholy catastrophe occurred, which ought ever to be mentioned, for the admonition of future travellers. On the 8th of August, 1797, a Mons. Maritz, of Geneva, *homme*, says M. Bourrit, in his Itineraire, *très estimé*, with his son and nephew, walked some little distance under the arch, for the river does not occupy the whole space beneath, and there, for mere amusement, he fired his pistol. But he paid dearly for his rashness; for, not instantly retreating, an enormous mass of ice fell upon them all, and buried them beneath its weight. He himself escaped with a broken leg, his nephew was dreadfully mangled, but his son was killed. This melancholy fact, goes a great way towards establishing the opinion, that in certain circumstances the masses of ice are balanced so delicately, and hang by such a slender connexion, that a breath or a word will bring them down.

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[*] Yet, amid these scenes—surrounded by the sublimest demonstrations of the eternal power and Godhead of the Almighty, a wretch has had the hardihood to avow and record his atheism, having written over against his name in the album at Montanvert, "*an atheist.*" It seems as if some emotions of shame touched him at the time, for he has written it in Greek. It caught the eye of a divine who succeeded him, and he very properly wrote underneath, in the same language, "*If an atheist, a fool*[‡]*—if not, a liar.*"

[†] More properly *avalanches.*

[‡] Psalm xiv. 1.

Near the foot of the mountain, we were met by two beautiful children,—a girl, with wild strawberries and cream, and a boy, with little specimens of crystals and ores which he had collected amongst the mountains. The manners of these children were remarkably simple and engaging, and we were much delighted with the guileless simplicity of their conversation. They conducted us to the houses of their parents. They stood upon a sort of village green, in the little hamlet *De Bois*, not far from the foot of the glacier. They were built of fir, and seemed to be sufficiently spacious; but they were dark and comfortless, compared with the dwellings of the superior orders of our peasantry. Retaining the native colour of the wood, they do not present that picturesque and beautiful appearance, which the neat white cottages exhibit in some of our luxuriant vales. Nor did we see the profusion and variety of domestic utensils, arranged in comely rows, indicating, as in England, "the busy housewife's care."—But there was a coldness and a nakedness about the habitation, not so much the result of poverty, perhaps, as of neglect. And this may be well accounted for by the circumstance, that the chief business of the wife in this valley, is not in the house, but in the fields. The women perform the labours of agriculture,—plough, sow, reap, and thrash the corn—while the men are occupied in hunting the chamois—in collecting plants and minerals—or in conducting travellers. Of course, where so much devolves upon the women out of doors, there must be great neglect within. The spirit of migration that pervades these valleys, ought also to be mentioned here—for the inhabitants change their residence with the seasons of the year, ascending from the valleys to the higher pastures as the spring advances, and again descending at the close of summer. These frequent removals must, of course, render them less attentive to the comfort of their dwellings, and repress that anxiety for neat arrangement and complete furniture, which the prospect of constant residence inspires. Their wealth, like that of patriarchal times, is chiefly in flocks, and the support and comfort of their cattle is the grand inducement to this varied and unsettled kind of living.

The hunting of the chamois is a favourite occupation of the men. It is an extremely hazardous amusement, and they frequently fall a sacrifice to their rashness. Often, when the moon is at the full, they will pass whole nights, as well as days, in bounding from crag to crag, leaping over dark abysses and exploring icy solitudes, where the loss of balance, or a false step must be inevitable death. They are like the inhabitants of most mountainous regions, a superstitious people; and it is the commonly received opinion in the valley, that whenever an accident occurs to one of these adventurous hunters, the scene in which it happens, with the fatal catastrophe, and all its attendant circumstances, is represented to the waking eye of his anxious wife, who needs no other information of the loss she has sustained.

It was late in the afternoon when we reached the Prieuré. A short repast sufficed us, and we again sallied forth upon a tour of discovery in the immediate neighbourhood of the village. Our stay was limited, and I felt the value of every moment. The first object of attraction, of course, was the church. It is a neat and respectable edifice; and its various altars, with their relics and divers appendages, must have to the simple villagers a very imposing appearance. We saw the curé, and a brother clergyman in the church, who moved to us with great condescension, and also made the necessary genuflections before the several altars, which the incumbent appeared to be showing to his clerical visitor. This church is the ecclesiastical mother of the valley, and has spiritual jurisdiction over all the rest. The affairs are managed by a chapter, whose seat is at the Prieuré, and at which the curé of this church presides. On this account he has the title of Administrator.

The people, though they seem to be free and happy, (and, compared with those of many other countries, they probably are so,) are still in a state of most deplorable mental slavery and ecclesiastical oppression. I happen to know, that a party last year having ascended with several guides to the *hospice* of Montanvert it was proposed that they should devote a few moments on that sublime elevation to the adoration of the Supreme Being, by whose stupendous works they were surrounded. In this act of worship, which was led by a French clergyman in the company, the guides appeared most cordially to participate; but they afterwards begged that the circumstance might not be named in Chamouni, as they should be excommunicated, and thus deprived of their bread, if it should come to the ears of the priest that they had united with heretics in the worship of God.

From the church we repaired to the museum of *Joseph-Marie Carrier*, who styles himself, *Marchand-Naturaliste au Bourg de Chamonix*. His collection, though not extensive, was very interesting. It consisted of specimens of natural history, gathered from the immediate neighbourhood. Complete sets of the minerals and plants were to be had neatly arranged in papers and in boxes, regularly catalogued and ticketed, for nine, and twelve francs each. The minerals are stated to have been arranged after M. M. de Saussure et Pictet. The arrangement is doubtless correct. Here, too, was an album, and amongst many other illustrious names inserted in connexion with purchases made, was that of Sir Humphrey Davy. Mons. Carrier was extremely abundant in his praises of this gentleman. "The Chevalier Davy was," he said, "a wonderful man. He had never seen his equal. He knew the name, and composition, and qualities of every stone in his shop—and was, in short, a prodigy of science?" This was something for a Frenchman to say of an Englishman, for they seem, generally to speak as though they thought all the *scavans* and *artistes* belonged to them. That the renowned Sir Humphrey Davy should have excited the admiration of the *Marchand-Naturaliste au Bourg de Chamonix*, is, therefore, a matter that should not be unrecorded.

I left the party in the immediate neighbourhood of the village, and directed my course towards Mont Breven, for the purpose of obtaining a better view of the summit of Mont Blanc. I pursued my walk, continuing to ascend till my path was arrested by a field of frozen snow, which I did not deem it prudent to attempt to cross alone. I, therefore, determined to content myself with the trifling elevation I had attained; trifling, indeed, compared with those which surrounded me,—and seating myself upon a mass of rock, I enjoyed the stillness, the solitude, and the grandeur of the scene. The spotless dome of Mont Blanc, and all the surrounding and inferior domes, and spires, and pyramids, that cluster in this wondrous region, which fancy might conceive the colossal edifices of some gigantic city, or the towers, and domes, and pinnacles of a vast cathedral—were all uncovered, and presenting alternate masses of the darkest and the brightest hues, were finely contrasted with each other, and all again most gloriously displayed, in the deep azure of the evening sky, the unclouded back-ground of the stately picture. The summit of Mont Blanc seemed to have considerably increased in height, being disengaged from those immense, but inferior mountains, which constitute the mass from the midst of which it rises,—whose bases, to the north, come down to the vale of Chamouni, and rising abruptly to the eye that views them from the vale, cast Mont Blanc far into the perspective, and thus almost inconceivably diminish its apparent altitude and vastness. It will be sufficient to illustrate this remark, and at the same time to show the magnitude of the mountain, to observe, that the next highest point of elevation to the summit, is called, from its form and relative position between the summit and another point, the Middle Dome: seen from the windows of the inn at Chamouni, that dome appeared to be quite as lofty as the *Bosse du Dromedaire*, the name given to the highest point of all, and yet it is said there is a difference of more than three thousand feet between them. Thus a mass nearly equal to that of Snowdon, had, from its vast elevation, and the bold protrusion of the nearer mountains, dwindled into such insignificance, as scarcely to affect the eye.

The sun had retired behind the western mountains, but his deeper splendours, as they died away, were succeeded by the softer beams of the moon that rose full orbed above the lofty horizon. For awhile they seemed to linger in all their mild effulgence upon the hoary brow of the monarch of the Alps, as if disdaining the darker scenes below, till at length, summit after summit caught the silvery lustre, and the deep vale itself with its humble villages, and waving corn-fields—its frozen cataracts and its gloomy woods—its rocky ramparts and its snowy barriers, lay as if entranced beneath the glorious light. Who, that has felt the influence of such scenes, that has tasted the luxury of such moments, can ever lose the impression? Amid the bustle and anxiety of after-life—the toils and vexations of a distracting world, how delightful is their remembrance—memory retraces, and dwells upon them with transport, "like spots of azure in a gloomy sky, like sunny islands in a stormy sea."

It were impossible to detail all the thoughts that passed, and the emotions that were excited in my mind. Chateaubriand affirms that a mountainous country is no scene for contemplation; you are too much concerned for your safety to indulge it. Perhaps, to a certain extent, he may be correct; but here no sense of danger affected me—nothing occurred to disturb the deep serenity of my mind—and I rose, almost instinctively, to the adoration of that Being who spake these mighty masses into existence, and gave them their majestic forms. Every object around, beneath, and above me, seemed in silent but impressive eloquence to celebrate his praise: from the moon, that led the host of heaven, and the hoary monarch of the Alps,—the patriarch of his kindred hills, and nearest to the heavenly sanctuary,—down to the frozen glaciers and the roaring torrents of the lower vales—all seemed endowed with a speech and language peculiar to themselves—a voice to touch the heart of man, and to enter into the ear of God.

But 'tis time that I should leave a spot, where I could linger much longer than a regard to your patience would allow, and, where I feel, perhaps, more of the disposition to sermonize than exactly comports with the duties of the tourist. I rose and descended, my eye still fixed on the summit of Mont Blanc. I cannot tell you how lovely an object it was, with the moon-beams playing around its crest, and glittering on the icy particles of its spotless mantle. There is nothing terrific in its appearance.* Its form is that of a gentle curve, and with the various swellings that compose its outline, it seemed like a vast cloud of purest incense rising from the rude altars beneath, to the Being that framed and fills the temple of the universe!

Perhaps there is no mountain yet discovered on the surface of the globe that presents so many interesting circumstances as this, though there are many in Asia and America that surpass it in height. There is not one that possesses so magnificent a contour—so graceful and sublime a form—that is covered to such a vast extent with a mantle of spotless snow—that gives birth to such wondrous ravines, and cataracts of ice, to fringe its vesture—that is seated on so majestic a throne of wooded mountains—or is seen in so large a portion of uninterrupted outline, from so fair a valley, to so vast a height. Chimberazo, in the Andes, rises to the elevation of 1817 toises above the vale of Quito; Mont Blanc rises to 1923 above the vale of Chamouni, leaving a difference of 106 toises, or about 678 feet in favour of Mont Blanc. From the foot of glacier des Bois, in the vale of Chamouni, to the summit of Mont Blanc, there is an uninterrupted series of ice and snow, of more than twelve thousand feet, or two miles of perpendicular height, that never has dissolved since the deluge, and probably never will till the general conflagration. The idea is astonishing: the mind can scarcely grasp it: and certainly, if the most satisfactory demonstration from actual measurement did not exist of the fact, no one, even standing on the spot, could believe it. But the truth is, that beyond a certain point of altitude, such vast distances are embraced in so small an angle of vision, and such immense objects are reduced to insignificance, that you are liable to perpetual deception—and the consciousness that you are so, leads you to receive as true, many statements which, at the moment, your senses appear to falsify.

The history of the various efforts to ascend Mont Blanc is extremely interesting, but too well known to need a repetition. One cannot but feel pleasure in the consideration, that the honour of first standing on its summit, was enjoyed as the reward of kindness and benevolence. In the last of the unsuccessful attempts which had preceded it, James Balma, one of the guides of Chamouni, six of whom formed the party, being considerably ahead of his companions, was overtaken by darkness, and passed the night above the dome *de goutè*, at the immense elevation of twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea. His youth and excellent constitution enabled him to endure the piercing cold, and in the morning on reconnoitering his situation, he discovered a way of access to the summit of the mountain, comparatively easy, and which had escaped the observation of all who had preceded him. On reaching Chamouni, however, he was seized with a severe indisposition, and was restored to health by the skill of Dr. Paccard, the physician of the valley. He told the doctor, on his recovery, that he was unable to repay him for his kind attentions in the usual way, but that in his late expedition he had discovered a practicable path by which to reach the summit of Mont Blanc, and that if he felt any ambition to be the first man that ever stood upon that spot, he would conduct him to it. The doctor readily accepted the proposal of his patient, and on the seventh of August, 1786, they sallied forth, without any attendants to share with them the glory of the dangerous enterprise. They passed the night on the mountain *La Côte*, which rises above the glacier de Bosson, and at three in the morning began again to traverse the trackless solitudes of snow, till having scaled the *dome de Goutè*, and passed under the *middle dome*, they entered upon the ridge that lies on the left of the summit, and were near the top,—when the deadly cold that struck to the heart of the doctor, and the extreme fatigue he endured, induced him to conceive the purpose of giving up the race, even when the goal, was almost within his grasp. But his hardy and inflexible guide encouraged him; and he still continued to follow the fearless steps of his companion, when, at length, about six in the afternoon, he planted his foot upon the loftiest elevation in Europe, and stood triumphantly upon a spot no mortal had ever been privileged to visit before. He stayed but half an hour on the summit. So intense was the cold that the provisions were frozen in their pockets, and the ink in their inkhorn. Fahrenheit's thermometer sunk to 18½ degrees. They paid dearly in bodily suffering for the honour they enjoyed. Their faces were excoriated, and their lips very much swelled. It was with the greatest difficulty they descended, owing to the dazzling brightness of the snow. Dr. P. was almost blind, and felt the effect in the weakness of his sight for a considerable time after. They were fifteen hours in ascending, and on their return, reached *La Côte* in five hours, (about midnight,) where they rested two hours, and arrived safely, at eight in the morning, at Chamouni. Immediately after this successful attempt, Mons. de Saussure, who had long offered rewards in the church at Chamouni, to those guides who should succeed in conducting him to the summit, made his celebrated expedition, in which he remained upon the top of the mountain four hours and a half, and the particulars of which he has communicated to the world. In his ascent, the way was sometimes so steep that the guides were obliged to cut holes to cling to,—while the hand of one man was put into the hole which the foot of his predecessor had left.

Since that time three other parties only have reached the summit. The first comprehended Messieurs Bourrit, father and son, Mr. Woodley, an Englishman, and Mr. Kemper, a Dutchman; the second, Mr. Beaufoy, an English gentleman, with his guides; and the third, Mr. Forneret, of Lausanne, and Baron Dortheren.

Returning to the village, I met a woman with one of those glandular swellings upon her throat, called *goîtres*. It was the first I had seen, and the appearance of it was to me exceedingly unpleasant and disgusting. They abound chiefly in the Valais; yet it is a remarkable circumstance, that I did not meet with one in that portion of the canton through which we travelled. To what cause, or combination of causes, they are to be ascribed, I do not presume to say. Various conjectures have been entertained, and some theories established, the result of medical investigation. The idea, that they arise from drinking the snow water, is totally without support, since they are found in regions never visited with snow: in the neighbourhood of Naples, in the Islands of Java and Sumatra, and in some other parts of the East Indies.

The opinion of M. de Saussure, to whom, in all cases connected with the phenomena of the Alps, much deference is unquestionably due, is, that they are occasioned by the concentration of heat and the stagnation of air in the lower valleys—since in the higher regions they are not found. To me, however, it is a curious circumstance, that the only instance I met with should be in so high a valley as that of Chamouni: while in the much lower valley of the Rhone, where they are said especially to abound, I did not meet with one. Whether the woman I saw was a native of the valley or not, I am unable to determine; the probability is, that she was.

The theory of Mr. Coxe, which he has established chiefly on his own investigations and researches, is, that they arise from a calcarious matter, called *tuf*, with which the springs in those districts where the *goîtres* are found, are impregnated, which are so perfectly dissolved in the water as by no means to affect its transparency, but which are introduced in impalpable particles into the blood, and by means of the blood into the thyroid gland of the throat, which is the seat of the disease in question.*

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* Although such is its appearance from the vale of Chamouni, yet those who have seen it from the valley of Aost, say, that in that point of view, it presents quite another aspect, being very imperfectly covered with snow, extremely wild and rugged, and equal to the Schreckhorn in terrific grandeur.

* Those who wish for further information on the subject, may consult Mr. Coxe's valuable work, in which the different theories are most ably discussed, and experiments adduced, which go far to-

From the windows of my bed-room, which looked immediately on Mont Blanc, I enjoyed the various effects of the moon and clouds as they passed over the glorious scene. Though I was much overcome with fatigue, I could not consent to resign the object that absorbed me, and I continued fixed in delighted contemplation long after the rest of our party had lost their fatigues in sleep.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXI.

Lausanne.

My dear ——

Nil mortalibus arduum est, was the adage of the Roman poet, and it seemed to us that we had in some measure demonstrated its truth in our journey from Chamouni to Martigny. If we thought the way from St. Martin's to Chamouni difficult and dangerous, I know not what must be said of that from Chamouni to Martigny, for it is certainly much more so. But *a la raute*, to speak in the true travelling style. We left Chamouni at seven o'clock, with the promise of a most auspicious day. We were upon the whole, a goodly company. Lady R—— seated upon a chair, and attended by eight sturdy guides, who took it in turn to bear her, led the van of our party. The other ladies followed in a *car-a-banc*, with Mons. Crotet as their special attendant, and a guide each; and we, mounted upon mules, brought up the rear. Sundry idle people of the village followed us, hoping, perhaps in the course of the day, to be taken into our service, as in some of the difficult parts of the road their assistance might be wanted. It was only for a few miles that the ladies enjoyed their carriage, being then obliged to mount the mules, and take their chance with the rest of us. I must, however, mention to their credit, the heroic resignation with which they made so unwelcome an exchange, and underwent the future fatigues of that day's perilous and toilsome journey.

We proceeded up the vale of Chamouni, through the little village de Bois, having Mont Breven on our left, and passing, as we advanced, Montanvert, and the glaciers de Bois, and d'Argentiere on our right. The last-mentioned glacier we had not seen before. It derives its name from its silvery appearance, and is, perhaps, as elegant and beautiful as any in the Alps. We passed through the village of Argentiere, a few scattered cottages at the foot of the glaciers, and, turning abruptly to the left, continued to ascend, till by a small farm house, we dismounted at the suggestion of the guides, and having reached the summit of a little verdant hill, on the right of the path, we saw the greater part of the vale of Chamouni, with the colossal mountains that rise on either hand, stretching in sublime perspective to our view. High in the midst towered Mont Blanc; around him were his many needles, and his subject Alps, while the glaciers de Bois, and d'Argentiere, glittered in the sunbeams like transparent glass. Immediately to our left, rose the gigantic Col da Balme, to the height of nearly 8000 feet above the level of the sea; and, at the upper extremity of the valley, by the little glacier, and village de Tours, the infant stream of the Arve was seen to roll, having just emerged from its dark and icy source beyond them. It was a magnificent landscape. The *coup d'œil* was most grand and imposing, but there was a melancholy feeling mingled with the gratification it inspired. I could not but reflect, that deeply as these scenes had interested me, I was about to leave them, in all probability, for ever; and though my acquaintance with them was of such recent date, yet they had become too much endeared to me, to be resigned without regret. I ought not to be ashamed or backward to acknowledge, that I am indebted to that wondrous vale for impressions of the grandeur and the condescension—the power and the skill of the Creator, of which I was before unconscious, and the remembrance of which I shall hope ever to cherish with emotions of reverence and gratitude. "Lo, these are parts of his ways—and how small a portion is heard of him; but the thunder of his power who can understand."

Turning with regret from this last look on Chamouni, we proceeded on our way, and quickly entered the romantic valley of Valorsine. There is another route to Martigny over the Col de Balme, and that route is usually preferred on account of the fine views which it commands. It is also less rugged, though more steep, than that by which we travelled. But our guides assured us it was too early in the season to attempt the Col de Balme, and we were, therefore, content to pursue the more wild and intricate path of the *Tête Noire*, and the *Mauvais pas*.

On our entrance into the valley of Valorsine, we had to cross a small field of frozen snow, so imperfectly had the influence of the sun been felt in that elevated region at this advanced season of the year. It was rather a formidable undertaking; for while in some places it was sufficiently hard to bear the tread of the mules, in others the beasts sunk up to their middle at every plunge. The guides advised us in this case to let the mules choose their own path, and we were much amused to observe the method which they adopted to ascertain the best. They put their noses close to the surface, and following the indications of their smell, never failed to plant their feet upon the firmest spots.

You cannot well picture to yourself a more secluded and romantic vale than that into which we had now ascended. *Ascending* into a valley, may be a new form of expression to you, yet I assure you it is quite correct, for the valley of Valorsine is higher than the loftiest of the Cambrian mountains, and would, perhaps, surpass in elevation the proudest summits of the Grampian hills. In winter it must be a cold and desolate spot. The houses of the peasantry are raised on beams, to allow for the depth of the snow, which, notwithstanding this precaution, our guides assured us sometimes nearly covers them. How much they are exposed to the destructive influence of avalanches and rocks, dislodged by the fury of the elements from the overhanging cliffs that encompass them, is indicated by the curious barriers with which they have defended their little church. The route from Chamouni to Martigny is impracticable in winter. How forlorn and desolate must be the condition of these aerial villagers, during its long and dreary months! No variety of colour or of sound to relieve the eye, or to gladden the ear—but nature lies all around them in her wildest forms, and ever clad in the same hoary mantle; while the storm fills them with apprehension and dread as it sweeps along the vale, or announces its work of desolation by the hollow murmurs, or the deeper thunder heard from the regions above them.

At the upper end of this valley we passed the frontiers of the Sardinian territory, and entered the canton of the Valais. The boundary is marked by a rude and ancient gateway, through which we passed. Here the path became extremely wild and difficult, climbing the face of the rocks, and running along the edge of the precipices in the most daring and fantastic style. To give you a minute detail of this singular and romantic route, would be utterly impossible, though every yard presented some new variety, and gave the Alpine scenes it traversed in fresh points of view to the delighted eye. Sometimes, however, fear predominated over every other feeling, and I would gladly have exchanged the grandeur of the scenery around me, for the most insipid country with a level road—nay, lover as I am of the picturesque! even the Isle of Ely, and the fens in Lincolnshire, at certain periods of that day's excursion, would have had charms for me.

It is no small thing, you must allow, to go down stairs upon the back of an obstinate mule, at any rate; much more when those stairs are steep and broken—not more than half a yard in breadth—with a tremendous cliff overhanging and threatening to crush you as you pass—and a frightful precipice on the other side, over which one of your feet swings, while you perpetually touch the cliff with the other. Yet, such were repeatedly the circumstances of our path, and often a long debate was held, whether to trust the steady animal in such slippery places, or sacrifice the ease of his back for the fancied greater security of our feet. He, however, seemed perfectly indifferent to the choice we made, and whether encumbered with his burden, or suffered to go free, planted his foot with philosophic firmness, climbing up the steepest

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wards the establishment of his own. An interesting and remarkable fact is noticed in the History of Java, recently published by my relative, and fellow traveller, Sir Stamford Raffles, late lieut. governor of that island. "Here, as in Sumatra," he observes, "there are cerain mountainous districts, in which the people are subject to those large wens in the throat, termed in Europe *goitres*. The cause is generally ascribed by the natives to the quality of the water; but there seems good ground for concluding that it is rather to be traced to the atmosphere. In proof of this it may be mentioned, that there is a village near the foot of the Teng'gar mountains in the eastern part of the island, where every family is afflicted by this malady, while in another village, situated at a greater elevation, and through which the stream descends which serves for the use of both, there exists no such deformity. These wens are considered hereditary in some families, and seem thus independent of situation." Whether the water in this district has been analyzed or not, is not stated. Perhaps Mr. Coxe would say, that in the upper village the stream was too near its source to be sufficiently impregnated with the matter by which the *goitres* are produced.

ascents, and passing along the most undefended ledges of the rocks, with a steadiness and perseverance that astonished us. Sometimes the path would wind most fearfully round the projecting angles of the rocks, and leave us exposed upon a point whence it was dreadful to look down into the gulf beneath, and where a violent gust of wind might have been attended with fatal consequences; while the way itself was so narrow and so rugged, as to appear more like the track of the chamois and the marmot, than a path for man. In these cases we deemed it most prudent to trust to our own skill in the management of the affair, by no means intending, however, to reflect upon that of our sagacious quadrupeds, who, had they been gifted with the faculty of speech, would probably have reproved us for our unnecessary fears, and condemned us for an injudicious choice. For their step is almost infallible—and when left entirely to themselves, they have seldom deceived the confidence, or betrayed the trust their riders have reposed in them. But the difficulty is—where the crags overhang the path, and the body of the animal is thrown into perpetual contortions by climbing, descending, and turning incessantly,—to keep yourself at all erect upon his back, or preserve your balance true. This difficulty must have been especially felt by the ladies, who have not so good a seat as we, and whose faces were turned to the precipice, over which they looked down in terror on the abyss beneath. We found it necessary, long before the half of our journey was performed, to leave our own mules and attend to their safety. Each had a sturdy mountaineer at the head of her mule, and we endeavoured, as well as we could, to keep at their side between them and the precipice. But this was difficult and dangerous, and frequently quite impossible. Twice I saw my cousin M——, where the descent was steep and rugged, completely lose her seat upon the animal, and only regain it, and save herself from pitching over the precipice, by grasping the hair of the guide. I admire the patience and perseverance of the men; but for their civility, and readiness to assist, we should have fared badly with the female part of our charge that day. Having named the mules and the men with approbation, I must also celebrate the virtues of the *eau de vie*, and the wine of Chamouni, with which Mons. Crotet had taken care amply to supply us; for I have reason to believe, that at certain periods of that day's journey, neither men nor mules would have induced some of our party to stir a step further, but for their inspiring influence.

Thus we toiled, hour after hour, along the difficult and dangerous paths, attended by every circumstance that could heighten the effect, and complete the terrific grandeur of the scene. Innumerable cataracts assailed us with their din, some were seen streaming in the distance, and others were heard roaring at our feet, but concealed completely from our view in the depths of the abyss, or by the thick foliage that fringed its brink. Now and then our philosophy was tried by an Alpine bridge, the *reality* which our modern landscape gardeners love to imitate, or a mass of granite or of frozen snow that lay across the path, where it was hard to determine whether to pass over on our own feet or those of the mules. But all the dangers of the way seemed to meet their consummation, when about noon, turning abruptly to the right, we entered that part of the route emphatically called the *Mauvais pas;* there the path lies over a tremendous gulf, and is almost entirely supported by trunks of fir. The waters of the Trient are heard to roll impetuously in the glen beneath; while on the opposite side a vast rock rises perpendicularly to an amazing height, and casts its enormous shadow over the whole scene. I fancied I had then a fine illustration of the prophet's imagery, and felt how refreshing was "the shadow of a great rock, in a weary land."

From this place we soon reached Trient, a forlorn and cheerless village, composed of a few scattered huts in the midst of a mountain defile, and, I should imagine, still higher than any human habitations we had yet passed. We had no sooner reached the place, than we threw ourselves involuntarily upon the grass, completely overcome with fatigue, and never I think was refreshment so seasonable, or repose so sweet. The guides allowed us but two hours for rest, and then the work of climbing began again. We had now to ascend a mountain called the Forcla, whose summit rose abruptly from the village of Trient, and which we attained by means of a track cut in a zigzag direction up its side. Our cavalcade made a very interesting figure, winding up this mountain staircase. As I brought up the rear, I enjoyed the spectacle, and only required the pen of Walter Scott to depict the groupes as they traversed the mountain in different directions, and rose, one above another, before me.

At the summit of the Forcla we were about 7000 feet above the level of the sea, and the immediate valley into which we looked, could not be much less than two or three thousand feet deep, yet our path was perfectly undefended, and only wide enough to admit the passage of a single mule. Along this path the empress Maria Louisa came. The men who conducted us, had been her guides on that occasion. They spoke highly of the courage and heroism which she displayed. They said she would not suffer them to hold the rein of her mule, or render her the least assistance, even in the most difficult places. She did not take the route by the *Mauvais pas*, however, but came over the Col de Balme. That path joins the one from Trient nearly at the summit of the Forcla.

From this spot, in an instant the whole of the canton of the Haut Valais, into which we were about to descend, burst upon our view. An extensive and fertile vale was seen far beneath us, stretching its variegated carpet, speckled with villages and farms, and watered by the windings of the Rhone, to the bases of majestic mountains, and the beams of the evening sun. The loftiest summits were covered with snow; the sides of the nearer mountains were clothed with fir.—Some travellers esteem this one of the finest views in Switzerland, from the vast variety which it embraces, from the soft and luxuriant scenery of the valley before, to the savage and terrific grandeur of the mountains behind. The descent was long and toilsome—steep and rugged—and was very far from yielding the relief it seemed to promise after the uphill work of the morning.

As we advanced, the country began to assume another aspect. We knew by its appearance that we were returning to the haunts of men. Frightful precipices and hideous solitudes were exchanged for rich enclosures, luxuriant orchards, and scenes of rural happiness and sylvan beauty.

In the higher regions of the Forcla, we were much affected by the appearance of a maniac, who accosted us as we passed, with great mildness and respect. She was a female of pleasing countenance and elegant form. She had wandered from the valleys beneath, and was pursued by her son. It seems he was under the necessity of using coercive measures to compel her to return, for we saw him strike her. It was a horrid sight,—and her shrieks rung in our ears for a considerable distance down the mountain, and have rung in mine frequently, since.

Even in these sequestered regions, monuments of superstition meet the eye. I stopped at a little oratoire erected in the descent from the Forcla, and copied the following inscription: it is a fair sample of what is found in similar places elsewhere.

Nous François Fredric Ambiel Eveque de Sion, &c. accordons 30 *jours d'Indulgence a tous ceux qui reciterant devoement cinq pater, cinq Ave Devant cet 'oratoire. Donne,* 7 *Mai*, 1763.*

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* Indulgences originally included, not the remission of sins, but merely of penances; and they arose from the universally admitted principle, that the church had a right, upon sufficient considerations, to relax the severity of her own discipline, and to lessen, as she might see fit, the number of her penitentiary inflictions. The document granting such remission, or the grant itself in connection with the document, was called an *indulgence*. The idea, however, was too well adapted to the corrupt propensities of the human heart, to remain long thus contracted in its application, for it was soon made to comprehend the remission of *sins* as well as *penances*—so that the perpetrator of crimes, thus privileged, was freed from all punishment whatever, either in this life or the next; and if his indulgence was plenary, might commit every abomination with impunity. We may gather the sentiments of the Romish church, upon this important subject, from one of their own writers, St. Thomas. He says, "There actually exists an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds and virtuous actions which the saints have performed, *beyond what is necessary* for their own salvation, and which are, therefore, applicable to the benefit of others; the guardian and dispenser of this precious treasure is the Roman pontiff; and, of consequence, he is empowered to assign to such as he thinks proper, a portion of this inexhaustible source of merit, suitable to their respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes." Such is the horrible doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. Who can wonder at the crimes that have polluted it? I should presume, however, that indulgences procured by such extra acts of devotion as those recommended to be performed at the oratoire above mentioned, apply merely to penances, &c., and are to be enjoyed in purgatory. Indulgences to sin, that free from every kind of punishment, I conceive are only to be got by purchase with money. It was against this system that the arm of Luther, in the hand of God, aimed the first deadly blow.

Sion is the capital of the canton, and stands at the head of the valley, and, together with Martigny, is an interesting object in the landscape seen from the summit of the Forcla.

Martigny is a neat little town, embowered in orchards, and most delightfully situated in a nook of the mountains, formed by the elbow of the valley of the Rhone, where that river receives the impetuous torrent of the Dranse. Above it, to the north, on the summit of a perpendicular rock, stand the ruins of the castle of Bathia, an ecclesiastical fortress, once of considerable strength and importance.

At Martigny we entered upon the great road that passes over the Simplon into Italy. Buonaparte stayed two nights at our inn, when he made his celebrated passage of the Alps—and I slept in the room which he then occupied. The mistress of the inn told us that she served him with his coffee on that occasion. She had a vast deal to say about him, and we were much interested with her conversation, particularly, as it seemed to afford a specimen of the state of feeling in that neighbourhood,—at least in the circle in which she moved.

She did not hesitate to avow a strong attachment to Buonaparte. Her husband had served under him, and fallen in battle; and when we expressed our astonishment, that she should like a man who had been the means of depriving her of her husband, she said with great emphasis, as though that were a sufficient consolation, "Oh! but he died for Buonaparte!" Everything that Buonaparte had done, seemed to be, in her esteem, great and good. "But was he not a very bad man," we asked. "He had but one fault," she replied, "he was too ambitious." "But was he not a great tyrant—did he not aim at universal empire—did he not plunder and enslave every other country to aggrandize and enrich his own?" "Ah!" said she, "but *we* wanted for nothing—we had plenty of employment—we were strangers to poverty." And what the woman said was true enough, so far; for in public works, or in destructive wars, every man of talent and industry was sure to be employed; and you scarcely go a stage, in this part of the country, in which you do not meet with a road or a bridge, or some work of public utility, begun or completed by his orders. She told us she had got his picture, and if we liked she would fetch it. It was accordingly produced, and it proved to be a print of the death of General Duroc, where Buonaparte is represented in the tent of the general, and saying, as he grasps him by the hand, "General, there is another world, and we shall meet again." "Yes," the dying man replies, "there is another world, and we shall meet again, but that will not be for *thirty years to come*—till you have conquered all your foes, and fulfilled the hopes of France." Thus, I presume, they still cherish a hope, from the prophetic saying of the dying general, that the fortunes of their exiled emperor may yet revive, and the days of his former glory return. It is probable, from the cheap form in which the print was executed, and the care with which this woman seemed to preserve it, that there are thousands of this picture amongst the lower classes of the population in Switzerland and France. I merely state the fact, and leave you to draw your own inference.

We had occasion, while at Martigny, to inquire for the surgeon and apothecary of the place. Not, I am happy to inform you, on account of any *serious* indisposition in any of our party—and more than this *negative* information I hope you will not expect. We found that he associated another honourable profession with that of the medical, being, also, the chief barber of the place; and that he occupied no less elevated a dwelling than the garret of the house immediately opposite to our inn. On this occasion, however, the disciple of Æsculapius had abandoned the duties of both these dignified callings, and was assisting to gather in the harvest somewhere in the neighbourhood of the town.

At Martigny we were regaled with the sight of our carriage, which we had been compelled to leave at Geneva, and which had come thus far to meet us. I know of no sight that could have been so gratifying to some of our party, who, I believe, as often as they recount the adventures of their lives, will not fail to place the tour to the glaciers of Savoy, and especially from the vale of Chamouni to Martigny, amongst the most toilsome and terrific.

There are no post horses in Switzerland. Sir S—— therefore agreed, when at Geneva, for four horses and a postilion to take us to Basle.

On leaving Martigny for Lausanne, we passed an immense chasm in the rock, through the deep gloom and obscurity of which the waters of the Trient find their passage from the higher regions to the Rhone; and not many hundred yards farther, a branch of an impetuous mountain-torrent shoots over a tremendous precipice, and forms the beautiful cascade of the Pisse Vache. How, on the very frontiers of countries renowned for their refinement, and in a valley where all is beautiful and lovely, the most sublime and elegant cataract that the majestic scenery affords, can be degraded by so coarse an appellation, I am at a loss to determine. The fall is esteemed, altogether, the finest in the Alps. It is near the road, but no correct conception of its magnitude can be formed by merely viewing it from thence. A little hill, however, rises to the right, most happily placed, as if to show it to advantage, whence the finest view of it is attained, and there, indeed, the spectacle is truly grand.—Looking upward, the shining of the sun upon the foam contrasted with the blackness of the torrent which it covers, had a most sublime effect—for you will observe we then stood almost under the arch of the fall, and only saw the blackness of the volume of water, contrasted with the brightness of the day, and the golden hue of the foam that fringed it. The height has been variously stated, the probability is that it is from two to three hundred feet. We saw it to great advantage, as the body of water was unusually large, though our guide informed us it was still inferior to what is sometimes witnessed. The sound and the spray that issued from it, produced an effect which I fancied could not be much unlike that of an action at sea. Its deep thunder, at intervals, resembled the roar of artillery, and the foam that ascended, rose in immense volumes from the troubled abyss, and floated over the valley like clouds of smoke. The prismatic colours played on the damp sward beneath us most fantastically, and every now and then presented the beautiful phenomenon of a double rainbow to our view. The scenery around was also most appropriate—comprising enough of bare and rugged rock in the cliffs to impart a character of grandeur, and enough of richness and luxuriance in the valley to relieve the eye, and give it objects upon which it may repose with pleasure, after the dizziness and fatigue inseparable from the view of such a spectacle.

From this most interesting spot the road lay through scenes of the highest cultivation and luxuriance,—meadows and cornfields, vineyards and orchards. The Rhone pursued its turbulent and rapid course on our right, and romantic mountains rose on either hand; while the hoary summit of the great St. Bernard terminated the sublime perspective to the south.

The valley closed upon us as we approached St. Maurice, a small town, with one long and narrow street, built upon the Rhone, and commanding the entrance of this mountain defile.—Immediately above it, the rocks overhang most fearfully; and far up, on a ledge of one of them, is an edifice, once the abode of an anchorite, but now untenanted. We created no small stir in the town as we passed through it, and have reason to believe, from the curiosity we excited, that the eyes of its secluded inhabitants are not often regaled with such a goodly spectacle as our coach and four, with Mons. Crotet in his purple and gold.

The road is extremely narrow, and not a little dangerous, where it turns abruptly to the right, and crosses the Rhone by a bridge of a single arch, much admired for the elegance of its form and the vastness of its span, and remarkable as separating the canton of the Pays de Vaud from that of the Valais. Here the genius of Napoleon had also projected new improvements, and suggested the plan of widening the road by removing some of the houses in St. Maurice. Travellers have cause to regret, that his purpose was never carried into effect. We now left his great military road, which proceeds along the Savoy side of the lake of Geneva, and passed through a country far less wild and majestic, but possessing every character of pastoral and sylvan beauty, to Bex.

You can scarcely conceive how delightful such scenery appeared, after the wild and terrific objects with which our eyes had recently become familiar. How refreshing was the verdant meadow—the cooling shade—and the level road, after the continued glare of everlasting ice, and the intense fatigue of toiling along the face, or up the front of frightful precipices and craggy rocks.

We were much amused with the singular appearance of the immense straw hats worn by the women, who were busy in the hay-fields, and now and then lifted up their beautiful and healthy countenances to peep at us, as we passed along,—and, indeed, it was little more than a peep that could be obtained from under such a vast projection as that which shaded their fair brows from the scorching heat of the noontide sun. Their hat very much resembles that of the Chinese, only that is rendered still more curious, by a peak, with a kind of knob at the top of it, in which the crown terminates.

Bex is a small village, perfectly rural and pleasantly situated in the midst of orchards, gardens, and meadows. Immediately opposite the windows of the inn, the mountains are remarkably bold and imposing in their outline, and the peak of the Dent de Midi rises above them all in hoary and rugged grandeur. The effect was greatly heightened by a storm in the evening; and with somewhat mingled emotions of terror and delight, we saw the lightning leaping, as it were, from crag to crag, while the deep thunder murmured sullenly, or played its dread artillery amongst the hills.

The inn at Bex was by far the neatest, and the cleanest, with the most excellent provisions, and the best attendance we had met since leaving England. There was, indeed, an air of elegance about it—a taste and delicacy in the style of the furniture and the decorations of the rooms, never witnessed in the first hotels of our own country. The lace, the fringe, and the satin of the canopies, and curtains of the couches—the variously figured papers of the rooms, exhibiting a boldness of outline, a correctness of expression, and a richness of colouring, which the first artists need not have blushed to own,—the airiness of the house, which had more the appearance of a villa rather than an inn—the sylvan beauty of the scenery around, and the grandeur of the more distant mountains, altogether produced something like the effect of a high wrought scene in the eastern tale—the work rather of enchantment than reality.

We asked the landlord if many travellers had passed this season. He said, not many: as the dismal accounts circulated in Paris and other parts of Europe, of the distress of the country, kept people away. Certainly, nothing can be more exaggerated than these reports have been. We expected, from what we heard in Paris, to have seen people perishing for want upon the public roads, and famine in every countenance we met. This, however, is far from having been the case. We have been rather struck, on the contrary, with the healthful appearance of the people. They certainly have suffered much; and we did not meet with that excessive vivacity and gaiety, which under other circumstances, perhaps, we should have seen. But the general expression of the people can hardly require a stronger name than *sobriety:* it certainly does not amount to *sadness*, much less to *despair.*

We slept at Bex. Several carriages arrived in the course of the evening, and our landlord had cause to congratulate himself upon a larger company reposing beneath his roof that night, than he had entertained for many weeks before.

Not far from Bex, we passed, on the right, the road to the salt works, for which this neighbourhood is celebrated. We had not time to inspect them; and my inclination to do so was much diminished by the circumstance, that we have similar works in our own neighbourhood, while various intelligent travellers have given us ample accounts of these.*

Our road increased in interest as we advanced. On the left, not far from Aigle, we observed the majestic castle of St. Tryphon, crowning a majestic summit of an insulated rock. It is said to be built of marble. There are some celebrated quarries in its neighbourhood.

At length we arrived at the head of the lake of Geneva, by far the most interesting portion of this beautiful sheet of water. It is rendered so by nature and by the genius that has haunted and celebrated its scenery. The valley is

———————"lone
And wonderful, and deep, and hath a sound,
And sense, and sight of sweetness: here the Rhone
Hath spread himself a couch—the Alps have rear'd a throne."

The mountains on the left of the valley are extremely wild and majestic; and at their feet, close on the borders of the lake, is the little village of Mellerie, famous as the residence of Rousseau. This name, which I am well aware, would excite the eulogies of many a pen, and impart to the surrounding scenes, a charm more powerful than any their own romantic beauties could create, has, I must acknowledge, a far different influence upon me. I cannot but connect with it the pestilential principles—the blasphemous productions—and the deep sensuality, of the infidel that owned it. Who, that has any respect for the honour of revelation, or the happiness of mankind, but must regret, that ever so great a name was lent to so base a career, or that such lovely scenes should have been polluted by the breath of such depraved and prostituted genius.*

Here all is classic ground, for passing Villineuve, a small town at the head of the lake, we presently arrived at the castle of Chillon, not less remarkable for the singularity of its situation, or the scenes of its history, than for the talent which has celebrated both. It literally stands in the lake, and is entered by a drawbridge. Above it are lofty hills tracked by a mountain torrent, and beneath it, the waters of the lake, washing its massive walls, to the amazing depth of nearly a thousand feet. We alighted at its gate, and passing the drawbridge, were conducted to its dark and cheerless dungeons. The associations and the feelings excited by the visit, were of the most melancholy and affecting kind. The transition was so sudden, and, indeed, unexpected,—for I knew not till the carriage stopped that we should alight—from all that was grand, and beautiful, and free—to the dampness and the darkness of those gloomy cells, that the effect was powerful. The pathetic tale of the prisoner of Chillon, was fresh in our remembrance, and the memorials of captivity and suffering yet remained. We saw the staples in the pillars to which the prisoners were confined, the pavement which the steps of the ill-fated Bonnivard had worn,† and the fatal beam by which, not unfrequently, the unhappy victims these vaults enclosed, were made to pass from a living sepulchre to that of death.

"Chillon, thy prison is a holy place
And thy sad floor an altar—for 'twas trod,
Until his very steps have left a trace
Worn as if thy cold pavement were a sod.
Bonnivard! May none those marks efface,
For they appeal from tyranny to God."

Emerging from the dungeons of Chillon, we observed upon the lake, not many hundred yards from the shore, a little verdant islet, with two or three trees—the only one that breaks the surface of this magnificent sheet of water. The Empress Maria Louisa visited it, when exploring these scenes, and took a breakfast there. Perhaps, there are few regions that can surpass in loveliness and grandeur, the view which we enjoyed on leaving the towers of Chillon. To the left, the Alps of Savoy, rising in a thousand fantastic forms, to a sublime elevation above the rock of Meillerie; to the right, the luxuriant vineyards and the pleasant villages of the Pays de Vaud, gently inclining to the margin of the lake; behind, a noble background of lofty and woody hills; and before, a placid surface of deep and transparent blue, stretching to a vast extent, with one lonely sail upon its bosom, and scarcely a breeze to disturb its repose.

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* A full account of them is given in Mr. Coxe's Travels, vol. II. p. 104—106. They are the only salt works in Switzerland, and furnish but one-twelfth of the annual consumption of the canton. Their net profit is about three hundred pounds. The quantity of rock salt annually delivered from the pits at Northwich, in Cheshire, is from fifty to sixty thousand tons, while not less than forty-five thousand tons are supplied from the brine pits. The total annual amount produced by the salt rocks and springs in Cheshire, is, therefore, about one hundred thousand tons, the duty upon which is so considerable, as to render the appointment of a special board of commissioners necessary for its management, independent of the excise and customs.

* The life and character of Rousseau are too well known to require either sketch or comment. Yet, defiled and degraded as he was by the dereliction of every moral, and the avowal of every infidel and licentious principle, Rousseau is the man, whom the Constituent Assembly held up to the imitation, and even adoration of the French people—placed next to Voltaire, *(par nobile fratrum)* in the Pantheon—and who is still celebrated as one of the brightest ornaments their country has ever known. This is the man who could blasphemously declare, in a volume which developed his crimes, "No man can come to the throne of God and say, I am a better man than Rousseau,"—who could boast, in another of his pestilential productions, that he would one day say to the Supreme Arbiter, "Deign, in thy clemency, to judge a weak mortal; I have, it is true, done much ill upon earth, but I have published this writing,"—and who entered into eternity with a lie upon his tongue, exclaiming, "Eternal Being! the soul that I am now going to give thee back, is as pure at this moment, as it was when it proceeded from thee: render it partaker of thy felicity." Never was there a more melancholy example of the infatuation and frenzy, the audacity and effrontery in vice, by which the French school of infidel philosophy is distinguished. If the principles of such men were universally imbibed, every vestige of religion, morals, faith, and decency, would be banished from the world. Yet, the works of Rousseau and Voltaire,—whose common saying concerning the Redeemer was, "Crush the wretch,"—are the models upon which some of our British youth form their taste, and the sources whence they derive their principles. While such books occupy their studies, we need wonder at nothing that degrades their characters and pollutes their lives.

† Bonnivard, the prior of St. Victor, and the great assertor of the independence of Geneva, was found in the dungeons of Chillon, when the castle was wrested from the Duke of Savoy by the Bernese. He had been confined six years, and had worn the stones of his dungeon by his continual walking within its narrow limits.

As we passed through Clarens we were shown the chateau where Rousseau's mama, or mistress, resided. At Vivey, a neat and pleasant town, delightfully situated on the border of the lake, we dined, and afterwards proceeded through a lovely country, with the lake, and the opposite mountains of Savoy, on our left, and vineyards, rising like so many terraces on our right, to Lausanne. It was too early in the season for the vineyards to have their full effect: too much of the sticks by which the vines were supported were yet visible, and I was rather inclined to consider them a deformity than an ornament in the picture.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXII.

Morat.

My dear ——

Lausanne is seated on the summits and the steep declivities of three hills that rise above the lake, and from various parts of the town and its environs, extensive views of that noble sheet of water and its surrounding scenery are obtained. It is nearly a mile from the town to the water's edge.

The town itself has little to recommend it. Its streets are narrow, crooked, steep, and miserably paved. We saw but few public edifices, that deserved particular notice. The cathedral is a venerable pile of Gothic architecture, and approached by a series of flights of covered steps. Lausanne is the seat of government of the Pays de Vaud, and is at present the residence of the British ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning. We found the inhabitants deeply sympathizing with him in the loss which he had just sustained in the death of an amiable wife. The man who showed us the cathedral, pointed out, with great feeling, her recent grave. The melancholy event had happened but ten days before.

We spent the sabbath at Lausanne, and attended divine service in the cathedral. The minister was a young man, and the sermon, so far as I could understand it, most excellent; but it was delivered with such rapidity, that I think the audience, for the most part, must have had some difficulty in following the preacher. The discourse was on the work and example of Christ, and had more in it of what constitutes the chief excellence of a sermon, "the truth as it is in Jesus," than I have heard since leaving England. The congregation was but small. The people appeared attentive and devout.

I cannot but confess, that it was an interesting circumstance to me to attend divine worship in a cathedral, and in the bosom almost of popery; yet, stripped of all its trappings and absurdities, and conducted with a seriousness and a simplicity which becomes the worship of the Most High. I felt myself at home—for the form of service very much resembled that of the people amongst whom I minister. The preacher did use a liturgy, but it was short and concise: in every other respect the worship was conducted much in the manner of the protestant dissenters in England.

I found that they had several schools in Lausanne, that they had one upon the principle of Bell and Lancaster, and that they were very careful to give Bibles and catechisms to the children. The blessings of education are universally enjoyed throughout the canton, and there are few states, perhaps, that exercise so much vigilance in the care of the rising generation. It is a small republic, with about 150,000 inhabitants. It was long a mere province of the canton of Berne. The population of Lausanne is chiefly Protestant. This is the case generally throughout the Pays de Vaud; but while the principles of Protestantism prevail on one side the lake of Geneva, the demon of superstition and the image of the beast, are enthroned upon the heights that rise abruptly from the other, and shed their pestilential influence over the romantic regions beyond. It would have been strange, indeed, if the reformed religion had not spread in some directions through the immediate neighbourhood of its great champion, and the scenes that were honoured with his labours. But, alas! how small a portion of land, even here, does it possess, and over that portion, scanty as it is, how imperfectly and partially are its genuine spirit and principles diffused.

From the windows of our inn we enjoyed an uninterrupted view of the lake, and in the evening it presented a glorious spectacle, as the moon rose from behind the adjacent mountains, and shed a column of gold upon its placid waters. Not a breeze ruffled them—all was still and serene. The mighty forms of the mountains lay in masses of shadow upon the glassy surface, while the stars rose one by one in the azure firmament above, till the whole landscape seemed softened down to more than material beauty, and appeared like a type of paradise—a glowing picture of a lovely spot in some celestial clime! We were wrapped in silent admiration, when the tones of a guitar saluted us from the terrace of the garden, and, accompanied by a melodious voice, charmed us with some soft and simple German airs, that precisely harmonized with the character of the scene, and completed the sensation of delight which had already been excited in the mind.

The population of Lausanne is about eight thousand. We were informed that vast numbers of English inhabit its neighbourhood. We met with none, however, in the streets. Here, as over all the continent, the Sabbath terminated with the afternoon service, yet we did not observe that dissipation in the evening which prevailed in France.

There is a delightful promenade in the vicinity of the town commanding extensive views of the lake, with its bays and promontories—its surrounding Alps, and the distant ridges of the Jura. I was much struck with the loneliness of the lake. Though in the midst of a populous region, there was scarcely a sail upon its surface through the whole of yesterday, and we observed but one or two, during our ride of many miles along its margin. The length of this magnificent mirror of waters is nearly sixty miles,* and its greatest breadth from eleven to twelve. Its form is like that of the moon, between its first and second quarter; Savoy occupies its concave, and the Pays du Vaud its convex side. Its waters are of the deepest blue, and receive not less than forty tributary streams. Of these the Rhone is the principal; and this noble river is completely purified from its mountain pollutions in its passage through it. I had occasion to remark the transparency of the atmosphere in the amazing distance to which we could distinctly see the Castle of Chillon, which occupies a most advantageous position at the head of the lake. It is affirmed, and I believe with truth, that a town upon its banks illumined by the setting sun, may be seen to the distance of forty miles. But the lake of Geneva is a topic upon which so many have written, that I put your patience to an unnecessary trial by these crude remarks of my own. Equally unnecessary is it for me to remind you that this place was long the residence of Gibbon, the historian, and that the summer-house, in which he wrote the greater part of his history, is still standing; the library, too, which he used in that work, remained till recently in *statu quo*, but I believe it has lately been sold.

There appears to be a great imitation of French manners in this place, a circumstance which cannot be reckoned amongst the most favourable of its symptoms. Their simplicity of character has ever been considered the glory of the Swiss, but the refinement and elegance of the French nation, bring dissipation, intrigue, and infidelity in their train, and menace alike the interests of morality, of religion, and of liberty. I believe that few countries have been happier for the influence of French politics, and few individuals better for the principles of French education. Upon this ground, I cannot but regard the opening of the continent, and subsequent influx of British youth of both sexes to the seminaries of France and the societies of Paris, as a serious evil, and one obviously tending to a result which every lover of his country must sincerely deprecate. For my own part, I think it becomes all parents and guardians to ponder well the probable results of the step they meditate, ere, for the sake of economy, they resign the youth committed to their care, to the influence of such a pestilential element, and the attraction of such a dangerous vortex: for Britain may well deplore the day when art, and cunning, and scepticism, shall be substituted for that ingenuousness of character, which is now the brightest ornament of her rising population.

We left Lausanne at an early hour, and reached this place about sunset. The ascent from Lausanne was long and tedious, although we had an additional pair of horses to our carriage. But this circumstance I considered rather an advantage than otherwise, as it gave me more leisure to survey the scenery we were leaving behind. The outline of the Alps was exceedingly grand from the hill above Lausanne, and the lake looked lovelier than ever, because, perhaps, the view I was then taking of it was the last.

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* Lord Byron writes, "I this day observed for some time the the reflection of Mont Blanc, and Mont Argentiere, in the calm of the lake, which I was crossing in my boat. The distance of these mountains from their mirror is sixty miles.

We breakfasted at Moudon, a town of great antiquity, situated in a delightful valley, watered by the Broze, and encompassed by well wooded and verdant hills. It was the capital of the canton, when the Pays de Vaud was under the dominion of the Dukes of Savoy. Our next stage was to Payerne, whose appearance was forlorn and desolate. It is a place of great antiquity, but of no trade or manufacture. It stands upon an extensive plain, and its inhabitants are chiefly occupied in the pursuits of agriculture. In the market-place was a rude statue, which, I was informed, was intended to represent the famous Tell, the great asserter of their independence. We met with a very civil and communicative man in our rambles through the streets, form whom we learned they had neither Bible society nor Sunday school; but they had a free school; and were well supplied with Bibles from the institution at Lausanne.

The country through which we have passed to-day reminded us strongly of our own. The haymakers were busy in the fields. The corn looked well, and promised an abundant harvest. The farm-houses and cottages had an air of neatness and of comfort, such as we had not witnessed either in France or Savoy, and scenes of cheerfulness and plenty reigned around.

Morat is a neat town built of stone. The houses of the principal streets are on arcades. It is pleasantly situated on the borders of a small lake, about six miles in length, and one and a half in breadth. The lake of Morat is separated from that of Neufchatel by a ridge of inconsiderable hills. These two lakes run parallel to each other, and the former pours its superabundant waters, by means of the Broze, into the latter. The lake of Neufchatel, however, surpasses that of Morat in extent, though not, perhaps, in beauty. It is thirty miles in length, and about three in breadth.

Morat is celebrated in the history of Switzerland, for a desperate battle fought in its neighbourhood, between the Swiss and Charles the Noble, Duke of Burgundy, in the year 1476. The victory was decided in favour of the Swiss. The invading army was almost annihilated. The bones of the vanquished were collected and preserved in a square building near the town. There remain, however, but a few at present; the Burgundian troops in the service of France, have embraced the opportunity afforded by their more successful invasion, to remove, as far as possible, these memorials of their ancestors' defeat, while the Swiss themselves are charged with having violated these relics, by making a barter of the bones for the purpose of knife handles, for which their extreme whiteness have rendered them greatly in demand.

The German language is generally spoken at Morat. We here began to find the comfort of a servant who can speak most of the continental languages with fluency. We have been much amused with a debate between him and the landlord of the inn, the subject of which was whether the English did really drink sugar in their tea. The landlord seemed hard to be convinced that we could be guilty of such extravagance. 'Twas well for us that we were provided with the tea, else there would have been no occasion for the debate. Our's, it must be observed, is not the best inn in the town, being already occupied by the magistrates from Bern, but is the second in rank, and certainly not to be celebrated for anything but its darkness and its dirt. We have enjoyed a pleasant walk by the margin of the lake. To me there is something peculiarly interesting in the stillness and twilight of the evening—and amid such scenes the charm is doubly powerful. How delightful, at such an hour, is the converse of a friend—and, if alone, how transporting that effort is of the mind by which it can surround itself with the society it loves, and hold communion with the absent, in defiance of the distance that intervenes. The luxury has frequently been mine in the course of this tour, and I enjoy it now. But like everything sublunary it is transient. Adieu.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXIII.

Basle.

My dear ———

I walked through a highly cultivated country from Morat to Gumenen, a little village, six miles distant, where we breakfasted, and had the good fortune to secure to ourselves the only two white loaves then in the place. It is pleasantly situated upon the Saane, a rapid river of considerable breadth, which is crossed by a wooden bridge of singular construction, with a tiled roof to shelter it from the weather. From this place we proceeded to Bern.

We entered the canton of Bern between Morat and Gumenen, and were immediately struck with the curious costume of the women. It is such that I should have supposed it greatly exaggerated if I had seen it only in a picture. The body of the gown, or *bodice*, if such it can be called, and the entire skirt, is black, or if it is not entirely black, it presents a small square of white upon the bosom, surrounded as it were by a deep black frame—the sleeve which issues from beneath it on either side is white and very full, giving them an appearance not very unlike that of a bishop in his lawn. I am aware of the temerity of the comparison, and yet I know not how to give you a better idea of the costume I am attempting to describe. The hair is suffered to grow to its full length, and is plaited into two tails, or *queues*, which are tied with a black riband, and literally reaches down to their heels. But the head has the oddest appearance. It is about half covered, and that at the back of it, with a black cap, from the edge of which springs a sort of ornamental trimming, which at a distance has the appearance of lace; but I handled one at Gumenen, and I found it nothing more nor less than black horse hair. This trimming rises perpendicularly from the cap to the extent of from three to six or seven inches, and looks like wings stretching from each side of the head, for it is so thrown back on the crown of the head, as not to be seen there in a front view. Now all this would have been well, (but certainly singular and grotesque enough to an English eye,) in a full dress or holiday suit: but to see women working in the fields—beggars in the streets, and little children that could scarcely walk alone, thus adorned, was truly ridiculous. Yet, this dress prevails throughout the whole of the canton; we scarcely saw a woman on the road, or at her cottage door, or in the streets of Bern, who was not so attired. The costumes of Switzerland are almost as uniform as the dress of a charity school. In every individual that you meet the cut and colour are the same, especially with the females, so that when you have seen one woman of the canton, you have seen all. This is the case, more or less, in every canton, and each has a costume of its own. At Bern we were furnished with complete sets of the Swiss costumes, represented in characteristic figures, by the pencil of M. Dinkel, a Swiss artist of great celebrity. He was represented to us by the vender of his productions as being now at the point of death, and one argument he employed to induce us to purchase, was, that his works would be greatly increased in value after his decease.

The approach to Bern is very pleasing; the country around is beautifully undulated and in the highest state of cultivation. The vicinity for a considerable distance indicated by its life and bustle, that we were approaching to a capital, and on entering the city by its beautiful trenches and noble gates, we found the streets crowded with people in their gayest attire—and filled with corn and cattle, and almost every article of commerce, it being market-day. It is a magnificent city, and next to Paris, incomparably the finest we have yet seen on the continent. The houses are all built of stone, with arcades in the principal streets, and rows of well furnished shops. The town is abundantly supplied with fountains, and streams of water flow through the centre of the streets, which are wide, in deep and broad channels cut for their reception. From the great influx of people the city had a very gay appearance. The expression, the costume, the language,—all was perfectly new. I was greatly interested in my perambulations through it. It seemed to exhibit society under another aspect.—It had not the refinement of Paris, nor the dulness of Geneva, but appeared like the capital of an active and flourishing state.

There are many noble edifices in Bern. The cathedral is a magnificent pile of gothic architecture, occupying a bold elevation above the Aar. It possesses a remarkably fine organ, of enormous size, stretching to nearly the whole breadth of the church. They were preparing the choir, no longer disgraced by the splendid paraphanalia of popish worship, for the meeting of the Swiss Diet.

In the city of Bern, I was shocked by a spectacle of human degradation and wretchedness, such as I had never witnessed before. I was, of course, aware of the practice that prevails in many parts of the continent, of chaining criminals, like beasts, to carts, which they drag along the streets, for the purpose of collecting the filth and rubbish which is swept up and thrown in by other criminals of lighter delinquency and less heavily ironed: here I *saw* it, and it was, indeed, a most repulsive and humiliating sight. No doubt the hulks at Woolwich would exhibit as shocking a spectacle; but then it is not as here, obtruded upon one's eyes in the heart of the city, and where the mind is little prepared for such an affecting lesson. But it is common to the Bernese, and does not, of course, excite the same emotions in their minds as in those of strangers. Men, and even women, are doomed to this degrading punishment for years, and sometimes for life. I should hope that the diffusion of knowledge, and the advance of liberal sentiment, would sooner or later induce all civilized states to review their criminal codes, and make such revisions as the experience of past ages, and the public voice seem to require.*

At our hotel in Bern we met with everything in the highest style of elegance and comfort, and I could only regret that we had but a few hours to devote to a place that might have occupied and interested us several days. We there changed our driver, and procured a smart spirited fellow, with a fine set of horses, who has got us over the ground at a rate very superior to that of the miserable drone we left behind.

I know not that I ever passed so fine a road as that by which we left Bern to proceed to Soleure. It turns abruptly to the left, and climbs a hill immediately on leaving the gates of the city, and passes between rows of trees, with a gentle slope on either hand, covered with the freshest verdure and as smooth as the finest lawn. The bird's-eye views of the city, which we obtained as we ascended, were extremely interesting. We saw it in its length and breadth surrounded by the Aar, and laying in full perspective at our feet. But a far nobler scene was unfolded to the south-east, where an immense chain of Alps appeared like the outer boundaries of some new creation, to which their dreadful precipices, inaccessible peaks, and summits of untrodden snow for ever barred the approach of man. The average height of this chain is, perhaps, about twelve thousand feet, and the forms of the mountains that compose it are wild and fantastic beyond imagination. The purity of the atmosphere gave them a distinctness of outline, such as is rarely enjoyed in our own country, and such as I once realized in the ascent of Ben Lomond. The beams of the retiring sun gilded their lofty pinnacles, and imparted to their masses of spotless snow a brightness that seemed to have more of heaven in it than earth. Oh! if terrestrial scenes can appear so lovely, what must that purity and lustre be, of which they are only the dim shadows and imperfect emblems!

We slept last night at Soleure, and left it at six this morning. While the carriage was getting ready, I stepped into two of the churches, which were close by our inn. They were performing divine worship in both, though at such an early hour, and one of them was nearly filled with people. The church of St. Ursus is esteemed the finest in Switzerland. Its architecture is Grecian, and the altar-pieces and ornaments are in the highest style of Popish magnificence. Soleure is watered by the Aar, and its neighbourhood is remarkably pleasant. The land is chiefly pasturage, and the meadows are extremely rich. No wonder that their cattle in this part of Switzerland should be so fine. I saw some oxen in the market-place at Bern equal to any I ever saw in Leicestershire, and that would have satisfied the greatest connoisseur in beef, had he been upon the search for his Christmas dinner.

Our first stage from Soleure was to Balstall. It would be ungrateful to pass this little village without notice, for there, at breakfast, we had the best bread we have met with since leaving England, and this I assure you was no small luxury. A few miles before reaching Birstall the road turns abruptly to the left, and traverses a rocky pass, at the head of which, crowning an enormous rock, stands the ruined castle of Kluss. Issuing from the pass, we entered a spacious valley, the hills gently rising to the right, clothed with forests of fir, and rocks towering abruptly to the left, to an amazing height. On the summit of one perpendicular crag, after passing Balstall, we observed the ruins of the castle of Falkenstein—and a few miles further, those of the castle of Wallenburg. These mouldering ruins too surely indicated what scenes in former ages were developed in these peaceful vales, when they were made to ring with the clangour of arms, and were deluged with blood.

We dined at the little town of Liechstall, a poor and insignificant place, yet we entered it by towers that had once been strong, and it appeared to be like most of the continental towns, completely walled. After dinner we strolled about the town, and penetrated into the shop of a calico printer, who was busy at his work. He could speak nothing but German himself, but he soon introduced his brother, who spoke very good English. He told us he was a mathematical and surgical instrument maker. Twenty years ago he left England, where he had worked some time. He said he was much better off then than he was now, for he had very little work at present. But, notwithstanding this, he loved his country. He spoke very highly of the English, and called his children to see the *Messrs. Anglais.* He observed, the town in which he lived was a poor place; and very aptly compared it to a court in London. I inquired into the state of religion and education amongst them. He said they were all Protestants. They had no Sunday-schools, but they had daily schools gratis, to which the poor were obliged to send their children. They have no branch of the Bible Society amongst them, but they are abundantly supplied with the holy scriptures from the society at Basle. The minister is very diligent in the discharge of his duty, and catechises the children when they have attained to the age of fifteen years.

About five miles from Liechstall, an abrupt turn of the road gave us the first view of the Rhine, with the dark woods of the Black Forest occupying the rising ground on its opposite bank, and forming, in that direction, the frontiers of the Austrian territory. I could not but behold with the deepest interest this noble and impetuous torrent, associated as it is with the most important scenes and revolutions in the history of Europe, and oftener, perhaps, than any other, disturbed by the thunder of war and dyed with blood.

The windows of our hotel look out upon the Rhine, and the river washes the walls of the house. The stream rushes past with astonishing rapidity. Here is a permanent bridge, built in part only of stone. It consists of fourteen arches, and is six hundred feet in length. In the strongest part of the current it is of wood, and over the piles are placed enormous mill-stones, to prevent their being torn up from their sockets and hurried down the stream. The river divides the city into two parts, forming the large and small town. The city is surrounded by walls and ramparts, and is capable, it is said, of containing one hundred thousand inhabitants. Its present population, however, is stated at only sixteen thousand. In 1431, it was forty thousand. There are no craft or pleasure boats upon the river, the rapidity of the current forbidding them. We have just seen a boat start that appeared ill able to stand the fury of such a torrent. It went at a terrific rate, and was soon out of sight. In these frail and crazy barks, however, travellers are sometimes conveyed to Strasburg, a distance of eighty miles, which they accomplish in fifteen hours. It appeared to me that the navigation was extremely perilous, for the river abounds with shoals and eddies,—the boat is of the rudest structure, composed of a few planks of deal, and often so rickety, that a man cannot stand erect in it, while it is navigated down the torrent by a single paddle.

There are some noble residences in Basle, which bespeak the opulence of their inhabitants: but the streets in general are narrow and intricate. The windows of the houses are for the most part defended by massive iron grating, which gives them the appearance of prisons, and throws an air of gloom over the whole place. We observed the same thing in other towns, but were peculiarly struck with it here. The cathedral is a venerable structure, but greatly disfigured by the red paint with which its whole exterior has been barbarously daubed. It will ever be remembered as the asylum in which the ashes of the great Erasmus repose. Behind the cathedral is a terrace commanding a noble prospect of the river, the city, and the adjacent country on the opposite bank of the Rhine.

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* Perhaps I ought to qualify what I have written above, and I prefer doing it by a note, rather than by any alteration of the original passage. The closing remark, though excited by what I saw in Bern, is intended to apply not so much to any foreign systems of punishment as to our own. The sanguinary character of the British code, and the abuses that exist in the system of police and the economy of our prisons, are notorious evils, and it is to be feared, more adapted to promote and increase, than diminish crimes. With respect to the practice above described in Bern, I am aware that Howard, any many enlightened philanthropists approve it, for the male convicts at least; the spectacle, however, when first beheld by a stranger must strike him as barbarous and disgusting. These men might be usefully employed without converting the streets of the city into scenes of punishment, and compelling the innocent inhabitants to be spectators. America has unquestionably the advantage of us in her method of treating criminals; and there are few states in Europe that might not be essentially benefited by adopting some of her principles. I rejoice that this subject is at present occupying much of the public attention, and hope, that when prejudice is a little more subdued, good will result from all that has been said and written about it.

The library at Basle, is rich in the original manuscripts of the reformers; and connected with it is a suite of apartments, in which are preserved many original drawings and paintings of the famous Holbein, who was a native of this city, where may be traced the progress of his genius from the rudest efforts of his pencil to that perfection in the art, for which his name is so justly celebrated.

Basle is also the seat of an ancient university, connected, with which are some of the most illustrious names in literature and science; and no student in biblical criticism can fail to pronounce, amongst many others, that of a Wetstein and a Buxtorf, with grateful admiration.

The principal manufactures of Basle are ribands, stuffs, and paper. The Basilians claim the invention of the art of paper making and of printing as their own. Their claim to the honour of the last invention is, however, so slender, that the city of Basle is rarely mentioned in those controversies to which the subject has given rise. The only towns considered as having any right to contend for it are Mayence, Strasburg, and Harleim.

Basle is a protestant canton, and there is a great steadiness and sobriety amongst the people. Although remarkable for their love of liberty, they yet seem to be under the influence of an active and inquisitive police. The magistrates are extremely careful of the public comfort and the public morals, and, like the fathers of the state, forbid their children whatever is likely to injure either. We asked for white bread—the magistrates allowed nothing but brown, because of the failure of the last harvest. We asked for French or English newspapers—the magistrates did not allow any to enter the canton; we might read the German if we pleased. One of the party inquired if there was any theatre. No—was the reply—Government will allow no public amusement whatever since the last bad season, lest the people should spend that money upon shows and spectacles which they want for bread. It would be better for the people if all Governments had an equal regard to the welfare of their subjects!

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXIV.

Kehl.

My dear ———

We are detained at this place, a small village on the German side of the Rhine, opposite Strasburg, being too late in our arrival to enter the city this evening. The gates are always closed at nine o'clock, and no one is permitted to pass after that time. This is a novel circumstance to an Englishman, who would not very calmly endure being shut out of one of his own towns at such an early hour. We thank God that the days of the curfew are over with us, and that we know nothing of that insecure and perturbed state of things which renders such precautions necessary. But we are not in England, and must, therefore, quietly submit.

We crossed the Rhine yesterday morning by the bridge at Basle, passed through the little city, and at the distance of about three miles on the road, left the canton of Basle, and entered Germany by the territories of the Grand Duke of Baden. We had the Rhine on our left, and the Black Forest, covering majestic hills, at some distance on our right; while a rich and luxuriant landscape smiled at every step. From the brow of a hill, about twelve miles from Basle, we obtained a glorious view of the windings of the river—the extensive and fertile valley through which it meanders—the dark undulations of the forest—the towers and the spires of the city in the distance—and the whole line of Alps in the back ground, rising in hoary grandeur, and glittering in the beams of the noon-day sun.

Here we left the Rhine; the road takes a direction towards the Black Forest, and skirts the edge of it, all the way to Fribourg. The route to Vienna lies through the heart of this forest. It was formerly, and is still, much infested by wolves, and at certain periods, especially in the severity of winter, travelling through it is not altogether unaccompanied with danger. You may, perhaps, have heard of a remarkable instance of self-devotion, related of the servant of a German Baron, who was passing through this forest, and pursued by wolves. For awhile they kept ahead of their ravenous pursuers, but the servant perceiving them gaining ground, and assured at length that escape was utterly impossible, told the postilion to stop—commended his wife and children to his master's protection, and then calmly gave himself up to be devoured—thus saving the life of his master at the expense of his own.

Happily, however, we saw no wolves—and the only inconvenience we suffered, was a detention of some hours at a filthy post-house. The postilion and the horses were all in a hay-field, and the wary landlady, was sagacious enough not to send for them, till she had got the price of a dinner out of the pockets of her guests. This circumstance delayed our arrival in Fribourg three hours, and it was just dusk when we entered the town.

Fribourg is a fine old town, famous for its minster, and its university. The minster is a noble pile of gothic architecture, most highly wrought, and of fine proportion. The workmanship of the tower and steeple is exquisite. The church is said to be after the model of that at Strasburg, and one of the finest ecclesiastical edifices in Germany.

We took up our quarters at the Moor, and had reason to be well satisfied with the civility and intelligence of our landlord. His appearance, moreover, was very prepossessing to us citizens of London, for he had all the protuberance and self-complacent air of a perfect cit, and might have been transported in *statu quo*, to a Lord Mayor's feast, or a fishmonger's dinner, without any chance of his foreign extraction being discovered, if he but kept his own counsel, and simply addressed himself to the matter in hand.

He told us, that at the time of the invasion of France by the allied armies, nearly a million of men passed through Fribourg. At that time, a malignant fever raged in the town, and carried off from thirty to forty a day. Nevertheless, the Emperor Alexander visited the hospital in person: "as for me," said the landlord, shrugging up his shoulders with wonderful effect, "I did not dare to do it, for fear of catching the fever."

In the album of the hotel, we saw many illustrious names, and amongst others, that of Gustavus Adolphus, the *ci-devant* king of Sweden, who passed the 29th, 30th, and 31st of July, 1813, in that inn. The landlord assured us that the handwriting was his own.

We did not leave Fribourg till noon to-day, having met with interesting objects to detain us. Before breakfast we visited the cathedral. The gates were open, and many were engaged in their morning devotions before the several altars. The interior of the church is spacious and magnificent, and abounds with sculptures and paintings of the richest kind. We were particularly struck with a representation of the last supper, quite novel in its plan. In a small recess, or chapel, in one of the aisles of the church, an ordinary table is placed, covered with white linen, and the Redeemer and the twelve apostles are seated round it, in figures of marble, as large as life. The expression of the countenances is admirably given, especially that of John, who leans on the bosom of Christ—and Judas, who sits the last in the groupe, and whose hand grasps the bag. The whole has a very fine and imposing effect, and comes nearer to life than anything I have yet seen. This church is also very rich in painted glass.

We should have staid longer in the cathedral, but our walking about seemed to disturb the devotions of the devotees, and being warned to depart by the sour looks, and savage mutterings of a fierce old man, who appeared to be particularly annoyed by the presence of us heretics, in so holy a place, we deemed it prudent to take the hint.

From the cathedral we proceeded to the library. It contains about 70,000 volumes. It possesses no manuscripts, but many of the books are extremely rare and valuable, consisting chiefly of Polyglots—the Fathers—*Editiones' principes* of the classics, &c. &c. I observed the Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes. This library belongs to the university, in which there are, at present, about four hundred students. These give a literary air to the town. I never saw so many young men, passing through the streets with books under their arms, as at Fribourg. There is, also, a very excellent collection of anatomical preparations, which we saw. The number is small, but the subjects are well preserved and judiciously arranged.

After breakfast we were gratified by a visit to the convent and the monastery. The convent is situated at the outskirts of the town. We were permitted to see the interior of it, and were highly pleased with the accomplished manners, and polite attention of the superior, who accompanied us through the apartments, and explained the economy of the institution. There are but twelve nuns at present in the convent, and three lay sisters; the latter perform the domestic duties of the house. Four of the nuns are employed in teaching a girl's school kept within the walls of the convent. The number of scholars is about four hundred; the labours of the nuns are entirely gratuitous. We visited the several classes, and the nuns to whose charge they were committed, with great readiness exhibited specimens of their work, which the ladies assured us did all the parties concerned the greatest credit. The rest of the sisters occupy themselves in needle-work. We were admitted to the cell of one. It was a neat and commodious chamber. The furniture of the room was simple, but sufficient, and I observed a small collection of books. The nun seemed very happy, and was busy at her work. The superior spoke excellent French, all the rest could speak no language but German. She could also understand a little English, a circumstance of which she informed us, with the utmost delicacy of feeling, lest, as she observed, we should make remarks we might not wish any but our own party to hear.

She told us that all the useless convents had been abolished by Joseph II., but that such religious establishments as rendered themselves serviceable to society were permitted to remain. We inquired by what means the institution was supported. She said they had funds, but they were so scanty, that they were obliged occasionally to solicit aid from government, which was readily granted them. She appeared much pleased when she discovered that we were English, and spoke very highly of our country. She asked how long we had been travelling, and observed, "it must be a fine thing to go abroad and see the world as you do,"—and yet there was nothing in her countenance that betrayed dissatisfaction with her calm and sequestered lot. On the contrary, there was an air of mild and placid cheerfulness about her, with an expression that indicated virtues and dispositions, that might sweeten a better state than that of celibacy and solitude.

She kindly showed us the chapel of the convent. It is remarkable for possessing the skeleton of one St. Felician, an early martyr of the church. It lies in a glass case over one of the altars, and is most splendidly arrayed in satin and velvet, adorned with jewels and lace. It is not easy to conceive what a curious figure a skeleton's head cuts, looking out from the midst of such finery. It affords, however, a striking emblem of that world, with its pleasures and allurements, which these nuns profess to have forsaken. Its external appearance is splendid and fascinating, but in reality it is all rottenness and deformity. As Henry Kirke White said of those academic honours, which he purchased with his life, we may truly say of the world, "*It is a death's head, under a mask of beauty.*"

The bones of this famous martyr, who was a bishop, were presented to the convent. The apparel and decorations are the workmanship of the nuns. The lamp which was found burning in his sepulchre, is still unextinguished by his side. Near the altar of the saint, we observed many little arms and legs, and other members of the human body modelled in wax, and laid in rows upon shelves. We inquired the meaning of the collection. The nun informed us that they were offerings to the saint, in consequence of miraculous cures effected by his mediation. If any person had a disease in the arm or leg, &c. he brought the representation of the diseased limb in wax, and presented it at the shrine of the saint, who interceded for him, and he was immediately healed. I thought, from her manner of telling the story, that the nun herself had not much faith in it. Indeed, she appeared to be a woman of an enlarged and liberal mind, whose heart would freely open to the light of truth, if from any quarter it should beam upon her. We left her with regret, and shall long remember the nun of Fribourg—the politeness of her manners—the soundness of her understanding, and the sweetness of her disposition.

From the convent we proceeded to the monastery of the Capuchin friars. The monks are all old men, and with their bald heads, long beards, sandalled feet, and coarse brown coat and cowl, bound round the middle with a piece of rope, from which was suspended the rosary and cross, were to me, who had never seen a monk before, most venerable and interesting objects. One of them only could speak French. He told us that he took the habit of a monk when but twenty years old, and though he is now eighty-three, yet he still appeared a strong and hearty man, and spoke with all the fire and energy of youth. "At the time of the French revolution," said he, "when this country was part of Alsace, they wanted to abolish this monastery, and offered to provide for the monks if they would abjure the monastic life and become curates. But, no," said the old man, the fire of indignation flashing from his eyes, "I disdained the proposal—I had taken the vow to my God, and I resolved to perform it—preferring to live in poverty and upon alms, rather than forsake the life to which I was devoted." Of what use to society he had been during his long life, however, he did not tell us; neither did he say wherein consisted the wisdom or the piety of taking such a vow. He told us that they were not permitted to receive any new fathers into the monastery, that they were left to die off, and that their number was already reduced to six. He said that the only provision found them was water and wood, for the rest they subsisted upon charity. We had observed, however, a very good kitchen, and, on our entrance into the monastery, had been introduced into a spacious and well furnished dining-room, both of which indicated better fare than bread and water, as that with which, occasionally at least, these holy fathers were regaled.

The conversation had hitherto been carried on in the garden. We at length expressed a desire to see the interior of one of their cells—but this they informed us could not be allowed. "And why," said the monk, "should you wish to see so forlorn a place; the cell is but poorly furnished, and scarcely able to contain four persons at a time." One of my fair companions, however, so completely insinuated herself into the good graces of another of the old men, that he was induced to break through the rule and let us into his. It was, as he described, a poor and small apartment. A coarse bed occupied one half—a desk, a chair, and two shelves of books the rest. The books were chiefly scholastic divinity. The monk showed us what he called his *consciones*, of which he had several bundles; he appeared to have been employed when we interrupted him, in adding to the stock. The writing materials, and a half-finished essay were on his desk. There was no fire-place in the cell.

In the chapel of the monastery they showed us a great wonder. It was a figure of Jesus Christ lying on the lap of the Virgin Mary, with his wounds gaping and bleeding, carved in wood. This figure they assured us was once animated and used to move. It has been still enough of late, however, according to their own account, except at the time of the revolution, when its head was knocked off by a bomb-shell, which they still preserve, and the Virgin Mary got a wound in her cheek from a pistol shot. They had put on the head again and healed the cheek, but not before they had an exact drawing taken of the headless Saviour and the wounded Virgin.

We have passed by many vineyards to-day, in which the vines were much higher than in France or Switzerland; we also observed some Indian corn, which is cultivated in this country with success.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXV.

Mayence.

My dear ———

Immediately on leaving Kehl, we crossed the Rhine by the bridge of boats, and again entered France. We passed on the left the beautiful monument erected by Napoleon to the memory of General Dessaix. It is the work of Ohmacht, a German artist, from a design by Weinbrenner. At Strasburg, which is about three miles from the banks of the Rhine, the principal object of attraction is the cathedral. It is certainly one of the finest buildings the continent can boast. Its workmanship is most exquisite, and its whole appearance truly sublime. The stone is of a dark red, which gives it a sombre character. The front is exceedingly magnificent, notwithstanding the circumstance that it was designed for two spires and possesses only one. The spire is the highest in Europe, being four hundred and ninety-four feet from the ground: yet it is extremely light and elegant. Mr. H——, Mrs. F——, and myself, ascended within eighteen feet of the highest accessible point—the other eighteen feet of honour we did not think it wise to purchase at the peril of our lives; for, from the place where we stood, the steps to the highest pinnacle are entirely undefended, that it must be madness in one, not well practised in the art of climbing, to attempt ascending them on the thin pinnacle of a spire, then nearly five hundred feet from the earth. The ascent to the point *we* reached was extremely difficult, and not, I think, altogether without danger, for the spire is composed entirely of open work, wrought in stone, bound together with bars of iron; and we had to squeeze through a narrow cork-screw kind of staircase, that winds round the gothic pinnacles, which rise almost like bundles of reeds, gradually lengthened towards the centre to form the spire. The descent was by far the most formidable part of this expedition, and I was not a little pleased and thankful when it was safely accomplished.

My ambition led me to the top of the highest spire in Europe, but, like most elevations, it was giddy and hazardous; and in this instance, as in many others, by no means repaid the toil of reaching it, for the view into the street below is too terrific to impart anything like pleasure, while that of the surrounding country is flat and uninteresting, except to the north, and not any more extensive than what is obtained from the leads of the tower beneath, which is not more than half its height, and the ascent to which is perfectly safe and easy. The principal objects are the windings of the Rhine and the buildings of the city. At the time of the passing of the allied armies through the continent there were sixty thousand men in the neighbourhood of Strasburg, thirty in Kehl, and thirty in the plains in the vicinity of the town.

On the leads above mentioned, men constantly live, whose business it is to keep a watch over the city, and to give the earliest alarm of fire. They are furnished with long poles, from which a flag is hung by day and a lantern by night. So soon as a fire is seen, they sound the tocsin and rouse the inhabitants, whose eyes are immediately turned towards the tower of the church, and the direction in which the flag or lantern is pointed, and the quantity of the pole which is put out, shows them at once the direction and distance of the fire. To secure the watchfulness of the men, they are compelled to strike the quarters upon the clock, which of course keeps one of them constantly awake, and on the look out. These excellent precautions seem to have arisen from the circumstance that the interior of the cathedral was almost entirely consumed by fire about fifty years ago.

The interior of the cathedral is spacious and plain, but exceedingly rich in painted glass. It is surrounded by little chapels. Service was performed at the high altar, and at several of the inferior altars, and there were many people engaged in their devotions. The organ is remarkably elegant, and curiously placed over one of the aisles.

From the cathedral we went to the church of St. Thomas, to see the monument erected by Louis XV. to the memory of the great General, Count Saxe. It is a noble effort of the art of sculpture. The General is represented descending to his tomb, Death is holding the lid of it open for his reception—while the Genius of France, in the utmost agony, puts forth one hand to arrest the Count, and with the other she strives to thrust away Death. Hercules stands leaning on the other end of the sarcophagus, with an expression of the deepest, but most dignified grief.

From Strasburg we proceeded along a flat and insipid, though highly cultivated country, to Lauterbourgh, on leaving which we entered a portion of the Bavarian territories. This was indicated by the demand for our passports, and the change of the postilion's costume to light blue. We now drove for several miles through a fine wood, the openings in which towards the Rhine gave us occasional views of the high lands on the opposite bank of the river, though we saw not the river itself, until we reached the vicinity of Spire.

All along from Strasburg to Spire the harvest looked well, though in some places a little beat down by the heavy thunder showers with which we have recently been visited. The potato, the Indian corn, and the vine, each attracted our attention as we passed along. They seem to flourish exceedingly in this genial clime. We spent a sabbath at Spire in retirement and quietude. We repaired to the churches, but service was performed in the German language, of which none of us, I believe, understood enough to derive any edification from what we heard. I was present in the afternoon at one of the churches, when the minister catechised the children, and was much pleased with the seriousness and earnestness of his manner. He appeared to be deeply interested in the improvement of his catechumens, and to take great pains in their instruction. They read a chapter of the new testament, each one reading a verse, and the question of the minister arose out of the verses as they were read. This was in a Lutheran church. We afterwards went to the Catholic chapel, and there we heard a country congregation, not chant, but *bawl* the vespers. There was more of the ludicrous in the scene than I could endure, and I quickly left them, and returned to the solitude of my own apartment to reflect on the happy sabbath you were spending in England —that land of sabbaths and of Bibles—dearer to me than ever —since I have learned the value of its privileges by their loss! At Spire there is little to interest a stranger, except an old cathedral of curious architecture, now fast sinking to decay.

On leaving Spire, we passed through a flat, but luxuriant country to Manheim. There we crossed the Rhine by a bridge of boats, and entered again the territories of the Grand Duke of Baden. At Manheim is a palace of the Grand Duke, and from the Bavarian side of the Rhine, as we approached the city, we had a fine view of the chateau, the gardens of which are laid out in the style of an English pleasure-ground, and occupy a space of many acres between the back front of the palace and the river. Manheim is a very fine city. Its streets are wide, and cross each other at right angles. The houses are all white and clean in their appearance, being built either of stone, or covered with a composition imitating it. The style of building is extremely good; the streets are clean, and the city throughout had a light and cheerful appearance. We found excellent quarters, great civility, and a good English breakfast, at the good English sign, "*Le mouton*."

After breakfast we walked to see the chateau and its gardens. The gardens are extensive and well laid out. The chateau is an immense pile of building, chiefly of a red kind of stone, intermixed with a whiter sort, which, when near, has by no means a pleasing effect. The palace is not very unlike that of Hampton court in its external appearance. The interior is very magnificent: but with the exception of a suite of rooms fitted up in the modern style for the reception of the Duke on his late marriage, is much neglected, and seems bordering at least upon decay,—while the rotten window frames in the principal front, and the stillness and solitude that reign in the grass-grown courts, give it an air of desolation and gloom. The apartments prepared for the Duke and Duchess on their marriage are, however, furnished with more taste and elegance than we have witnessed in any palace on the continent—and the state bed, which was the bridal couch, is the most costly and beautiful piece of workmanship that can be conceived. The whole of the furniture is white satin and muslin, most delicately embroidered with flowers. The state apartments beneath are fine, and the ballroom, which is lined with the richest marble, particularly so. There are some good paintings, by the best masters, in the picture gallery,—Rubens, Raphael, Teniers, Poussin, Titian, &c. &c.—and casts from the most celebrated antiques, in the chambers appropriated to models—the Venus, Laocoon, and Apollo are there. There is also a small collection of choice engravings. We had not time to see the *ci-devant* church of the Jesuits, which is said to be well worthy the traveller's attention.

Leaving Manheim, we crossed the Necker, which empties itself into the Rhine at Manheim, by another bridge of boats, and passing along a very heavy road of deep sand for some miles, came up with the fertile hills, which run along this side of the Rhine, at the distance of a few miles from the river, and entered on the beautiful tract of country, called the Bergstrasse, which is said to be the richest and most picturesque in Germany. We passed through Weinheim, and left Heidelburgh on our right. For many miles the road lay along the foot of hills clothed almost to their summits with luxuriant vineyards, and crowned with forests, from the midst of which, here and there, ruined castles were seen to emerge in gloomy grandeur. On the left was a level country, rich in corn-fields and orchards, stretching to the Rhine, and bounded on the line of the horizon, with the extensive forests which skirt the banks of that river.

About five P. M. we arrived at Darmstadt, the capital and residence of the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt, whose dominions we entered immediately on leaving Baden.

Darmstadt is a small but elegant city. It appears to be in its infancy, and has very much the air of a fashionable watering place in England. The houses too are all of stone, and in a beautiful style of architecture. The high street leads from the chateau through the centre of the city, and is terminated by a fine avenue of trees in a park, to which it opens. The chateau is a spacious and elegant building. We had not time to view the interior.

Leaving Darmstadt, we passed over extensive plains of corn, skirted by distant woods, and through several villages, that seemed the abodes of peace and comfort, and within a mile or two of Frankfort, rose through the midst of a forest of stately trees to the brow of a hill, whence the busy scenes of the city, and the beauties of the surrounding country, dimly met the eye amid the gloom of the twilight.

Frankfort is at present restored to its pristine state of independence. Buonaparte gave to its citizens a Grand Duke; but they have got rid of him, and are now a free city, governed by a Burgomaster of their own choosing, and in possession of the liberties their ancestors enjoyed.

Frankfort is a large, irregularly built town, seated on the Mein, extremely populous and busy—the population is about fifty thousand souls. It is, perhaps, the chief commercial city on the continent, and merchants from all parts of Europe and Asia send agents to transact business at its annual fair. The cathedral is only interesting from its antiquity, its monuments, and the circumstance that the Emperors of Germany used to be crowned in it. Otherwise it has no attractions. It is mean as a building, very dirty, and much neglected in the interior—while externally, it is surrounded by shops and shambles, by which it is completely hidden and disgraced. Many of the houses are spacious, and have the appearance of the abodes of wealthy merchants.—There are great multitudes of Jews in this city.* I had the good fortune in my rambles to find out the Rag-fair of the place.

A very interesting ceremony took place in Frankfort on the evening of our arrival. The first cart laden with the produce of the present harvest, and adorned with garlands, entered the city, preceded by the children of the different schools singing hymns. On its arrival before the principal Lutheran church, the minister came out and delivered an appropriate discourse, calculated to excite the gratitude of the people to Him who had crowned the year with his goodness. They seem to have suffered more severely from the failure of the last harvest, on the continent, than we did in England.

At Frankfort is the Bibliothèque du Conseil au Roemer, a library which contains 120,000 vols. and a great number of MSS. and early printed books. There are also many private collections of books, pictures, antiques, coins, insects, &c. well worth the attention of the curious, but which we had not time to see. A Bible Society was instituted there last year.

Not far from Frankfort we crossed the boundary line of that free state, which includes a few villages round the city, and entered the territories of the Grand Duke of Nassau. The first place we passed was Hochheim—where the famous wine well known by the name of *hock*, is made. The vines grow upon an eminence near the Mein, which flows by the village. From thence the country was flat and insipid, till a long and gentle ascent brought us to the brow of a hill, and gave us a grand view of the venerable towers of Mayence, with the windings of the Rhine and the Mein. The latter river empties its waters into the Rhine before the walls of Mayence.

We passed through the garrison of Cassel, opposite to Mayence, and had the honour to be received by the military with presented arms and the beating of drums. An honour you will say quite out of my way. You are right—I ought not to have said *we*—the honour was intended for another in whose society I have the honour to travel.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXVI.

Cologne.

My dear ———

We embarked yesterday morning on board a boat, or packet, which is here called a *coche d'eau*, and sailed, or rather floated down the Rhine to this place. The river runs at the rate of six miles an hour. But before I leave Mayence I must say something about that ancient, and, on many accounts interesting city.

Mayence was formerly the first electorate of the German empire. It was also an archbishopric, and the archbishop and the elector were the same person. It was the privilege of the electors of Mayence to crown the emperors. It is now a bishopric simply, and the capital of Mont-Tonnerre. It was a Roman station, and the first town was built by Drusus Germanicus (*Mogontiacum*). One of the archbishops was Boniface, our countryman.—His monument is in the cathedral.

The cathedral, called "*Le Dôme*," is a most venerable pile, and is remarkably rich in ancient monuments; amongst others it contains the tomb of Fastrada, wife of Charlemagne. Its architecture is plain.

We were much interested with the man who showed us the cathedral. He was a Tyrolese, and had borne a commission in the army of France. He told us that he was not always poor, but he had lost his all in the revolution. He said he was at the taking of Corsica. The family of Buonaparte, including young Napoleon, then a boy, fell into his hands, and was carried by him into France. He told us that he had saved the life of the two sons of the Duke of Condé, and twice he had saved the life of the Bishop of Mayence, who was deposed at the period of the revolution, but he was now restored by the pope to his ecclesiastical functions and dignity. The old man spoke of him with the greatest feeling—almost with tears.

The collegiate church of St. Stephen is a very ancient edifice. It stands upon an elevated site. We ascended to the top of its tower, and enjoyed a fine view of the city, the opposite fort of Cassel, the Rhine, the Mein, and the surrounding country.

It was in this city that the art of printing with metal types was invented in the fifteenth century. The house in which the first press was established was not long since standing in the street of the Cordonniers. At present, however, it is entirely destroyed. We stood upon its ruins, and took a relic from its foundation. The French, with their characteristic levity of disposition, began to build a theatre upon the spot. A few pillars in part erected are standing, the monuments of their indifference and folly. Our guide at the cathedral expressed his opinion of the French in rather strong terms: he said the Germans at Mayence hated the French as they hate the devil! How much that is, however, I do not pretend to say.

There are some interesting Roman antiquities in this place. We saw one which is on the ramparts. It is a solitary tower, the remains of a fortification built by Drusus. There are also the ruins of a Roman aqueduct in the neighbourhood, which we saw from the top of St. Stephen's.

There is in Mayence a gallery of paintings, and a library of ninety thousand volumes. In the library are preserved some relics taken from the house in which printing was invented, and illustrative of the earliest efforts of that art.

The voyage usually made by travellers down the Rhine, commences at Mayence and terminates at Cologne. Coblence is exactly half way. About four miles from Mayence, at Biberic, on the right bank of the river, is the noble palace of the Grand Duke of Nassau. It is close on the water's edge, and has a delightful garden. Not long after leaving the chateau, the Grand Duke passed us in his state barge. About twenty miles from Mayence, at Bingen, on the left bank of the river, the Nahe empties itself into the Rhine, and forms, in that direction, the boundary of the newly-acquired Prussian territories. Thence all on the left as far as Cologne, is Prussia. From Bingen the scenery of the Rhine is extremely grand and romantic. The river, broad and rapid, winds round the bases of abrupt and lofty mountains. At every turn you seem to be enclosed by the hills on the bosom of a fresh lake, and each, as it rapidly succeeds the other, has its own peculiar features of majesty and beauty. Towns and cities, venerable for their antiquity, and peaceful villages and hamlets, skirt its banks. Almost every town you pass has its ruined castle, frowning on a proud eminence above it—embosomed in delicious woods, or seated on the rugged brow of some projecting rock. Desolated abbeys and cathedrals, the remains of the purest age of gothic architecture, are profusely scattered over the varied scene—and it requires, amid such interesting relics, no great effort of the imagination, to conceive the stream as you pass along, haunted by the heroes and the ecclesiastics of former times.

We dined yesterday at Caub, a village on the right bank of the river. While we were at dinner, a poor half-starved dog came in to take what chance or compassion might throw in his way. Our pity soon became his advocate, and a plate plentifully supplied with bones and bread was the result of its pleading in his behalf. The door of the room was open, and in the course of the meal, turning that way, I observed a poor meagre, ragged boy looking wistfully at the bones which the dog was rapidly devouring. I never saw the intense anxiety of hunger so depicted in a human countenance before—or met with such an illustration of the feelings of the prodigal, who would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat. The look was eloquent—who could resist its power. I beckoned him into the room, and put into his eager hand a lump of bread and a mutton chop. He was leaving the room, when an old man, who witnessed our bounty to the lad, rushed in. At his appearance I put out my arm to repel his solicitation, crying out, we shall have all the town to dine if we go on at this rate. The poor old man immediately turned away—he made no complaint he uttered no exclamation—but I could see the pangs of hunger in his countenance, and the tear started in his eye. This was more than I could bear—and touched to the very heart, I tasted an exquisite luxury in seeing this poor wretch depart with the smile of gratitude upon his lips.

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* There are about ten thousand Jews in Frankfort. Their residence was formerly restricted to a particular part of the town, which was enclosed within walls, so that they could at any time be imprisoned in their own dwellings by locking the gates. So thickly were they then crowded together, that in seven houses which happened to be burnt down, there were found to have dwelt twelve hundred individuals. The established religion is Lutheran; but toleration has been very slow in its progress in Frankfort. Not more than twenty-five years ago, the Calvinists were obliged to go to a village on the opposite side of the Mein to enjoy public worship in tranquillity. They have now two handsome places of worship within the city.

We disembarked at Coblence about seven in the evening. Coblence is at present under the Prussian government. It formerly belonged to Trêves, and was annexed by Bonaparte to France. The government of Prussia is entirely military, which does not exactly suit the taste of the people. Every man, whatever be his rank, is obliged to serve one year in the army. It is an important place, and the king is strengthening its fortifications. On the opposite rock, which rises almost perpendicularly from the Rhine to the height of eight hundred feet, is the celebrated fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. The view from it is considered the finest on the banks of the Rhine. The connexion with that side of the river is by a flying bridge.

The population of Coblence is about ten thousand. It has no buildings or institutions particularly worthy of attention, and no manufactory, but one of Japan ware. From the failure of the last harvest, the sufferings of the people here were very great. The landlord of our inn, (the black eagle,) a most intelligent and obliging man, and who spoke English remarkably well—mentioned a district in the mountains, where the people lived during the whole winter upon nothing but frozen potatoes; and of these they had but a scanty pittance, as the greater part of the crop was never got, being buried in the snow. The poor were relieved by the bounty of the rich. The Prussian General Gneisenau, whom he called *Blucher's head*, from the circumstance that he laid the plans which Blucher executed, was then commanding in Coblence, and he told us, to the honour of the general, that at that time he had a service of plate just arrived from Paris, which he immediately consecrated to the relief of the distressed.* Labour is very cheap, a franc and a half per day, is the ordinary wages.

The people here are Catholic. Education is general. The schools are obliged to educate the children of the poor. gratis; so that there are very few who cannot read and write.

We embarked again upon the Rhine, at Coblence, this morning at seven o'clock, and landed here about half past six this evening. We took our provisions with us on board the boat, in consequence of which we experienced no delay. The Rhine was by no means so interesting to-day as yesterday. The scenery is less bold and romantic, and, at Bon, two-thirds of the distance from Coblence, we lost the hills altogether, and the country became flat, and not a little insipid after the grand features we had left behind. From Coblence, the reaches of the river became longer and more expanded—the islands more numerous, and the hills on either side more fertile and luxuriant. Before reaching Bon, we passed the seven mountains, and particularly marked the ruins of the castle of Drachenfels, that crown the nearest and most abrupt of the seven, which rises almost perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of about fifteen hundred feet. This rock is almost entirely bare and very rugged—the rest are beautifully adorned with wood, and some of them are considerably higher. There are many curious and interesting traditions amongst the people in the neighbourhood, respecting these ruined castles of the Rhine. Some of them are related in the guide which we have with us, and none are more interesting than that of Drachenfels.

The view of Cologne from the Rhine is very imposing from its numerous spires and public edifices. In its bay you have the first sight of any thing like shipping and commerce. It also has a flying bridge like Coblence. It is a place of great antiquity, and is the *oppidum ubiorum* of the Romans. In more modern times it was one of the first cities in Germany, but it is now under the government of Prussia, and is fallen much into decay. Though it stands upon eight times as much ground as Coblence, it has but four times its number of inhabitants—there are eight thousand eight hundred houses. There are at present manufactories of ribands, lace, and stockings.

The antiquities of Cologne are many and interesting. The cathedral, called the Dôme, is in an unfinished state, but as far as it is built, it is a most sublime structure—and if it should ever be completed, according to the original plan, it will unquestionably be one of the noblest edifices in Europe; and perhaps the largest and most stately of its cathedrals. It is in truth, as our guide calls it—*Un des plus beaux morceaux de l'ancienne architecture Allemande.* Its foundations were laid in 1248, by Archbishop Conrad, of Hochstaden. The nave is supported by a quadruple collonnade of one hundred columns. These columns are immense, yet their appearance is light and elegant. The chancel is complete and used for worship. It is fitted up in the richest style, and hung with tapestry. Its altar is most splendid, and it has a great profusion of painted glass in its windows. The roof is immensely high, and suggests to the beholder what, when completed, must be the elevation of the towers to bear any proportion to such a roof. The towers were to have been five hundred feet high. One, however, is not more than twenty-one from the ground, and the other not half the intended elevation. The monuments in the choir are innumerable and most magnificent.

There is a library connected with the cathedral, and a chamber, called the *chambre d'or*, which contains many sacred utensils and sacerdotal garments of immense value, which were saved from the ruin of the revolution, and restored to the church in 1804.

The church of St. Mary, or Capitole, is not less remarkable than the Dôme. It was in the chapitre of this church that the unfortunate Maria de Medicis, wife of Henry IV. and mother of Louis XIII. ended her days in misery, after having been banished from France by the intrigues of Richelieu.

In the church of the Minorites, is the tomb of the celebrated Duns Scotus: the monks possess his MSS. to the amount of fourteen volumes folio.

Indeed, there would be no end to putting down the churches that are and have been in this city. At one period there were no less than two hundred and twelve.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXVII.

Aix la Chapelle.

My dear ——

Before leaving Cologne, we repaired to the church of St. Pierre, to see the celebrated painting of the martyrdom of St. Peter, over the altar. It is esteemed one of the finest works of Rubens, and was painted by that great master, as a present to his parish church; for in this parish he was born, and in this church he was baptized. It is a sublime effort of the pencil. I am no connoisseur; but I must confess that I never experienced such emotions at the sight of a picture before. The writhing of the body in agony; the distention of every muscle; the anguish of the countenance; the nerve of the executioner, who is about to nail the last limb (the left arm) to the cross; are all so forcibly depicted, that the illusion is too much for a spectator of sensibility, and you soon begin to feel as though it were the reality upon which you gaze. This picture was taken by Bonaparte to swell the treasures of the Louvre. It has been restored to its place about fourteen months. On the back of the frame, which turns upon a pivot, another canvass is stretched, upon which a copy is painted, that usually appears at the altar-piece, and many persons seeing this, go away with the impression that they have beheld the original. The original, however, is carefully concealed from injury by folding doors, and is only unlocked and turned to the spectator when expressly desired.

In viewing this picture I was astonished at one circumstance, namely, the composure with which the young man who exhibited it brought us up to the high altar, and removed the sacred articles from it, that he might turn round the picture, although divine service was performing, and a priest officiating at an inferior altar close at his elbow. And all this for heretics, too! But it was for money—the oil which consecrates and hallows every thing!

From the church we went to look at the house in which Rubens was born. There are no paintings of the artist in it, nor are there any of his descendants in the city. There are some paintings of Le Brun in the house, which are said to be very fine.

From thence we again repaired to the cathedral, to view the paintings in a better light than the preceding evening afforded. There is one enclosed in folding doors richly gilt, very ancient, and certainly finely executed for its age. It is a representation of St. Ursula and her nuns, the Virgin and her Child, &c. and the Society de Mori. The painter was Phillipe Kolf, in 1411.

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* I rejoice to add that the king of Prussia has since rewarded the benevolent general, by a present of another service of plate, more valuable than that which he so generously devoted.

But the most wonderful exhibition this church contains is that of the mausoleum of the wise men, whom they call three in number and kings in dignity, who came to pay their homage at the feet of the infant Jesus. Their bones were presented, according to our guide, by Frederic I. of the house of Hohenstaufen, to the Archbishop of Cologne, by whose care they were adorned with crowns and various ornaments, studded with gems, cameos, and divers precious stones, and deposited in a chest of massive silver, gilt. The sanctity of these relics, however, did not protect the shrine from sacrilege at the time of the French revolution, at which period it lost much of its value. But by the zeal and piety of the good people at Cologne, it is restored to the appearance, at least, of its former splendour; and if some of the jewels are glass, and some of its cameos modern devices, it looks nearly as well and is quite as useful as before. But the most remarkable, and, to a reflecting mind, the most affecting circumstance connected with these relics is, the adoration that is paid them. There are actually litanies composed in Latin respecting them, abounding in prayers addressed expressly to them; and amongst others, a petition, which, if the intercessions of these saints had much avail, would ever have withheld from *us* the privilege of approaching their shrine, for it asks them to "keep all pertinacious heretics from that province." These litanies are sold near the cathedral, and warranted to have touched the holy relics, and whosoever recites them devoutly in the church, is promised three hundred and nine days of indulgence. Recited out of the church they have far less virtue, for such an act of devotion entitles to no more than two hundred and three. There are also engravings of the kings which have touched the sacred bones, and one of these I certainly should have purchased, for they cure *head-aches*, and perform sundry other desirable services.

From thence we went to the church of the Minorites, and saw the tomb of the famous *Duns Scotus;* it is nothing but a mass of stone, without any inscription or date. It is behind the high altar. Here, too, they showed us, carefully preserved in a glass case, the remains of an infant, which they said was one of the children whom Herod killed in the hope of destroying Christ. The skeleton seems to be entire. It is covered with a sort of cloth, almost consumed by age, and studded with stones.

On leaving Cologne we travelled through a flat and sandy country, to this place, forty-five miles, where we did not arrive till ten o'clock at night. The best hotel in the place was full, and we were obliged to put up at one of a very inferior quality.

This morning we have visited the cathedral. The centre is octagonal, surrounded by an aisle, whose pillars support a corresponding gallery above. This church is interesting from the circumstance that it was built, all but the choir, by Charlemagne, and possesses the remains of that monarch. His body was embalmed immediately after his decease, and entombed sitting upright in a stone chair. It was discovered, about three hundred years afterwards, by Frederic Barbarossa, who caused the body to be interred in a vault in the centre of this church, and the chair, together with the steps which led down into the monarch's tomb, to be placed in the gallery above. In that chair, from the period of its removal to the time of Charles V., the Emperors of Germany were crowned. On these occasions the railing of the gallery was removed, and a flight of steps prepared from the area below to the imperial chair. Of course we did ourselves the honour of sitting in so illustrious a seat.

The ornamental parts of the church are comparatively of modern date. They were very splendid, but the major part were removed or destroyed at the time of Robespierre, particularly the thirty-nine pillars which surrounded the dome. The bronze railing was destined for the same fate, and was actually packed up in order to be removed to Paris, but it never went, and has since been replaced. The lead on the roof, however, was melted down for balls and shot for the revolutionary armies. We were shown, in a small chapel in the gallery, a fine painting by Rubens; the subject is, the taking down from the cross. They had another, but it was destroyed in the time of the general ruin. The chair of Charlemagne was formerly covered with gold. At the revolution, anticipating that it would soon become a prey to the destroyers, they had the wisdom to strip it off and conceal it, and the disappointment occasioned by this circumstance, induced the soldiers to pour their heaviest vengeance on the edifice. The tomb of Charlemagne is nothing more than a plain stone let into the floor, with the name, "Carolo Magno," in letters of brass.

All this was interesting, but the cream of the antiquities yet remained. We were conducted to the vestry, or robing place of the priests, where a young man, whose province it is to expose these wonders to the gaze of the credulous, threw open the curiously painted doors of an immense recess, when in an instant we were dazzled with a profusion of gold and precious stones, wrought into various forms, to contain or emblazon the precious and sacred relics hereafter to be enumerated. First, then, a sort of tomb, worked after the gothic, in silver, gilt, and containing the garments of Charlemagne: then, another of similar metal and workmanship, containing the garments of the Virgin Mary. These tombs were extremely splendid, and the workmanship was most exquisite: then followed a bone of Charlemagne's arm, incased in an immense arm and hand, of silver, gilt: a piece of the real cross, enclosed in a silver cross, which was always worn by Charlemagne. They informed us that he brought the piece of the cross himself from Jerusalem, and gave it to this church. The hunting horn of Charlemagne, and the sceptre of that monarch, solid silver, an immense length, but the exact length of his arm.

By all this our curiosity and credulity were pretty much exercised; but we were struck perfectly dumb when we saw all these glories of antiquity utterly eclipsed by their successors. We were shown—1. The girdle of Jesus Christ, brought by Charlemagne from Jerusalem, and with that monarch's seal annexed to it. 2. The girdle of the Virgin Mary, derived from the same quarter. 3. A bone of the Virgin Mary's father. 4. A bit of the cord with which Jesus Christ was bound when he was scourged. 5. A prickle from the crown of thorns. 6. A bit of the sponge with which they supplied the vinegar. 7. A bit of one of the nails by which he was fastened to the cross. And 8thly and lastly, some of the sweat which fell from him in the garden of Gethsemane. To this may be added, a link of the chain with which Peter was chained at Rome; a bit of the bone of Simeon's arm, with which he embraced the infant Jesus; a rib of St. Stephen, and a tooth of St. Thomas!!!

All these things we saw, and all these wonders were gravely exhibited and propounded to us, for our edification and pious astonishment, by a worthy priest, who, with many more, was robing in the room for high mass, but who occasionally stepped aside to explain and narrate the story of these unparalleled wonders.

To be sure, this beat every thing; and after this I am prepared to believe whatever shall be related of the gross, the degrading, the besotting superstition of this deluded people. Yet, there was a Frenchman, a gentlemanly looking man, with an order of knighthood on his coat, who drank it all in with avidity, and seemed to relish and digest the whole. For my part, I thought of the sailor, who, after his messmates had told some wonderful stories of what had been found in the bellies of whales and sharks, and such monsters, determined to outstrip them all, said, he had once been present at the catching of a fish, out of whose belly, when opened, there came a ship, with all its masts and rigging, and the whole of the crew!

The scene in the room was scarcely less curious than these wonders themselves. There were at least half a dozen priests at one time either robing or praying. I observed that the priest kissed every garment before he put it on. Nor did those who were praying seem at all interrupted by the robing of their colleagues, or the bustle of the exhibition of the relics; but every now and then they stopped in their devotions to salute the comers and goers as they passed, and then proceeded again without any serious interruption to the process. High mass was performing, with a full choir, the assistance of the organ, &c., and four priests at the altar, when we left the church.

I was much struck with the manner of a poor countryman, who came in with his blue frock and hob-nail shoes, and his rosary. He did not seem to know what to do; first he bowed, then he kneeled, then he stood, then he crossed himself, and after wriggling and shuffling about for a while, he turned away from the altar and went out, evidently dissatisfied with himself. Poor man—this is a hard service; if we had him in our adult school we would tell him of a milder master and teach him a better way.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXVIII.

Brussels.

My Dear ——

I have heard much of the vice of the continent, but never had such demonstrations of it as at Liege, where we spent last Sunday; and I am sorry to say that Brussels is but little better. You will not, of course, expect that I should descend to particulars upon such a subject. Suffice it to say, that the vice which in other cities seeks the covert of the night, meets you here at noon-day, and is presented under circumstances of solicitation most oppressive and disgusting. Paris is purity itself, at least in its external demeanour, compared with these cities of the Netherlands.

Liege is a large, ancient, and irregularly built town. It is very pleasantly situated in a valley, watered by the Meuse, over which it has a venerable bridge of stone. Many of the houses are well built, and the neighbourhood is extremely populous. It is famous for its manufactories of cotton, and there is a great appearance of business in the place.

It being Sunday, we witnessed the celebration of mass at the cathedral, which is rather a neat than a magnificent gothic edifice. Two regiments of soldiers, one of horse and one of foot, filled the body of the church. They were remarkably fine looking men, and their dress was extremely neat; their band was in the organ-loft, and played during the greater part of the service. The whole ceremony appeared like any thing but religion and the worship of God. For, in the first place, not a single word that was said by the priest at the altar was heard by the people. In the second place, if they had heard, they would not have understood a syllable, it being all in Latin. In the third place, the people seemed to be perfectly unconcerned in what was going on, and the officers walked up and down in conversation with each other, as though they were on a parade, rather than in a church, except, indeed, when the little bell at the altar tinkled, to warn them that the sacramental cup was about to be elevated, and then, at the beat of the drum, all fell upon their knees, and ——must I record it to their disgrace—officers and men, with a very few exceptions, burst into laughter. Thus insulting the God of heaven, in what they call his temple, and with the most solemn service of their religion before their eyes.

In the afternoon I went again, and heard the vespers, and witnessed the solemnity of the repose of the host. The vespers were chanted by a full choir—and if the pealing organ—the melting tones of the human voice—the perfume of incense—and the magnificence and variety of sacred persons, with their utensils and their vestments can create devotion, they must be a very devout people. But—why should I write any more—I am heartily sick of such mummery and trumpery.

Returning to our hotel in the evening, we observed, in a back street in the outskirts of the town, an altar prepared, with a large crucifix, adorned with flowers and surrounded with candles, and the street decorated with sundry other blasphemous emblems—mottos and sacred finery—as if preparing for some grand ceremony. We inquired the occasion, and were informed that there was to be a *fête* in honour of Jesus Christ, and it was to begin at nine o'clock. We went: the whole of that part of the street was lighted up—the sides of the houses were covered with candles—the altar was a blaze of light, and chandeliers were suspended from lines over the middle of the street. In a room of a house on the opposite side of the street, was the orchestra, and there, by and by, the chanting in honour of Jesus Christ began. The audience consisted chiefly of ladies, with a description of whose quality I shall not defile my paper. We soon had enough of it. All hats were off, and a cry was raised for the removal of ours, but we happily escaped just in time to save our heads from the rough salutations which would probably have followed from our non-compliance with the general custom.

We saw a curious paper stuck up on the doors of some of the churches. I did not observe it myself till it was too dark distinctly to read the whole. Sir S——, however, assured me that he read it with great attention, and he could pledge his word that it was to the following effect.

There is a fast in the Romish church, called "The fast of forty hours," in imitation, I imagine, of the forty days' fasting of our Lord in the wilderness, in which Jesus Christ, in their language, remains forty hours upon the altar; when all good Christians are to repair to the said altar, to praise and adore him.

The paper referred to this fast, which either had been recently observed in Liege, or else was nigh at hand. It was headed "PRAISE AND ADORE JESUS CHRIST," and began by setting forth the great piety of the city of Liege in former times, insomuch that it was styled, "the eldest born of the church of Rome," and obtained many special privileges and indulgences from divers Popes. It then proceeded to state, that in those days of primitive piety, when Jesus Christ was thus exhibited on the altar, the crowds that repaired to pay their homage at his feet, were such, that many were squeezed to death by the pressure; but now Jesus Christ remained on the altar, *and no one came* to adore him. It then went on to state that some pious persons, moved with grief that Jesus Christ should be left thus alone, had conceived the idea of *paying* people to come and adore him—and the paper in question was, to entreat the alms of the faithful, for the defraying of this expense—urging it, as an inducement to liberality, that these devout persons, who were thus hired for the solemnity, should pray for those who piously contributed to the fund.

When I add to the above, that I saw a shop where they sell *eau de vie*, in other words, a *gin-shop*, with the sign of "THE NAME OF JESUS," written over the door, you will be able to form some idea of the piety of the city of Liege. Soldiers laughing at the sacrament—priests hiring people to adore the Saviour—and gin-shops dedicated to the name of Christ!

In perfect uniformity with this, the shops were on the Sunday all open—the streets were full of people, and business was going on as on any other day. In the opposite room in our hotel they were at cards all the afternoon, and there was a grand concert in the evening.

The country from Liege is rich, and in some parts beautiful. The appearance of the road—the character and costume of the people, especially the men—the number of carts and wagons—and the life and animation that every where surrounded us, indicated that we were in a manufacturing country. I was struck with the resemblance which it bore to many parts of Lancashire.

We passed through Louvain, the ancient capital of the united provinces of the Low Countries. It appears to be a venerable and interesting city. We observed the Hotel de Ville, which is certainly the richest specimen of architecture we have met with in the course of our tour.

Approaching Brussels, we had on our right a view of Lacken, the beautiful country palace of the king of the Netherlands. It stands upon a rising ground, surrounded by a wood, except in the front, where a noble vista opens, the width of the edifice, and affords a charming view of the adjacent country.

The morning after our arrival in Brussels, Lieut. H—— and myself started in a cabriolet for Waterloo. On leaving Brussels we turned to the right, and soon entered the forest of Soignies, through which we continued to travel till we reached the village of Waterloo. The vistas are extremely fine, and if there were no other attractions to Waterloo, this circumstance would render it a ride well worthy the occupation of a leisure morning. We reached Mount St. Jean, which is about a mile and a half from Waterloo, (and at which place the battle was fought,) about ten. We breakfasted at a little auberg at the end of the village, and having obtained the famous Jean-Baptiste La Coste, who was Bonaparte's guide on the memorable occasion of the battle, as our Cicerone, we proceeded to view the ground.

The high road through Waterloo to Charleroi passes directly across the centre of the scene of action. The first object that arrested our attention was a solitary tree, on a little elevation, and on a rising bank close on the right hand side of the road. This is called Wellington tree, from the circumstance that it was the station occupied by Lord Wellington—if he can be said to have had any station at all, for he was perpetually riding about, to animate his men, and during the whole of the day performed the service of a colonel to the respective regiments that needed the inspiration of his presence. But it was the rallying point for his staff, and there he was frequently himself. Just behind that tree, a cart path over the farm crosses the road. It has a bank of about three feet in height on each side of it, and here our troops hid themselves from the fury of the enemy's fire, by lying down upon the ground till they were wanted. One officer, who was in this lane, was greatly alarmed and extremely restless. His comrades cried out to him, that if he was afraid, the best thing he could do would be to lie still—but he would lift up his head to see what was going on, and that instant a cannon-ball carried it off. To the left of the road, a little beyond Wellington tree, are two other trees, he first about forty or fifty yards from the road, and the second about the same distance from the first. By the first, Gen. Picton fell, and by the second, Lord Uxbridge lost his leg—and still further to the left, in the valley, Colonel Ponsonby was killed. Far to the left, in that direction, is the wood from which the Prussians sallied at four, under Bulow, and at seven, under Blucher, when Lord Wellington perceiving their approach, made his final charge, and in ten minutes, as our guide expressed himself, the French were all in flight. Not many yards beyond Wellington tree, on the bank, close by the road side, Colonel Gordon, his aid-de-camp, received his mortal wound. A noble monument of black marble is now erecting on the spot, to perpetuate the memory of the event, by his sister and five brothers. From this monument you look down upon the farm-house of *La Haye Sainte*. It stands close to the right side of the road. There the Hanoverians of the German legion fought, till all their ammunition was exhausted, and then, to the amount of four hundred, they were put to the bayonet by the French. This seems to have been the only circumstance of omission with which Lord Wellington charged himself after the engagement. "We ought," said he, "to have made a hole in the wall at the back of the house, and have supplied them by that method with ammunition—but I could not think of every thing." The house and the barn face each other—the yard is between them, and they are connected at their gable ends by high walls—within this enclosure were the Hanoverians. Every where in the walls, and roofs, and timbers of the house and barn, are marks of the cannon and musketry, and on the walls of the barn are still to be seen the stains of the blood that was spilt, when, their ammunition being exhausted, the poor fellows were unable any longer to resist, and the French forcing their way into the enclosure, mowed them down like corn. We inquired for the old woman who remained uninjured in the cellar of the house during the whole of the action, but were told she was not there, as the family who then had the farm had since removed. At the top of the hill, about a quarter of a mile from the farm-house of *La Haye Sainte*, on the left hand side of the road, is the pot-house, called *La Belle Alliance*, and about half way between the farm-house and the Belle Alliance, where the high banks on either side the road defended him from the enemy's cannon, which passed over his head, was the principal station of Bonaparte during the greater part of the action, and where the guide said he remained five hours at one time. We halted, like exhausted heroes, for we were weary with wading in the mud, and drenched with rain, at the Belle Alliance. I took a glass of eau de vie, while we warmed ourselves by the fire which blazed on the hearth, in the miserable kitchen. The woman of the house told us she was there at the time of the battle, but that she fled to the woods during the heat of the action, and on her return, she found the house filled with the wounded. It was near this place that Wellington and Blucher met after the battle.

La Coste said that Bonaparte spoke but little during the battle—and when the fate of the day was determined against him, he simply cried, "It is all over," and fled. He was as pale as death. La Coste was with him till four in the morning, when he was dismissed.

What most of all struck me, and must I think strike every body, is the narrow compass of ground in which two such large armies were engaged, and so terrible a slaughter took place. It was not, as La Coste observed, a battle, it was a *massacre*—and the Duke of Wellington is understood to consider it as by no means so just an exhibition of his skill in military tactics as many of his former engagements.

The field of Waterloo is now rich in waving corn, ripening for the sickle of the husbandman. What a scene must it have been when death was the reaper, and gathered in his thousands of sheaves to the garner of the grave! And what a scene will it be again, when the trump of the archangel shall awake the sleepers that repose beneath its clods, and the mighty armies, that day annihilated, shall start up to life upon the plain on which they fell! I never heard a sermon so impressive as the silence that reigned around me on the field of Waterloo. I could not but connect their everlasting destinies, with the thousands of the dead upon whose dust I trod. The eternity that seemed to open there upon my view, peopled with the spirits of the slain, was an awful scene. The bitterness of dying on the field of battle—the widow's cries—the orphan's tears—the agonies of surviving friendship—were all forgotten; I only saw the immortal soul hurried unprepared, and, perhaps, blaspheming, into the presence of its God! I shuddered at the contemplation, and felt how deadly a scourge, how bitter a curse, is war!

I shall not weary you with a description of this city, now as well known to Englishmen as any fashionable watering place on our own coast. The number of English residents here is very considerable; but I find that the great advance in the price of provisions has determined many to leave, and some are already returned to their own country. There is not much splendour in the court, and there is more of elegance than magnificence in the royal and public edifices at Brussels. Sir S——— was presented, and is to dine with the king. His majesty works hard for the benefit of his people, and if a sincere desire to promote the interests of his subjects entitle him to popularity, he ought to be popular. But he is a Dutchman, and the Belgians do not like the Dutch, while the Dutch do not like his residing amongst the Belgians.

I was honoured with a kind note from the Duke of Kent, who is at present in Brussels, and enjoyed half an hour's conversation with his royal highness. The name of this prince I have long venerated, associated as it is with a liberal and enlightened mind, and connected with every noble and benevolent institution.

Brussels is, upon the whole, a fine city. We are in the best part of it, the *Place Royale*. You have soon seen every thing in it, however, and then it becomes insipid. For my part, I am quite tired of it already, and long for the hour when I shall set my face in earnest towards England. I wish to be again employed in the delightful, though arduous duties of my office, and look with blissful anticipation to those calm and happy hours, when in a domestic circle, which I now feel dearer to me than ever, I shall traverse again and again in narration, the lands I have visited, and the scenes I have explored. Till then, adieu.

Your's, &c.

LETTER XXIX.

Ramsgate.

My dear ———

I have just landed at this place, and though nearly three hundred miles from Liverpool, I already feel at home. I rejoice to be once more in a land where I am not a foreigner—where there is no need of a passport, nor further dread of custom-house officers—and where the mind is relieved from the painful consciousness of being ever under the observance of a watchful police—in the midst of a people, who, a few months ago, were our mortal enemies, and who may, for aught I can tell, become so again. From the constant exhibition of a passport, and the observance of all those precautionary arrangements, to which in a foreign land one is obliged to conform, I have felt all along like a prisoner at large; and am of opinion that an Englishman ought to travel abroad, and submit to be examined, and have his name, and country, and profession, and destination, &c., all recorded for the inspection of the police at every town he passes, fully to appreciate and enjoy the freedom of his native land.

I left our party at Brussels on Thursday evening, and came by the diligence to Ghent, and from thence by the barge to Bruges and Ostend. Having an hour to spare at Ghent, I repaired to the cathedral. It is a spacious and venerable structure, simply majestic in the style of its architecture, and with little decoration but its paintings, which are esteemed remarkably fine. The pulpit is supported by a mass of exquisite marble sculpture, representing a man starting as from a dream at the call of the gospel, which is personified by a dignified figure, with a bible open on his bosom, at those words, to which he is significantly pointing, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." The guide at the cathedral was a very civil, intelligent, and complaisant sort of fellow. He paid a compliment to my French, according to custom, at the expense of truth—and reminded me of a waiter in Paris, who said, in answer to a question put to him by an Englishman, "You speak excellent French, sir, but, pardon me, I cannot understand you."

At Ostend I had the happiness to meet with Admiral F—— and Mr. C——, with whom I joined in the hire of a boat to carry us immediately to England. We have had rather a rough and tedious passage. We sailed from Ostend yesterday morning at four, and did not arrive here till one o'clock to-day. We had a very unpleasant altercation with the custom-house officers at Ostend, owing to our having gone on board the packet at midnight, a circumstance which they construed into a clandestine departure, but to which we were led altogether by the suggestions of the captain. For my part, I must confess, I did not much like the idea of leaving the country under such an imputation. We were obliged, however, quietly to submit to the re-examination of our trunk, and were not a little pleased when these troublesome visiters took their final leave. But all these little inconveniences of the tour are now forgotten, in gratitude to the kind providence which has protected me, and in the pleasure which the review of it does, and will long afford. I do not regret that I have seen a little of other countries, for I have thereby learned to prize more highly the privileges of my own.

I have, indeed, witnessed much to interest and please me, both in the works of God and man. But I have also seen some things to grieve and to disgust me—and nothing that has tended in the least to weaken my attachment to my native land. I trust that I am not so censurably absorbed in the love of my own country, that I can allow no excellence to any other. But, certainly, I have seen no people more happy—no towns and cities more prosperous, than those of England. And if I have passed, in some places, edifices more magnificent, and bolder scenery than any she can boast, yet no where have I beheld such neatness and comfort as, in many of her districts, distinguish the dwellings of the peasantry, nor such noble institutions for the instruction of the ignorant and the relief of the distressed. But it is in her religious advantages, chiefly, that Britain surpasses every other land. It is by her sublime and hallowed associations for the diffusion of knowledge, and the promulgation of the Gospel through a benighted world, that she is most of all dignified and adorned. This it is that has made her the wonder and admiration of the globe. Long may she continue to advance in this glorious cause, unappalled by the gigantic forms of misery and vice, that meet her in her benevolent career, and heedless of the scoffs of infidelity that pursue her, as she passes on. Amid the repose which mankind once more enjoy, let it be hers to cultivate the arts of peace. Let it be hers to proclaim in this joyous jubilee of the world, the acceptable year of the Lord. Let her pour the balm of the Gospel into the wounds of bleeding nations. Let her plant the tree of life in every soil, that suffering kingdoms may repose beneath its shade, and feel the virtue of its healing leaves, till all the kindreds of the human family shall be bound together in one common bond of amity and love, and the warrior shall be a character unknown but in the page of history.

Your's, &c.

THE

CHURCH OF GOD,

IN

A SERIES OF DISSERTATIONS.

BY

THE REV. ROBERT WILSON EVANS,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

DISSERTATION I.

ON THE OBJECTS OF REVELATION, AND ON THE SPIRIT IN WHICH IT SHOULD BE RECEIVED.

But the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned.—1 Cor. ii. 14.

THE natural man here mentioned by the apostle, is a title which will apply to two classes of mankind. It may designate either those who, left entirely to their own faculties and notions, derive no knowledge whatever of God from Revelation; or those who, living under the blessings of a Revelation, think and act just as if it had never reached their ears—who, reckless and unconscious of the light which it had afforded, even to themselves in despite of themselves, attribute such knowledge as they have of heavenly things to mere force of human reason, and set down the revealed mysteries of God as the discoveries of inquiring man. With the former character, it is our supreme blessing not to be immediately concerned: in the latter, our interest is close and painful. It encounters us continually both from without and from within. It is not confined to the immoral and thoughtless professor of the Gospel, but attaches itself more or less to all who have not perfected their faith; to all who, not having as yet completely ascertained, by study of the Word, by inquiry into their own hearts and understandings, and by a comparison of the results in each case, the whole sum of what they have owed to God's special instructions, and, insufficiently humbled, persist in claiming for their own self-acquired knowledge, one iota of his blessed Revelation. Who must not plead guilty here, if he but diligently discuss his past and present frame of mind? For the more we think, the more we find ourselves beholden to it, and the less therefore to have been hitherto our sense of its exceeding value. Alas! we are too apt to forget the Giver in the enjoyment of our bodily blessings; but still less lively is our sense of his extraordinary intervention displayed in the possession of our spiritual; if thanksgiving be too often neglected after earthly food, still more frequently is it omitted after heavenly. We need not go far for the reason of this perverseness. The former class of blessings contains the supplies to the primary wants of our animal nature; their renewal is continually sought by its appetites, they are necessary to its very existence; hence they obtain the earnest attention of our mind, ever rousing it and keeping it alive by their palpable obviousness and continual repetition. But the character of the latter class is just the reverse of all this. The daily bread which they supply is not necessary either to the existence or enjoyment of the body; it is spiritually taken, and, therefore, the want of it can be discerned by such only as have become conscious of their spiritual nature, and accordingly grown desirous of satisfying its cravings. It is not, therefore, until our spiritual man hath at least gained one victory over our natural, hath entered the house and bound the strong man who had us in possession, that the occupation of our attention can be vindicated, and our minds left free to the solicitation of the nobler blessings. Then, indeed, searching the resources of our own minds within, appreciating their supplies from without, we arrive at the vital distinction between what we know of God and things appertaining to God, by mere force of our natural unassisted powers, and what by means of his extraordinary illumination. Then we daily grow more acute in the discernment of this difference; until, in the end, with a strength of conviction which the wise of this world may call bigotry, and with a depth of humiliation which they may term abjectness, we clearly perceive, and frankly acknowledge, ascribing glory and thanks unto God the Father, through Jesus Christ his Son, our Saviour, that from our own selves we know nothing of heavenly things, but that from him, and by the mercy of his special intervention with our fallen nature, we derive every and the least particle of our knowledge of him as he really is.

But how many, professing the name of Christ, have fought and won this glorious victory? How many have even ever bethought themselves of the necessity of the struggle? Alas! the natural man, in the second sense of the word, is but too common a character in the visible church of God. Indolently succumbing to his animal nature, he passively acquiesces in the results of his education and experience: a series of notions on high and awful subjects have become familiar to him, and both pride and ignorance conspire to lead him to regard all familiar truths as the property of his own mind. These, according as he is content to take his place amid the crowd, or is ambitious of the character of a philosopher, he throws into the common mass of first principles and incontestible axioms, or places among the sure deductions of human reason: hence much unconscious practical infidelity, and hence, alas! some avowed apostacy. To nature is ascribed what nature could never give, and to God are refused acknowledgments for what God could alone bestow. On the very threshhold, then, of addressing to any Christian body an investigation into the nature and properties of the church of God, we find it necessary to ascertain the point at which its extraordinary supply of knowledge, meeting the deficiencies of our nature, comes in aid of our ordinary information. The discovery of this will disclose at once the special blessedness and high privileges of which we are too apt to be unconscious. Thus we shall see the utter destitution of the natural man, and the unbounded wealth of the spiritual man. Thus we shall learn duly to value the waters of our unearthly Jordan, and, with the fastidious daintiness of the Persian king, to drink of one river only,—spiritual kings from a spiritual river. Thus we shall duly appreciate the milk and honey of our holy land; and, contrasting its glorious abundance with the scanty springs, the bitter wells, and the palling food of the wilderness, in which our natural man was so long wandering, tempting and grieving God, we shall joyfully advance with his pillar of light in our front, explore still further, still more carefully, and finally find therein our everlasting habitation.

The necessary objects, therefore, of a Revelation from God, or, in other words, the fundamental principles of his church upon earth, require our present discussion. And for this we have most ample materials provided. Not only have we the result at which our minds, well explored and carefully abstracted from the associations of revealed truth, can arrive, (how does the very difficulty of the abstraction display the abundance of God's mercy!) but we have at the same time the results which the most gifted minds of former days obtained, in such a search—minds, these, unfettered by the associations which ours find it so painful to throw off. The ancient philosophers were men placed in very different (and, for the mere present purpose, in very advantageous) circumstances from ourselves. They had been violently driven by the superstitions, with which religion had been overlaid, to forego all tradition, in which channel alone, however corrupt, God's Revelation could have reached them, and to yield themselves unreservedly to the deductions of their natural unassisted reason. If, then, having laid down the questions which it must be the prime object of moral and intellectual man to solve, we have reason to conclude, from the examination of our minds, that they could never of themselves have obtained the solution; and if, further, those men failed also, and came grievously short of the end, notwithstanding an enviable possession of all human acquirements which would seem requisite for the end; although they were the lights of their several ages and countries, and, earnestly bent upon the discovery, engaged head and heart in the service; although they were sages, whose acute understandings, refined by severest discipline, and unremittingly employed in pressing on to the furthest limits at which the light of nature was visible, left unexplored no attainable point in things and relations, human and divine;—if this shall be our conclusion, then we shall have determined the objects of a Revelation from God.

Notwithstanding all the discussions upon the supreme good, we may safely pronounce, that the universal desire of mankind is, to be released from the perplexities and apprehensions attendant upon their view of death. In this view are terminated all their hopes and fears. All the sufferings of the body, all the reverses of life, are secondary to this last of sufferings, this last and greatest of changes. The living principle within men is continually whispering, (and making up for argument by perseverance,) that there is something beyond the grave, and the pangs of the dissolving body are as nothing in the scale, weighed with the anxiety and doubt attendant upon the thoughts of what may await us beyond. To trample, therefore, under foot the insatiable grave, to take the sting out of its terrors, is his grand moral endeavour. To ensure this triumph, he puts on all his intellectual armour, and gives the keenest edge to the sword of his understanding. Now this, his prime object, steadily followed up, will involve him in the following questions:

First, Finding himself, in common with all around him, subject to a perpetual, invisible, invincible controul, he has here discovered the arbiter of life and death; the properties, therefore, of this influential being, and the various relations existing between these, and such as belong to man, are to be sought out.

Secondly, These being found, must be the means, if there be any, of determining the question of death, whether we be concerned in any state beyond it, or not.

Thirdly, Supposing the belief in a future state to be the result of this inquiry, then follows the anxious question, whether this state have a retrospective view to our conduct in this life, and shall be happy or miserable, according as we have been good or wicked.

And, Fourthly, If such a future state be credible, then may there not be a hope afforded to imperfect man, that, as in the case of retribution in this life, repentance may procure remission of punishment.

Such is the series of questions, the solution of which touches the highest interests of man. In other words, they are, the attributes of God, the life and judgment to come, the forgiveness of sins. These, therefore, if they shall appear incapable of proof upon any ground of human reason, will be the grand objects of a Revelation from God. The Deist no doubt will smile to see placed to this account, truths which he reckons so obvious to reason. How obvious they are, let him judge, when he has entirely stripped himself of all the prejudices of an education in a Christian country: how obvious they have been, let him consider, when he turns over the pages of the most subtle reasoners of antiquity. We will now briefly examine them, in order.

On the subject of the attributes of God, it is necessary to attend to a distinction, which has been too seldom kept in sight. They form two separate classes, according as we consider God to be the physical creator and maintainer of the universe, or to be its moral governor. These bring us into very different degrees of intimacy with him; and the discovery of the one class is very far indeed from introducing us to the knowledge of the other. The confusion of them has led to much undue stress being laid upon natural theology, (the real value of which, however, I would be the last to decry,) and lies, indeed, at the bottom of all infidelity.

Let us, then, in the first place, suppose that, by comparing the appearances and operations of the sensible world with the effects of his own powers and faculties, the natural man, ascending to a first cause, has established to his entire conviction the certainty of the existence of a sole, almighty, all-wise, all-good, everlasting being, the maker of every thing in heaven and earth. To this, as the arbiter of his fate, as the creator and maintainer of his life, as the author of all its blessings. he will reasonably offer praise, adoration, and thanksgiving (Rom. i. 21). Now, had man continued in his innocence, this knowledge had plainly been quite sufficient: all of which he knew was good: evil was unknown to him. His blessed state therefore required not the notion of God's attributes as a moral governor, who in him had as yet no sin to pity, to pardon, to rebuke, or to punish. But very different, alas! is the case with fallen man. He knows evil; he is surrounded by it on every side, in every shape of sin, and death. What comfort shall he derive now from the contemplation of this being? The more he contemplates him, the further he finds himself removed from him. If he look up to heaven, there he sees world beyond world intervening between; if he look down upon earth, there he finds beneath him world below world (even until it be contained in a drop of water) interposing, and blocking up his way in this direction. He finds himself shrunk up into a point amid infinity. How shall he have intercourse with a being which thus recedes as he advances, and whom he finds, at the end of the furthest possible pursuit of his intellect, more remote than ever? How shall he assure himself of the sympathy of such a being; how shall he refer his practice to this obscure and distant abstraction, this occupant of his head and not of his heart; what chords of relation shall be drawn to connect the weakness, the folly, the unholiness of man, with the perfect power. wisdom, and goodness of this being? Alas! the loss of innocence! how utterly did it sever the links of communication between God and man. Fallen man finds a lamentable change in himself, which requires a corresponding change in this unchangeable being, in order to maintain any connexion with him. Looking up from his dungeon of bodily and mental anguish, perplexity, and despair, he desires the interference of some superior being, who may so far resemble himself as to pity him, to pardon him, to do him right. He longs to discover a moral governor of the universe. to whom he may appeal for support amid such intolerable evils. And now how shall he proceed? Shall he invest this being with attributes derived from perfect human government? So say his feelings: but what says his reason? Will an abiding and rational conviction (and without this there can be no faith, no religion) give testimony to this yearning? Will reason allow him to invest with the attributes of man this being, which continually recedes further from him at every approach which he essays? She rudely repelled him on the very steps of the entrance into the sanctuary. She coldly asked him how to this sole perfect being he could ascribe qualities which owe their existence (as far as he knows) to the mutual dealings of imperfect beings? How shall he ascribe to him mercy, of which man could never have formed the notion, much less exercised the quality, had he not been an offender? how imagine the combination of perfect justice and perfect mercy, (for in a perfect being both these must be perfect.) when the more perfect we conceive each to be, the more irreconcilable do they appear? How attribute to pure mind qualities which our experience denies to exist apart from body? If man, either not consulting, or not following reason when consulted, gave vent to his feelings, and invested this being with moral attributes, the consequences were such as always result from withdrawing the latter from the regulations of the former. Human vices soon come upon the list of attributes, and at last quite thrust out the virtues. God became, in human notions, a powerful, but evil and capricious, being; and thus in the end "he changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things—they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever." If, however, the man of reason started from this dream of absurdity into which he had been betrayed, and turned aside to the investigation of the divine nature, he met with no better success. He inquired, was this being pure mind, or compounded of mind and body? The first supposition was to him inconceivable, and, as to any practical purpose, unavailing. He had recourse therefore to the latter, and thus God, after all, was an animal! The most rational of such as adopted this monstrous supposition, conceived the universe to be the body through which the divine mind was diffused. This Pantheism, by deifying parts of the whole, brought the philosopher back to his old prison-house, the polytheism of the vulgar, and thus he also, "thinking himself wise, became a fool, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like corruptible man." Thus the attributes of God, as moral governor of the universe, being undiscoverable by human reason, are known to man by Revelation alone.

But, in the next place, these being unknown, it is quite impossible that he can proceed to the knowledge of the life and judgment to come. Nor were these points ever seriously entertained by the ancient philosophers; such as gratified their natural longing after immortality by specious conjectures, unable to admit the separate existence of mind, (however separate in nature from the body,) considered the human mind as a portion of the divine pervading mind, and held, that to this, after the dissolution of the enclosure of the flesh, it became re-united. On this ground they readily built the doctrines of pre-existence and transmigration; but the preservation of the same individual consciousness after death, a point so necessary to a state of future retribution, was any thing but a necessary consequence of this hypothesis.

The natural man's ignorance of God's moral attributes, is at once fatal to the reasoning of certain deists, who, having recourse to the consideration of the unequal distribution of good and evil in this life, assert it to be imperative upon God's justice to correct this in another life, and thus imagine that reason has proved the doctrine. Were we even to grant them the knowledge of those attributes as founded in reason, they would even then be unable to prove their point; for they must prove that the above inequality is real, and not apparent, which is contrary to the known fact, that no wise and good man would at any moment exchange his condition, bodily and mental, with another. They must show us that the good and evil implied in this argument are intrinsically good and evil, since some sages have denied them to be such, and others allowed them to be but trivially such; and they must show why this corrective life must needs be immortal, instead of the same length with the original life.

It is true, that a belief in a future state has pervaded all ages and all countries. But this fact, to which, after all his attempts at demonstration, the philosopher was compelled to appeal, needs only show that it has been revealed at a period before mankind was divided into nations and distant lands: and indeed, it seems a moral impossibility, that a doctrine touching our welfare so vitally, presenting the ultimate object of all hope and fear, applicable to an event daily suggested to the mind from sights without and feelings within; which so continually receives apparent confirmation from the spectral illusions of our imagination; which reconciles us at once to the seemingly unequal distribution of the good and evil of this life, and thus particularly interests the poor and the afflicted, who always form the great mass of mankind,—it seems impossible that such a doctrine, once established by Revelation, should ever, in any very material degree, be forgotten. We have thus produced the second object of Revelation.

On the third head we might have spared all discussion, since it is a question of one of God's moral attributes, and therefore undemonstrable by reason. We should, therefore, have here dismissed it, had it not been not only the principal attribute in which we are concerned, but also the most remote from our apprehension; had it not been the most familiar to us in Revelation, and therefore been deemed by the heedless the most obvious to our faculties; had it not been taken for granted, as a matter of course, by those who deny the grounds on which Revelation places it,—that is, on the satisfaction of Christ; had it not been the main link, or rather the only one which connects God and man.

Derived, as our sense of this attribute is, from human dealings, we must suppose it to be called forth in God by the same cause as in the most perfect man,—that is, by repentance on the part of the offender. But what, excepting a familiarity, through eighteen hundred years, with the joyful proclamation of their mutual relation, could have led men to think that the connexion between the two was necessary and demonstrable, and to mistake for cause and effect what God's good pleasure alone, and this upon specified grounds, has made constant concomitants? The demonstration attempted by the gainsayers of Revelation, proceeds through a long array of postulates, which can never be granted by reason. They assume, that an infinitely holy being like God, must (and not may) have a kind consideration for so unholy a being as offending man: that his love must needs remain after its only conceivable object, man's innocence, shall have been obliterated: that love enlarged to infinity must thereby take in objects unworthy of it, while justice enlarged to infinity must not include objects which are deserving of its animadversions; that God's justice, assumed here to admit of satisfaction from men, can receive in compensation from the offender any thing which is not God's already: that a principle which has its very foundation in the liability of offending and offended man, to change their relative places, and in the assurance which the penitent gives of future security to the offended, must be applicable to the relations existing between two parties, one of which is infinitely holy and infinitely powerful: that the amendment of the life future must influence the character of the life past: that the doing our duty through a part of life, must be equivalent to doing it through the whole: that the means of making reparation must always continue, though the objects of our offence are daily vanishing from this fleeting world, and our condition is never the same: that, lastly, analogy,—in such cases as the present, of peculiar moment,—is in favour of their argument, while it is, on the contrary, directly opposed to it. For when we look on the face of the world, do we not continually observe, that no tears of repentance, however sincere; no pangs of sorrow and contrition, however sharp, can avert or even arrest the penalties which men have incurred in the body? we see disease incurable, poverty irremediable, disgrace irreparable. To all this we may add, that were a principle, important as this, so obvious to human reason, we ought surely to meet with it in the writings of the ancient moralists. No where, however, does it appear. In this, then, we have the third object of Revelation.

But there remains another point still, and as yet unadverted to, because it is only after having had these three secured and certified to us that we discover the necessity of a Revelation of God upon it. Our very riches open our eyes to our poverty, just as our learning does to our ignorance. This point is the assurance of God's grace to help our infirmities. We remarked how man shrank into a point on the contemplation of the intellectual and physical attributes (so to call them) of God. What, then, shall he appear, upon the contemplation of his moral attributes, to which he is now introduced? In the former case, we confess our utter insignificance; we are humbled at the nothingness of our most boasted power and intelligence; we cry out, "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou regardest him?" But in the latter case, we are brought down to a strain of humiliation far lower than this; we have to confess utter unworthiness, to acknowledge the want of holiness and goodness; we cry out, "God be merciful to me a sinner." There our understanding was humbled, and we sank in the scale of intelligent beings; but here our heart is arraigned, and we sink in the scale of good beings. From this despair God's forgiveness raises us. But will this satisfy us now? God, in the revelation of his moral attributes, hath opened our eyes to the dazzling riches of moral excellence; he has awakened our hearts to aspirations after its attainment. And has he admitted us to this view only to gaze and despair? Hath he given us light and life, and yet condemned us to the scale, in the spiritual world, of the periwinkle on the rock, helpless and motionless? No! Here, for the fourth time, hath God intervened with his gifts of glorious mercy. He hath bidden us be holy as he is holy; he hath commanded us to be conformed to his own image, as expressed in his blessed and only begotten Son. And for this he has promised us the help of his grace; he hath revealed to us its exceeding riches and unsearchable means.

Such are the objects of a Revelation from God. In making, however, this statement, we readily allow, if we have not implied, that there are certain grand truths in harmony with our nature, which alone can satisfy its insatiable craving, and they are signified generally by our faculties and feelings in our various guesses, desires, and aspirations. But what they are particularly, God, and not man, must show, since they require for their certainty not only a strict inquiry into our own minds, but also a free revelation of God's. When, therefore, by God's goodness and mercy they are discovered to us, we joyfully hail and accept them, on his authority; we eagerly grasp them as the thing so much wanted, and now at length found; as changing into a definite and stable hope, an indefinite and uneasy longing. Then we find that all our previous mental wants, and guesses at the objects which should satisfy those wants, have been but false notes, struck here and there around the true. This master-note we were unable, after long-repeated endeavours, to hit of ourselves. But as struck for us by our Heavenly Teacher, our ear instantly recognizes the desired sound, and the harmony, so long sought in vain, has become complete. Now all is peace and content ineffable. For all the horrid and distracting confusion of means without objects, and of objects without means; all the sense-bewildering storms of unaccountably opposed good and evil; all the tempests of pain and sorrow, and roar of the grave, have been rebuked into order, and calmed, at the voice of our almighty, all-wise, all-merciful Master.

Oh! Members of the Church of God! consider the abyss of darkness from which the announcement of a few propositions hath delivered us. Think of our bliss in having for a guide the certainty of Revelation, and not the disputable questions of philosophy. Even the heathen may teach us something here: for if he felt so thankful for the doubtful glimmer of this latter; if he could perceive a warmth imparted from it amid most heart-chilling troubles, public and private, so as to call it the consoling light of life, how ought we to hail the full blaze of brightness which the former has poured around our paths. Can we think seriously enough, feel deeply enough, be diligent enough, be thankful enough? Let us but call to mind those moments when we have assuaged some nighly overwhelming pang of sorrow, by the balm of the hope of the everlasting bliss hereafter; confronted some peril or terror in joyful resignation into the hands of a just and merciful Father in heaven; relieved a burdened conscience by confession to a forgiving God: then let us ponder and consider what had been the agony, not of the moment, but of days and years, yea, even of a whole life, had we never known those stays and comforts which Revelation has supplied, had this life of sorrow been all, had God's love never been declared, had guilt been inexpiable? When we talk, amid our sorrows and wrongs, of a just and kind Father in heaven, and of a better world to come, let us remember how and from whom we have learned these things; call to mind from whom and for how long they were hidden; consider where are our merits for which we have been thus preferred, the meanest of us in virtue and talent, to the brightest examples of both in ancient days. Can we, dare we, remain indifferent to so great salvation? Be assured that in the moment that we lose the consciousness of God's unsearchable mercy to us here, we are spiritually dead, even as our body is dead when it ceases to be conscious of the light, and the heat, and various fostering influences of the outward world. Our neglect has no excuse; our responsibility here goes far beyond that which we incur on any other point. Are men deemed excusable, are they not daily condemned by us, who neglect their natural faculties, although, from intimate and habitual possession, and from the power of improving them which we feel that we possess, we are too much accustomed to think them our own property, with which we may do as we please? At all events, we do not ascribe them to any special interference of God. Can we then, without condemnation, slight the possession of knowledge and power of understanding which God, by clear and special intervention, hath superadded to these faculties, in order to give them point and direction, and contribute to our eternal well-being? and this, too, when the voice of history has declared, our daily experience has shown, and His holy word has earnestly warned us, that, without this direction, they will be so employed as to be a stumbling-block instead of a guide, and darkness instead of light? Men do not, in their sober senses, turn away from the wholesome fruits of the earth and all its bounteous repast, and attempt to nourish their bodies with poisonous herbs, or wood, or stone. And as little claim shall we have to the possession of right reason, if we spurn the thoughts which God hath specially set down as its natural food for our mind's healthy entertainment, and seek to batten upon the vanity of mere human learning, and worldly elements. But beyond all predecessors in the church of God, the Christian is inexcusable, if he forget or neglect the blessings of Revelation; for the unveiling of mysteries, hidden from the beginning of the world, has been reserved for him; on this youngest and most favoured child the Father hath poured out all the treasures of spiritual knowledge, emptied them to their inmost cells. He hath not only promised, but performed; not only told, but exhibited. Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, being the visible image of Him whom no eye can see, hath expressed and declared him. Jesus hath wept, hath healed, hath blessed, hath forgiven, hath raised from the dead, as being God—hath risen from the dead, as being man. Thus, by a clear exhibition to our senses, by a direct appeal to our heart, and not by mere information to our understanding, we have been assured of the grand points of Revelation, and had their bearings and importance exemplified before our eyes.

Two mistakes are committed in the treatment of Revelation. Some go in curious investigations beyond it, and endeavour to fill up chasms; as, for instance, that intervening between God's foreknowledge and men's freewill, which Revelation having left, no additional aid from reason can ever fill up; every load of argument which it throws in sinks down into an unfathomable abyss; every structure which it attempts to throw across, only projects sufficiently to show the man, who uses its frail stage, the horrible depths below, while he still looks in vain for the other shore. But the number of such persons is inconsiderable, compared with that of such as come short of Revelation, and never was this short-coming so grievously prevalent as in the present times. Through the abundance of information poured around, men's minds are, as it were, in a tropical clime, where labour seems equally needless and burdensome. The vain presumption of knowledge prevent men from discerning their ignorance, puffing them up with a pride which will not stoop to be informed, and unnerving them with an indolence which will not strive to learn. Hence, in common with all the rest of their information, their religious belief (if such can be called a bundle of opinions about which the owner is indifferent) is no longer, as in better days, a clear stream pouring from one head, and proceeding to one point. It is a muddy stagnant pool, passively receiving any chance-coming feeder, which the abundance of the rains may cause to flow for an hour or two, turbid with particles of earth. Here, therefore, it has inevitably received a portion of natural knowledge; there, unconsciously, and from mere chance of proximity, a part of revealed knowledge. And these are promiscuously taken in with utter recklessness of inquiry into the real deficiency of the one, and the real plenitude of the other; or into the foulness of the one and the purity of the other. To such persons, all opinions on religion are indifferent, and an opinion at all upon religion, whatever it may be, passes with them for religion. Meanwhile the deep and fundamental doctrines of the gospel, its unbending and peculiar articles, are treated as dogmas of the schools, not as objects of belief to society; as debateable grounds for the theologian, not a base of principles to the layman. Laxity of opinion, in any case, is a wretched imbecility; in religious matters it is not only this, but also a moral delinquency. In contrast to such conduct, let us be careful to seek out and accept the whole of Revelation, to drink the whole of the cup of salvation which God hath so bounteously put into our hands, nor to rest satisfied with the taste on the lips of that which he designs to pervade the whole body with life and heat. Half of truth is inevitably accompanied with a corresponding half of error, so that the whole shall be pernicious. We can yield no obedience to God's will, repose no faith in his promise, arrive at no correct understanding of his word, if we suffer either indolence, or pride, or any corrupt affection, or worldly occupation, to stop us midway in our course. We must go, if we would be safe, to the full extent of all the knowledge which God hath thought fit to communicate. How else can we discern its real importance? Will the sight of a few bricks give us any idea of the house? How, without feeling, within ourselves, and of ourselves, its importance, can we give it its due and lofty supremacy over all the other notions and affections of our minds, making it a master amid servants there, and thus employing it in its high and proper office of a ruling principle, in which the whole body of our thoughts and feelings shall find a head, and all grow up unto the fulness of the image of God?

A common excuse which men provide for their laxity of opinion, and utter indifference in forming it, is the variety of creeds adopted in the Christian world. This fact is greedily caught up by all the superficial, by all the indifferent, by every gainsayer of the faith. The Bible, it seems, is an unsorted heap of dogmas, a vast magazine of the conflicting opinions of innumerable sects; its spirit is the spirit of free-thinking. I would that these persons would in the first place inquire, and distinguish between creeds, which are the ephemeral mud-nurtured spawn of our own luxurious and sunny times,—which have enervated the mind and made it at once ignorant and rebellious, indolent and unsteady; and creeds which have grown up amid blood and persecution, when able and learned men were compelled to concentrate all their intellectual powers, and give up all their hearts and minds to that word in whose truth alone they could find rest or happiness. How beautifully harmonious in all essentials are these latter; what an unity of spirit do they breathe under such manifold varieties of men, of customs, of countries, of circumstances. I would that in the next place they would seek and distinguish essentials from accidentals. The former must ever be the same, the latter will depend upon times and circumstances. These, rated at their highest, can be nothing more than the limbs of the outward body, which may be absent without any loss of life, without the least detriment to mental and spiritual vigour, though not to comeliness and usefulness. But those, like the parts of the inward body, the lungs, the heart, and the rest of the vitals, are such, that if one be absent or imperfect, the whole body must perish. The sign of the cross may be retained or rejected; but the divinity of Christ cannot be asserted or denied. And woe to him who quotes variety of opinion on the former question, to excuse his indifference to the latter.

On a wise and ingenuous mind, the sight of such varieties, so far from producing the effect of indifference, will rather impress an earnest desire to seek for himself, and search into the whole truth. Therefore, my brethren, let no indolence dissuade us from this; let no worldly business or pleasure distract us from this. Let us begin it with a pure, earnest, and humble heart, so that no caprice or predisposing affection shall direct us exclusively to one point,—so that no perverse vanity shall prompt us to lay undue stress on any part, which shall thus overthrow the just balance of the whole,—so that no love of singularity and paradox shall allure us to exhibit the whole under new and unnatural combinations of parts; nor all of these, the besetting infirmities of our day, conspire to satisfy us that we have learned enough, whensoever it shall be our pleasure to leave off. Under a deep and due sense of the awful responsibility to which a Revelation from God, and, above all, that through Christ, subjects us, looking to him and not unto man, let us begin and proceed in our work, reading, marking, learning, and inwardly digesting. Nor let us flatter ourselves, as we discuss each point, that the opinion to which we shall come will not be momentous. A wrong opinion taken up, where God had put in our power a clue to a right, is no infirmity, but a sin, a grievous sin, involving many sins,—as perverseness, unthankfulness, recklessness, want of sincerity, contempt of God's gifts, indifference to his honour and glory. However, therefore, when we come from our chamber to the society of men, we may view with charity, yea, even with affection, the entertainers of erroneous doctrine, yet with the doctrine itself we must make no compromise, nor, like the false prophets of old, cry out, "peace, peace," where there can be no peace. A Christian's charity will lead him to think and hope the best of his neighbour, and, above all, he will fear to judge, lest he be judged. But his love of truth, his allegiance to his Saviour, his fear of God, will not allow him for a moment to conceive, that he himself, under all his own peculiar means and opportunities, would not be in a most perilous state, were he to maintain the same opinions, or even to give them the least indulgence, when produced before him. This last is that spurious misnamed charity, and real uncharitableness, which goes to destroy two souls at once,—both of him in error who might have been convinced, and of himself who bears with that error which he might have convicted.

We are God's work, God's property, to the very inmost chambers of our mind. Him, therefore, must we serve, his will must we seek and obey; nor can we act according to his will in the body, without first thinking according to his will in the mind. God is not a man that he should punish the deed alone. We shall think the cognizance of all-seeing God is imperfect as that of purblind man, and shall resemble those weak knaves who reckon indifferent all which the law does not enforce, if we shall imagine that our opinions, however sincerely held, are indifferent before God. To him we must account for the manner in which they have been formed. Man punishes with his law as far as his cognizance can reach. Shall not then the supreme Lawgiver and Governor punish to the extent of his cognizance also—that is, to the very bottom of the heart, to the inmost recesses of our understanding? What! shall He whose eye is over all be limited, like man, to the view of the outward shape in which a thought is expressed? shall he but stand outside the door to gather the overheard and doubtful signs of the iniquity going on within, having no authority to enter; or shall he not enter at once, with the scourge of vengeance in his hand? Two grand errors are continually besetting us on this point of following diligently up to its full extent a Revelation from God. One is an overweening opinion of the supremacy of our will over our understanding; the other is an under-rating of the responsibility of our understanding. The former arises from distinguishing the understanding in contrast from the heart; and because this implicitly obeys the impressions from without, while that, at the same time, is independent of them, men are led to conceive that their will, which is thus controuled in the one, has its full sway in the other. A grievous and fatal mistake this; for seldom is it the intellectual will which leads us to the choice of subjects for the understanding; and even this, however independent we may think it, may be enslaved in consequence of an improper choice. For a wrong opinion, once adopted by the understanding, may ever after, by influencing his feelings, and administering to his passions, hold the person captive, so that he shall not command even a wish to be free. Thus the understanding may be blinded, no less than the heart may be hardened; and the one requires for its health, to be fed with right reason, no less than the other, for its soundness, with right affection. Therefore, let us beware how we disqualify ourselves for accepting in purity and fulness the Revelation of God, by tampering with this momentous faculty, by darkening the sight of the mind, by losing all use and exercise of such an instrument. Shall we be excused for incapacity of knowing God's will, when we have wilfully brought that incapacity upon ourselves? Then will the poltroon, who has purposely maimed his best limb, be excused his inefficiency for service. Gradual and most insidious are the advances of that corruption of the understanding which blinds it to the knowledge of God. The offences and ailments of the body immediately strike and disgust the sense, and may thus raise a timely alarm; but those of the understanding unveil themselves but after a long accumulation of disease, and even then the present condition of mind and body, as being at hand, too often bears the blame of the thought, word, or deed. The understanding, from its seeming remoteness from the scene of action, obtains an alibi. And hence it is continually allowed to sin, because it is deemed incapable of sinning.

The latter error is not less momentous. Most awfully responsible are we for the use and abuse of every faculty of mind, whose integrity may promote, or whose perversion may obstruct, our reception of so inestimable a blessing as a Revelation from God. All mankind with one voice concur in condemning the man who is heedless of natural religion, as a monster, as a wild beast, whom human society cannot away with. What ought they, if consistent, to think of him who slights revealed religion? If the apostle has solemnly declared that men were inexcusable in neglecting to derive a knowledge of the Godhead, or in drawing wrong deductions upon the same, from his visible works, are they not much more inexcusable, who, from want of attention, or from corrupt passions, or from both, either neglect or recklessly form false notions of his written word, of his expressed will, which is not unseen, and to be gathered by a train of reasoning from things seen, but lies open and visible before their eyes? Will he bear with those for a moment, who content themselves with vague and inadequate notions of his nature and relations to man, when he has not, as of old, darkly hinted them through the ordinary operations of Providence, but peculiarly interfered to blazen them forth by a series of stupendous signs and wonders. He has not abandoned us to cold deductions of reason; he has actually infused distinct and abiding principles into our understandings, yea, and warm and holy affections into our hearts. He has given us the whole spiritual man, and the whole spiritual man he claims from us; not the maimed, not the sickly, not the deformed, but the entire, the vigorous, the upright, in all its members and proportions; even the new man fashioned after Jesus Christ, whom he hath given us, and not after the world, which he hath bidden us renounce. Assuredly if ever, if any how, if any where, man was without excuse for spiritual ignorance, it is in these latter days, under this prodigality of Revelation, and in this Church of Christ.

The moral blessings of a Revelation have appeared in the course of our argument; but equally great also are the intellectual. In every department of knowledge there is a point of exceeding self-gratulation and delight, as well as of enjoyment of mental power; and that is, when we have arrived through the detail of the several parts to a full comprehension of the whole. It is faintly imagined by the delight of the traveller, who, having long threaded the different roads, explored the various towns and villages, followed the different streams of a country, surveys them afterwards as one great whole, combined into one view, from the commanding summit of a mountain. He then sees the bearings which had before perplexed his ignorance, and in one glance, and in one moment of time, summons before him what he had hitherto gradually and painfully explored in detail. He feels as if he had risen in his rank of being.

But in the corresponding case of spiritual knowledge, we do not only survey a delicious land of promise from a spiritual Pisgah,—we do not only from a lofty mountain, in company with our Lord, see all the kingdoms of the spiritual world, and the glory of them, but we have mounted far above the region of doubt and perplexity; we stand upon a rock, and that rock is Christ,—a position immovable, eternal.

Let us not, therefore, O brethren and partners in the Revelation of Christ Jesus, neglect so great salvation. In refusing it, think ye that we shall have refused once only, which is a sin sufficiently great, or twice only, which is a sin more fearful still? O no! we shall have refused thrice, and what shall save us then, what further means shall renew us to repentance then? For thrice hath God, by his merciful intervention with fallen man, delivered his Revelation upon earth. Once in Paradise, again from Mount Sinai, and lastly from Mount Calvary. Happy the forgetful Heathen, happy the rejecting Jew, compared with the heedless Christian. With fear and trembling, then, at our responsibility; with joy and gratitude for the gift; with faith and hope in his promises, let us accept in heart and mind his blessed word; reckoning the knowledge of this the only wisdom,—the practice of its doctrines the only virtue,—the delight of acquiring the graces thence derived the only joy,—the calm and serenity which it inspires the only peace,—the affections which it moulds and creates the only love,—the reward which it offers the only prize,—the way which it points out the only road to everlasting life. So help us, Almighty God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

DISSERTATION II.

ON THE ORIGIN AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF GOD.

But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly of the church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel.—Heb. xii. 22—24.

THE term "Church," or "Assembly of the Lord," is taken in several meanings, more or less restricted; they are, however, all reducible under one general definition, which is, "an assembly of creatures united in the worship of God, according to his expressed will:" hence from the first moment of the creation of a class of rational beings, to whom God had signified his will, the Church of God commenced; and at the instant before the fall of man, it comprehended the innumerable company of angels in heaven, and our first parents upon earth. All were then true and lively members, all possessed with the same spirit: the will of God, being the will of all his creatures, bound them into one perfect society; flesh was in unity with the spirit, the outward and the inward man were the same, and old and new were terms inapplicable alike to body and to mind. But from that sad hour a woful change began, which broke into fragments all this lovely harmony: the will of man was no longer the will of God; accordingly, he was separated from this spiritual society, cut off from the communion of angels. God, however, by his special intervention, again revealing his will to man, under his altered circumstances, the Church was re-established upon earth. But now, since the will and the profession were but too often distinct, it had also its distinction of visible and invisible; the latter alone being that which maintained any real connexion with the spiritual society of heaven, and being united with it, in proportion as the will of the regenerated man approached to the will of the original innocent man: thus the Church of God, under the peculiar title of militant upon earth, commenced a new career. Alas, the sad distinction implied in this title! She was now set apart from the Church in heaven, and alas, its too pregnant meaning! for she was now to be militant in a long and almost desperate warfare against sin and death, and the banded powers of hell, made insolent and resolute by their newly achieved victory. From the moment of her dethronement from heaven, she has been clad as a penitent in sackcloth; for her crown of glory, she has had the sprinkling of dust and ashes on her shorn head; for robes of peace and righteousness, she has been laden ~~with~~ the armour of battle; for the joyous song of uninterrupted thanksgiving, of the acknowledgment of unbounded bliss from a holy incorrupt heart, she has had a new song put into her mouth, the mournful elegy of confession of sinful unworthiness, of acknowledgment of the justice of God's chastisement, of deprecation of his wrath and vengeance: instead of innocence she has repentance, instead of enjoyment she is presented with hope. Reduced to this sad change of condition, she is now sojourning with all her sons, as in a pilgrimage, in these realms below, wearied and to be wearied continually, almost unto fainting; yea, sometimes brought even unto death's door, awaiting in all patience and hope, that hour when the forfeit of death shall have been paid by all her children at the resurrection of the dead, and the Holy Spirit of God shall once again enter upon undivided, undisputed possession of our minds and bodies, breathing into them perfect innocence and everlasting life; and men and angels, once again joined in close communion, shall glorify their Creator, singing the song of redemption in the blood of the Lamb, evermore, world without end.

In proceeding to consider the Church under this restricted sense, we must revert to the circumstances of the fall. The sum of the sad change wrought in man's moral nature was, that his will was no longer the will of God. He now knew evil, and did evil; discontent with his present condition, uncontroulable appetites, overweening pride and ambition, utter perplexity upon the attributes of God, thenceforward took possession of him. His eyes indeed were opened; he knew more than he did before; but not, alas, of heavenly things, but of the powers of hell, the existence of which God had hitherto kept secret from him: once he knew but of angels, but now of devils also: from the spiritual he at once became a natural man. He was now without God in the world, and, notwithstanding his stiff-necked pride, yet his consciousness of the degradation of sin, his sense of irretrievable loss, his assurance of everlasting death, (into all which we cannot with any sympathy enter, never having tasted the contrast of innocence and immortality,) these would overwhelm his mind with all the agony of fruitless remorse, with all the hard-hearted recklessness of despair. He was an utter castaway from God. Such was his state when he was met by God, with the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. Intending to explain this promise in the next discourse, I shall here take for granted, that it implies an eventual restoration to his former bliss and purity by means of a Saviour, who was to rise from among his own seed. Under this view of it, coupled with the circumstances under which it was given, we shall discover the revelation of all those points which we saw, in the last discourse, were necessary to be revealed to the natural man, before he could have any apprehension of heavenly things.

First of all: he of course retained from his previous state, all his knowledge of God as the Creator and sustainer of the universe.

Secondly: his sentence of death and assurance of restoration unveiled the attributes of God, as moral governor of the universe, affording him the most signal instance of all which the world has ever seen, (except in our blessed Lord,) both of his justice and of his mercy.

Thirdly: the promise of restoration to a being just fallen from a state of immortality, could be nothing else than an assurance of a life to come everlasting, and in the same body, in which he had enjoyed his previous immortality.

Fourthly: the forgiveness of sins is evidently conveyed here.

Fifthly: the assistance of God's grace is clearly implied on comparing the circumstances of the whole transaction.

These communications on the part of God will demand, and call forth, corresponding qualities on the part of man; which will be, repentance, on receiving the inestimable and unexpected forgiveness of God, with resolution of amendment. As remorse is the offspring of despair, so is this quality of Hope and Faith, by which alone he could lay hold of that hope, and heartily accept the promise, and maintain his assurance of its performance.

And since it is by these two qualities that he lays hold of the promise of the bliss to come, he will consider the exhibition of them and their fruits, that is, holiness of life, requisite to its final attainment. But man's relation has been entirely changed by this offer of God, so that if everlasting death was his lot before, it will not be so now: and therefore, inasmuch as his acceptance meets with everlasting happiness, so will his rejection with its co-ordinate, everlasting misery. Thus is deduced a state of future retribution.

Thus the Church of God, commencing at the fall, contains all the fundamental articles, the maintaining of which, distinguishing the spiritual from the natural man, has been required by it, and will be required by it throughout all ages. But this Church was to consist, not of two cotemporary individuals, but of successive companies of men; hence ordinances will be required to regulate the pure transmission of its creed. By means of these, man will renew his memory, and God will repeat his assurances. They are—

First: Prophecy, originating in this promise, and carrying it on through successive ages.

Secondly: Sacrifice, which is indeed prophecy in a bodily shape, being a vivid representation of what was to come. We encounter this rite as soon as we are introduced to the sons of Adam.

Thirdly: the observation of the Sabbath, being the only remnant of the Church of Paradise. This would be a stated season for sacrifice, and thus transmit the original revelation.

Such then are the articles, and such the ordinances common and necessary to the universal Church of all ages, down from Adam until now. But as all flow from the promise of God made to him, and as this promise is renewed from time to time by means of prophecy, expanding ever as the period of fulfilment draws nigh, it is evident that both the creed and the ordinances of the Church will also extend. In this view the duration of the Church is first of all divisible into two great periods, the one comprising the winding up of the fundamental prophecy, the other containing the unravelling of the same: these are termed by the Jewish prophets the former and latter days,—as preceding or succeeding the main point of accomplishment,—and are as distinct as the dark and enlightened hemispheres of our globe. But the former period admits of a sub-division, made by the solemn renewal of the original promise, by the special interference of God in covenant with Abraham and his children, which was finally sealed on Mount Sinai. Hence there are altogether three periods, essentially distinct from each other, in which the Church is respectively denominated the Patriarchal, the Jewish, and the Christian. As the fall of man begins the first, and his restoration opens the third, the second commences with an intermediate state of constraint and tutelage, as of one who had abused the range and liberty which had been allowed him, and required strong discipline before he was again set free to enjoy the full liberty of the Gospel. In the first, man is admitted to the light of spiritual things, but they are faint and distant. In the second, he contemplates them through the medium of gross and sensible representations; in the third, this intervening veil is removed, and he sees them no longer distant, but face to face: to trace the successive development of the creed and constitution of the Church through the several stages, is the object of this investigation. But the present discourse will be confined to considering the Church as a society. The Church of God being an assembly of men united in the worship of God according to his revealed will, unity is the essential property of this Church; and it is evident that this unity must be both spiritual and bodily. We will first examine the spiritual.

The spiritual unity is twofold: a number of beings are considered as one, both in respect to community of nature, and to the common instrument producing such community; in other words, it is both essential and instrumental.

Now all mankind are essentially one by community of nature, derived from their general head and representative, the first man, Adam. But what a representative have we here? how can we, united under such a head, stand up before God for a moment, except for condemnation and death! For this Adam, in whom all mankind find unity, both clean and unclean, believer and unbeliever, must be the fallen ungenerated Adam, the Adam of sin and death; from whom deriving our unholiness, we are all corrupt, all degraded, all condemned, all denied access to God, cast away from the light of his presence, cut off from the comfort of his communion. If, therefore, we have recourse to our common father, it must be the spiritual Adam, the son of pardon and promise, gathered under whom we may approach God as justified and blessed. But neither is this sufficient. Believers are not thus summed up under one head. The Jew, who has inherited from Abraham a covenant so much more bounteous, will scarcely forego so great advantages to range himself by the side of those who are gathered under the more scanty privileges of Adam. The Christian, who has derived from his Saviour spiritual riches which had been hidden from mankind from the foundation of the world, will scarcely divest himself of these to place himself under Abraham as head, and still less under Adam. In this view, therefore, mankind, with respect to their means of appearing before God as one body, that is, as members of his Church, would be separated under three heads. We must go deeper then for our principle of unity. Now, although the person in whom each covenant is made be different in the above cases, the person who is the object of the promise of each covenant is all along the same; in him both Adam and Abraham, with all their children, have one and the same interest; in him, their Redeemer, all stand redeemed, and therefore holy and acceptable before God. Under the shelter of His wing of healing, who will gather us even as a hen gathereth her young chickens, we are all glad to crowd. Our essential unity then consists in all being one, under and in Christ Jesus, who is the second Adam, in whom we are, by regeneration, all one in our spiritual essence unto everlasting life and bliss; even as, by generation, we are all one in our natural essence in the first Adam, unto condemnation and death.

But how are all believers, from the foundation of the world, thus one in Christ Jesus? This will immediately appear from the consideration of the instrumental unity.

Our minds must for this purpose have in common some grand moving principle, which shall direct them all to one end, and fix them all upon one object. It is obvious, that none of the principles of this world will answer the purpose, for, were there no other objection, they all stop short at different stages in different minds. But neither will all the principles of the next world, love of God for instance. But it must be that principle to which all the rest are subordinate, which awakes them all, and gives all their final object. And this is faith in the Redeemer, who is the object of all promise; by this our spirits are all brought into unison: through this we all love, bless, and adore God, with the same love for the same blessing: by this we all join in laying hold of his gracious promises: by this we all become of one mind, and are also of one mind with Christ Jesus, and we are thus joined to our spiritual head as a well compacted body. By faith in Christ Jesus, says the apostle, (Gal. iii. 26.) we are all the children of God; all natural distinctions are done away; master and slave, Jew and Heathen, male and female, are all one in him. By this are united men of the most distant ages and countries; Adam with his latest descendant; the Patriarch who saw Christ in spirit, with the Apostle who saw him in the flesh; the Jew who looked forward to his coming, with the Christian who looks backward upon it; all are brethren of one another, and of him who is not ashamed to call us brethren. And however the view which faith upholds to the eyes of distant generations may vary in growing clearness and extent, still it is essentially the same, directed on to the same object, awakening the same hopes, and infusing the same holy principles.

But, on account of the variety just mentioned, which will affect its mode of expression, and its intermediate objects, we must be careful to distinguish between the fundamental articles of faith which unite men of all periods, and those which unite men of any particular period only. The narrow extent of belief required in one stage of the Church, would be infidelity in a later stage, to which revelation had come down cleared and amplified. Thus, while the faith is essentially the same, the notions of the character of the Redeemer, and the objects conveyed to the mind by the vehicles of prophecy and sacrifice, will differ both in clearness and number. The Redeemer may be expected to arise at some undetermined period from amidst the great body of mankind, and with faint notions of his attributes, as by the Patriarch: or may be looked for from the line of David, within a specified period, and with no obscure prospect of the manner in which he was to fulfil his high office, as by the spiritual Jew: or may be beheld as already come, with a clear and complete knowledge of his character and office, as by the Christian. Again; prophecy may limit the view to one grand spiritual object in prospect, as it did to the Patriarch: or take in a vast field of preparatory and collateral events, as in the case of the Jew: or have been accomplished in the grand end expected by them, and run on still further into the regions of time, with a long train of events, directed on to the consummation of all things, as it does to the Christian. Sacrifice may be offered by each person, at any place, as by the Patriarch: or may be limited to persons, place, and time, as with the Jew: and, as in both cases, may dimly pre-figure, though in the latter case by numerous and pointed types, what was to come: or, its types having been realized, it may give way to a rite commemorative of its realization, as with the Christian. The one great day in seven may be consecrated to the memory of the creation, as by the Patriarch: or may in addition commemorate a signal temporal deliverance, and rest from labour, as with the Jew: or may be set apart, changed to another day, for the celebration of the resurrection of our Lord, whereby was wrought a spiritual creation, a spiritual deliverance, a spiritual rest from labour, as with the Christian. In all these cases the main object of faith is the same. Yet did the Christian embrace no more objects in his belief than the Jew, nor the Jew than the Patriarch, they would each be guilty of apostacy. But the faith which unites men of one particular period must evidently be the same; must have the same clearness, the same number of objects, in short the same articles, the quantity of revelation being precisely the same; hence, while unity of faith cements the Church of all ages, unity of doctrine cements the Churches of the same age. And this unity is wrought by the word of God, which, being originally given by the Holy Spirit, is also maintained in all purity by the same, in the heart of the earnest hearer, whom the same Spirit hath brought to entertain it. Thus this blessed agent effects in the moral world an operation similar to that which he performed in the natural, brooding on the surface of the abyss of wild and stormy human passions, over the darkness of wayward imaginations, compelling by his energy into order and form the chaotic elements. He thus helpeth our infirmities, and, supplying quickness where the faculties are dull, candour where the mind is perverse, patience where it is hasty, humility where it is vain, docility where it is headstrong, purity where it is foul; removing thus the grand wall of partition between man and the truth, filling his heart with the spirit of Christ, he brings all men to be of one mind in Jesus Christ, so that all may be built up together into an habitation of God through the Spirit.

Being, therefore, one in Christ, and obtaining that union through faith in Christ, the true members of his Church form the company of the saints in light, are all redeemed, all sanctified, all glorified. In him they have a representative who can not only stand before the Father who dwelleth in unapproachable light, but is also one with him; thus have they sure access to God; and to him as its head, its king, its bridegroom, its shepherd, the Church as his body, his kingdom, his spouse, his flock, points all her operations. In him, preordained for the salvation of man before the foundations of the world, all that has been established in her since the world began, and will be established to the end of time, finds unity of purpose. Her prayers, her prophecies, her sacrifices, her oblations and thanksgivings, are all pointed towards him: her consolations and her censures are in his name; her tribulations are endured for his sake; her joys and triumphs are in his victory; and, finally, his are all her members, in heart and mind, word and deed, in the life present and in the life to come. Such is the spiritual unity of the Church of God; to this, as an accident to substance, as body to soul, appertains the bodily unity, which we have now to consider.

As the visible Church is a society of men, to whose eyes spirit is indiscernible except by effects understood in the body, they obviously require for spiritual unity an assurance from signs in the body, and those signs will be either conventional or necessary; the former are passive forms to which we are obliged to have recourse in order to regulate place and time and mode of worship, and afford a mutual expression of our minds; the latter are active qualities, exhibited in our moral conduct, being the fruits of the spirit, and therefore testifying to our neighbour every hour, by word or deed, to our being of the fellowship of the company of saints. There can be no comparison between the respective value of these two classes of signs. Is it not then most humiliating to us, that all the anxieties of the great body of the members of the visible Church, should have been directed to the former, which are in themselves quite indifferent, which give no proof of the sincerity of the inward man; and that they should have overlooked the latter, which are of vital interest, and cannot (at least for any length of time) be counterfeited!

With regard to the first, since our consent in their use is intended to designate the consent of our minds before God, and satisfy one another that we present ourselves before him, bound together in the bonds of faith, hope, and charity, it is evident that their foundation must lie in mutual charity; yet this, alas! is the very quality which of all others has been most neglected in the case of these outward forms, both by the imposer of them, and by the imposed. It is indeed a case of exceeding delicacy to draw every possible cord of love and unity, so as to bring our spirits into the most complete concord, and at the same time to beware lest, by drawing too many and too tightly, the outward signs may express much more than the inward substance can correspond to. With regard to the former of these cases, I will venture to suggest a distinction which seems to have been but little attended to. A reformed Church stands in very peculiar circumstances: the very increase of the primitive Church, both as it spread among nations, and shot upward into the higher ranks of society, would call for some addition of forms and ordinances; and these have been conveyed into every quarter of the world, and there continue, notwithstanding that the purity of doctrine which accompanied them has long been most wofully defiled. Any one of these corrupt Churches then which sought to return to her ancient purity of faith, and, in consonance with that also, to remodel her system of rites and discipline, will not narrow her views to the nation wherein is her dwelling-place; but equally long-sighted and long-suffering, combining the wisdom of the serpent with the gentleness of the dove, she will look also to her sister Churches still benighted, and retain, were it but for charity's sake, those rites and ordinances which they received together with purity of faith. She thus avoids giving a needless shock to the learned and candid members of those Churches, (and indeed, also of her own,) and keeps open a door to perfect union, as soon as ever they shall divest themselves of hurtful or needless superfluities. And if such Church be that of a nation, to which God hath committed exceeding power and influence among mankind, still more is she bound in charity to pursue this conduct, in proportion to the conspicuous station she must necessarily hold. All this should be diligently kept in view by her own members, who should bear in mind that things which seem, at best, indifferent, when she is considered individually, are any thing but indifferent when she is regarded as a part of the great whole of the visible Church of Christ. With this comprehensive charity, with this patient looking forward to a most desirable end, acted the reformers of our Church; nor have the fortunes of our nation been such as to justify us in contracting either one or the other. But, on the other hand, in the latter of these cases, these signs will have an undue estimation, will encumber and hide spirit with body, essence with matter; an humble means will be mistaken for a glorious end; agreement in lifeless forms will be substituted for agreement in purity of life, resulting from agreement in faith; and thus the imposer will put together in his visible communion, nothing better than a deformed lifeless corpse, presenting the stillness of death, not the calmness of life; the union of mere adjacent masses of flesh, not the body instinct in every part with spirit, and, instead of bringing the bonds of the Church, which are faith, hope, and charity, upon the world, will bring the bonds of the world, which are lust and power, upon the Church. Let us, however, in guarding against a system which presses all points, beware also of that which presses none; while we shrink from a superstitious reverence for bodily form, avoid also an affectation of spirituality beyond the limits of our bodily nature; while we shake off the yoke thrown on our necks by lust of power, spurn also that easy Epicurean accommodation which results from indifference to good, and connivance at evil; for if the one be destructive of charity by the compulsion to which it resorts, so is the other equally, by denying its only source, a pure and humble faith.

With regard to the second class, they make a separation between those whom the former would keep united. These are they which distinguish the member of the invisible Church, while the former mark but the member of the visible. These proceed from the spirit, and so appear in the flesh, and are therefore continual and abiding in it, like the signs of the inward soul, which never quit the living body; while the others are mere outward affections, which may occasionally be absent, and may be present even in a dead body. These have ever set apart the member of the society of God's Church from the member of the society of this world; by these was Abel set apart from Cain, Shem from Ham, the true Israelite from the false Israelite, the true Christian from the false Christian; these signify to believers that their spirits are in unity by possession of the same Holy Spirit, poured into their hearts; these give us confidence in each other, connect our mutual actions, supply the means of our mutual intercourse. As the virtues in the society of the world, such are these graces in that of the Church. Now such signs must manifestly become more numerous as Revelation expands; for it must thus gradually supply more and more principles on which we must act; it must thus take in continually a greater number of the incidents of daily life;

until, in its full expansion under Christ, it hath swept into its net the whole of our conversation on earth, taken us captive in soul and body, and brought into subjection the entire man, in all his thoughts and movements. In this our last stage of the Church, so hath the gap widened between it and the world, that their societies are removed as far asunder as the rich man and Lazarus: yea, farther; they are as distinct as their respective heads, as the fallen natural man and he who hath blended God and man in one person. Our light is now no longer faintly reflected from types, no longer dimly struggles through the veil of prophecy, falling but obscurely here and there upon our practice. It is poured out upon it in a full bright stream from the fountain of life itself, so that not a point is left unilluminated. Hence every act of ours will manifest this heavenly source, and become a sign. And these signs we must be continually exhibiting, as children of light, to each other, assuring each other of our fellow-feeling, and thus bringing our spirits into union, as members under their great head. What shall we think now of those who assert that a man's religion is a mere affair between himself and his Maker? Is not this a most deplorable error; is it less than a virtual denial of Christ? A man cannot live and give no signs of life. But we, whenever we meet with a brother, must be ready with our sign; and where two or three are met together, not for prayer alone, they must so conduct themselves as if their common head were among them. They will refrain from evil words, and address themselves to good in conversation; they will maintain good faith in mutual dealing, and show themselves possessed by the same spirit, and to be one in the same head and lord, Jesus Christ. Our Saviour has expressed by many lively parables, his intimate union with the society over which he presides. He has termed himself the bridegroom. This body, then, to which he has been married, must be one with him; every member also of it one with him; must have one course of action, one mind, one interest, one end; must love and hate, cherish and reject, hope and fear, the same thing. He has called himself the vine, of which himself is the main trunk, his followers the branches. Means he not here that they are all parts and portions of himself; that from him they derive, as branches from the trunk, their sap, draw all their stream of spiritual nourishment, their very inmost and vital principle of thought, word and deed, and to him, in the duly appointed season, by various channels of works of love to fellow branches, return it; that from him is all their bloom and beauty of holiness, their leaves, their flower, and their fruit? And does he not lead us to conclude from these two similitudes, that whoever is not intimately united with him, is divorced, according to the one, as being unfaithful, cut off, according to the other, as being unsound? Moreover, he is the shepherd, of whom, if one of the flock lose sight, he is lost in the wilderness: he is the way, from which whoever turns aside loses the only road to everlasting life: he is the door, through which alone is the entrance into the city of eternal joy. If thus intimate be our union with Christ; if thus our spirit, in all its thoughts and designs, must conspire with his spirit; if thus every act of our life must be referable to our union with him, and in him with one another, how can we possibly, unless we be indeed none of his, cease from exhibiting to our neighbours, from root through stem to topmost branch, the proofs of the indwelling sap of life, the signs and marks of our profession? Such is the Church of God, gathered from all ages and nations under one head, informed by one spirit, united in faith and works, in substance and sign, holy, entire, without rent, or spot, or wrinkle.

But now, perhaps, it may be asked of me, where is this Church of Christ? of the first class of signs of its existence we see indeed enough, and too often much more than enough. But these, it is confessed, may exist in the body after the spirit hath fled. But where is the other class of signs, which alone can assure us of its having life among us? On the moment of raising our heads from the perusal of this description, and looking at the broad Christian world before us, we see nothing corresponding. On the contrary, we behold its surface like the plan of a city which has been razed by war, or overthrown by a hurricane, broken up into shapeless detached heaps; we see its fair region here darkened with debasing superstition, there involved in the still deeper gloom of demoralizing infidelity. We see no trace of unity under a common head, but counsels equally devoid of holiness and of unity of purpose, cold-blooded interest and hot-blooded passion, maintaining their jar of unceasing discord. So that we are at a loss how to refute from facts the assertion of the freethinker, who maintains that religion has nothing to do between man and man, and considers it as nothing more than a business between him and his Maker; that is, an abstracted contemplation. Again, if we turn our eyes back upon the records of the past, we are still surveying the same sad picture, hearing the same doleful tragedy, which palls by a repetition of the same heart-rending scenes, of the same mournful accents, of the same wretched catastrophe. We must repeat, therefore, our question, "Where is this Church of Christ?"

Brethren, the question is indeed humiliating; it may well indeed put us to shame, but it need not put us to silence. It may well put us to shame, for what can be a greater reproach upon us than that our abuse of God's most precious gift should bring doubts upon the reality of the gift itself. But it will not put us to silence, for it is founded upon a superficial view and shallow reflection. We will even help the objector with his charges. We will remind him that at the time of the flood this Church had dwindled down to a single family; that again it increased, but again to dwindle, like a precious plant in a foreign unkindly soil: that, even when the children of Abraham darkened with their numbers the plenteous land of God's accomplished promise, there were left but seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal: that the general aspect of Christendom at this day is mournful and perplexing. What then? God is just, and man is unjust; God hath offered, but man hath rejected; God hath given, but man hath abused; so that were not a vestige of the Church to be traced, God is justified. But neither has man, by God's grace, been so entirely wanting. There are signs, many and manifest, of Christ's true Church dwelling among us, which occur to all who will not close their eyes, if these objectors will but look for the Church militant, and not for the Church triumphant. The former, even in the most painfully selected body of its holiest members, must ever disclose much human infirmity; how were it otherwise militant? Fallen man, however regenerated, can never exemplify, in this life, a perfect model of a son of God; he is ever attaining, but never having attained; how then shall a body be perfect, each of whose members is imperfect? The signs, therefore, exhibited by a perseverance in the struggle to attain, are they which mark the true member of the Church of Christ, and assure its existence among us. And if such seem so very rare, it is partly owing to the sort of company by which the objector is likely to be surrounded, and partly also to the very unobtrusiveness of good men. The straws and the feathers keep the surface of the water, the pearls and gems are in the depths below; the vices and crimes of the children of this world attract the eyes and fill the mouth of the world; holiness is theirs who are not of this world, and are, therefore, overlooked by it, and unrecorded. But supposing the number of those who exhibit the required signs to be less than it really is, what scandal and stone of offence would this be to him who has been told from the mouth of the great Head himself, that his real Church upon earth shall ever be a remnant until the fulness of the time come; that many are called, but few are chosen; who feels assured that, wherever two or three are met to join their spirits in his name, there his true Church is brightly visible, there the glory of the Lord, as in his temple, is shining, and never shall be done away.

But however full of offence the appearance presented by God's Church upon earth may be to the fool, it is overflowing with instruction to the wise. It humbles him indeed, but it is in order to exalt him; it warns him, but in the same moment it cheers him. For he there sees the body of his own infirmities most painfully reflected and multiplied, as through glass, into innumerable images. He is led from this view to examine with a more severe probe, and with a more intimate knowledge of human failings, his own bosom; he detects there weaknesses and elements of weaknesses of which he was formerly unsuspicious. He traces a connexion between his own failings and the disgrace of that society which ought to be holy, even as its head is holy. Therefore he will more than ever deplore his own sinfulness, which has contributed its share to the general shame; he will mourn that the spirit of men should thus be ever at war with the spirit of God, and will humble himself even to the dust. But, at the same time, in a consciousness of spiritual improvement, through God's grace, he will see its honour and glory; there is holiness in it; and every step which he makes in advance supplies him with a joyful earnest of those blessed days, when, like a faithful spouse of Christ, the Church shall put on her crown of pure gold, and stand in her white raiment all glorious, without spot or wrinkle. At every point of progress he has a joyful earnest, assuring him that God's promises are accomplishing, though not yet accomplished; that the serpent's head hath been bruised individually and potentially, though not generally and actually: that the desire of nations hath been offered to all, although not received by all: the conqueror of sin and death has been set upon his throne, although all his enemies be not as yet put underneath his footstool. Thus with his growth in spirit grows also in his mind the beauty of the holiness of the Church of God, and however at variance be its model as presented to his eye of spirit, with the form which meets his eye of flesh; however squalid may appear the one after the glorious brightness of the other, he is neither offended, nor does he despair. He has a witness within him which bids him look onward in patience and unshaken faith to the end; he feels in his bosom the elements of the bliss which shall accompany the final union of the two, and they shall once again be blended, never by a second fall to be rent asunder. For then shall the reign of Satan have been accomplished, then shall his deceits and wiles have been overcome, then shall the partition-wall of sin and delusion be broken down, and all hearts shall be open, all desires known. Then all the children of God being of one mind, possessed with one and the same spirit, united in every thought and turn of thought, filled with the love of the Father, abounding in the grace of the Son, and enjoying the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, shall form the congregation of the first-born, of the spirits of just men made perfect, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, the company of innumerable angels.

Brethren, we may say with the beloved apostle, "it is the last time;" perils and trials are at hand, and the arm of the heaven-commissioned thresher seems already uplifted, in order to descend with a blow which shall separate the chaff and the wheat. But no gloominess of times, no overflowings of ungodliness dismay us; rather more abundant be our hope, more unshaken our faith, for the time of our redemption draweth nigh. God's chastisement must try his children, and usher in the joyfulness of the inheritance which shall be theirs who abide the trial; therefore let us cast aside all misgiving, attach ourselves to all well-doing, and, above all, exercise that charity, which, in trying times, is so grievously wounded. For in proportion as, under the influence of God's holy Spirit, we can agree with our neighbour in thought, word, and deed, in the same do we realize upon earth the Church of God; in the same do we approach to the blissfulness of his Church in heaven; in the same do we grow up to the standard of fellow-citizens of the saints, of members of the household of God. All this worketh that faith which we found on the merits of our Redeemer; that hope of everlasting life which we cherish in him who rose from the dead, and that charity with which we love one another, because he first loved us. Such faith, such hope, such charity, may he give unto us, and maintain in us by his Spirit, that we may be all one in Christ, who is one with the Father.

DISSERTATION III.

ON PROPHECY.

I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope.—Psalm cxxx. 5.

The Word of God is not like the word of man, and for estimating the former we shall obtain but little aid from any consideration of the latter. They both communicate certain ideas to men, and there ends their similitude; in all other respects our estimate would be more safely formed according to the rule of contraries. For as this latter goes forth too often without sense or design, or at best, and however premeditated, to a temporary purpose, that proceeds from God's eternal immutable counsel, and passes on to eternity. This is essentially extinct from the moment in which it has been uttered, and when we say it lives, (as in the memory of man,) we are fully aware that we are using a figure which is literally inapplicable. All it can do is, like some worthless insects, to give birth to a fact, and then die as it were in the labour. But the word of God liveth for ever: it waits for no agent, and the fact to which it gives birth depends upon it, and upon it alone, for the continuance of the principle of life: by it were the worlds created, and by it they are sustained; by it empires rise and fall in their appointed seasons; in it all which goes before is comprehended, and held in union with all which goes after, and eternity is connected with eternity. The word of man taken into the heart will too often defile and overcloud the soul; the word of God received there is the only principle of holiness, and is a lantern to the feet. The word of man is often bitter; the word of God is sweet to the taste, yea, sweeter than honey to the mouth. The word of man is too often weak, powerless, blunt, and unpointed, unable to penetrate beyond the ear, and reach the mind. But the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. The word of man is too often, as proceeding from an unholy bosom, faithless; and as coming from one who has no power over fortune, never sure. But the word of God is true, and sure altogether. Therefore it is, as the Psalmist says, the cause of certain hope to every mind in which it is received.

The Word of God, thus eternal, steadfast, holy, powerful, issued forth ever to the same merciful end of man's redemption, may be considered as having a two-fold operation on his mind. It will either hold forward continually to view the glorious end of that redemption, referring him by the way, as time proceeds, to certain intermediate events to come at certain destined periods as its harbingers, and thus maintaining in him a sure and certain hope in the end, and by what has been fulfilled, giving a pledge of that which remains to be fulfilled: or it will give him instructions how to conduct himself, so that he might be a partaker in the blessedness of that end, exalting his thoughts, chastening his affections, and directing his understanding; thus it will be either prophetical or doctrinal. It is intended to discuss it now under the first of these two heads.

The Word of God, as far as the Church which we are considering is immediately concerned, first came to Adam upon his fall; and it could come to him but for two ends, namely, either to finally pronounce upon him the sentence of death, with which he had been previously threatened, or to modify that sentence according to God's good pleasure. The first is plainly implied in the words "dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." But the death expected by Adam must have been eternal death, and this admits of a modification by being changed into temporary; this latter being actually the case, the only passage in which we have to seek it is in that promise, "that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head;" which, though addressed to the serpent, yet, as being solemnly recorded in God's written word, we cannot but regard as a promise made to all mankind in the presence of Adam. Considering the solemn occasion on which it was made, when the head of all mankind, the chief and representative of millions of living souls, was standing arraigned for judgment upon himself and his posterity, when he was tortured with agonies of guilt and despair, which were not only new to him, not only in deepest contrast to his former innocence and bliss, but also must have for these reasons far exceeded any pangs undergone by the most wretched of his posterity,—surely it is impossible to understand its expressions literally; surely thus they would be unworthy of the occasion, and appear to Adam a cruel banter, a mockery of his depth of woe. We are driven therefore to a spiritual sense, and in this we shall find the modification sought

Before the foundation of the world Jesus Christ was foreordained for the salvation of man. Every thing, therefore, communicated by God to man, must terminate in him. Can we imagine then that the very first intervention of God with man, after he fell into the need of salvation, and at a moment when beyond any other he must have felt that need, at a moment when beyond any other he must have given himself up to utter recklessness of despair, that this should have passed off without a hint of so great consolation, and that he, the head of mankind, should be deprived of that comfort which has been so freely imparted to his posterity? Without some communication of this kind, how could religion either have begun or maintained itself upon earth; what reason would God have to complain of the wickedness of man at the time of the flood, and how could such characters as Abel, Enoch, and Noah have ever existed? Surely God's signal vengeance on that occasion argues the abuse of something imparted since the fall; and the existence of such characters argues the use of something communicated since that hour of hopelessness. Why, too, should God have maintained Adam a single moment upon earth after the pronouncing of his sentence, if there were nothing further? He could have had no delight in the ineffable misery of his creature prolonged for such a period! We cannot, therefore, suppose Adam to have been left without that consolation, which we ourselves, who have never experienced the horrid consciousness of the contrast of our state with perfect innocence and bliss, yet find absolutely necessary to our patient endurance of existence. Neither can we suppose so important a communication on so important an occasion, to have been omitted by Holy Writ. If the sentence has been recorded by which we were all, in our general head and representative, condemned to death, surely it would not neglect to notice the promise by which, in the same general head and representative, we were all restored to life. But if it be not implied in this passage, it is nowhere. It must be, therefore, implied in this passage.

The sense, therefore, in which Adam understood it, would be this—that one should hereafter arise from his seed, who should triumph over the power of Satan, to which he himself had yielded: that he was himself, with all his posterity, to share the fruits of this victory (otherwise what consolation had it been?)—and as his own defeat wrought his fall, so the triumph of that promised one would correspondingly work his restoration?

That such a sense but obscurely glimmers through the express words to our mental sight, needs form no great difficulty, if we will only consider the peculiar circumstances of Adam. The great obscurity to us lies in the personification of the evil spirit by the serpent. Here it is easy to conceive that he would have no difficulty, so differently circumstanced was he who had gone through the whole transaction as a chief actor in it, from us to whom so brief an account has come after many ages. But besides that he was furnished with all the illustrating facts,—I should rather say was most deeply impressed with them in heart and understanding, so that he could not but readily apply the words of the prophecy,—his attention had never been distracted, and its powers weakened, as ours have been, by such variety of incidents. This was the first event, as it were, in his life; he could have had no previous change or degree of bliss or woe to call his attention; all its powers, therefore, were concentrated upon this fact, to a degree much exceeding what we can bestow upon one of the most vital interest. Nothing can befall us so important as to affect us to a degree approaching to what he felt; and even our greatest calamities find us already tolerably broken in, and prepared to support them. Besides, his clearness of understanding (wreck as it was of perfection) must unquestionably have been superior to that of ours, which have never known the uncloudedness of innocence, but are clogged with the grossness of long-transmitted guilt; and therefore, supposing even all things else the same, what is obscure to us might have brought no perplexity to him. Again, while he was at that moment in circumstances which would give their peculiar point to the words uttered to him, his despair, felt for the first time, and intense far beyond any with which we can be affected, would be more alive to discern the first glimmering of hope. If we have seen it, in our experience, so quick in catching the first ray of comfort, and in gathering a warmth from a light so feeble as to be quite indiscernible to others less concerned, what may we imagine to have been his quickness of apprehension, his eagerness of grasp? Can we then, in fine, wonder that the most spiritual man, the wisest man, the most unhappy man, placed in circumstances into which, with the liveliest picturing of our imagination, we can scarcely gain an insight, surrounded by relations into which, with all our vigour of understanding, we can barely penetrate,—that he should have discerned a meaning where we are baulked with perplexity?

There intervenes no other prophecy between this and the promise made to Abraham "that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed." This therefore sufficed for the consolation of the Patriarchal church. Nor was it, if we consider the circumstances, insufficient to that end. For the life of Adam himself was extended through nearly one-half of the duration of this church down to Abraham, and the life of Noah alone fills up to within one hundred and thirty years the interval between his death and Abraham's birth. Thus the prophecy came down to the last faithful member of that church with little diminution either of its interest or clearness. But circumstances are very much changed when we come to the Jewish period; not only are we come to the short duration of man's life, which has remained ever since, and therefore made tradition a much more precarious channel of knowledge, but by this time the church is confined to a narrow portion of earth; therefore man would require assurance against the many untoward chances to which it was thus exposed. The promise of the Redeemer was limited not only to a nation, but progressively to a single family of that nation: hence the stability of the nation and of the family must be assured. On these accounts prophecy would both be more frequent and also more particular.

With regard to frequency, it is singular that down from Moses to Ezra there passes by not a single generation without the accomplishment of some prophecy delivered by Moses and his successors. So completely did God provide for keeping up a faith in his promises, and exhort them to look to the end in steadfast hope.

On the ground of particularity, we are here presented with a new feature; not only is the great end of all more plainly discovered, but a train of events leading on to it is foretold, and prophecy thus takes into account a large mass of things temporal; by this connexion the end becomes palpable, as it were: it is no longer the mere promise which it was before, for each of the above events forms a substantial earnest of its performance. The Jew can keep it steadily in sight, knowing its exact direction, and as he proceeds, being able to estimate its very distance, guided on as he is by a spangled line of stars of glorious lustre, and of unchangeable positions, the fates of kingdoms and empires of this world, of Nineveh, of Tyre, of Babylon, of Damascus, earthly as they are, become to him spiritual beacons, and fall, as it were, into that numerous class of bodily types by which the eyes of this babe were allured on to spiritual realities. This series of prophecies, varying of course in circumstances as the end drew nearer, may be divided into three stages.

The first, extending from Moses to David, has a peculiar character from prophecy, being mostly applied to facts isolated and at no great distance, as Nathan's with regard to Absalom's revolt; and it is remarkable that God's special intervention is very far more frequently and signally called forth in this stage than in the following. All this we may expect from the circumstances of the period, in which the nation had not obtained a complete settlement in the land until the end. It required, therefore, amidst its tumultuous and unsteady fortunes, continued and particular assurances of God's help and protection.

The next period reaches to the captivity; and in this prophecy takes both a longer and wider range, and for the most part goes on directly towards the end. In this we have the denunciations against Babylon and Tyre, and in this the kingdom of Messiah is painted in glowing colours, and brought so near to the eye that even the most dull and desponding must take heart at the sight: meanwhile God's special intervention is rare and at long intervals. All this is in accordance with the circumstances of the period: the nation had been completely established in the land, and therefore a vast accession of confidence had accrued to God's promises; he had given such an earnest that there could be no excuse for doubt; the nation, too, as now settled, had leisure to look to the end; and to that end, as the monarchy declined and evil times came on, they would gaze more and more intently; and from the blessed end God's word was removing all the apparently insuperable obstacles intervening; the fall of their enemies was pronounced, and if their captivity drew near, not to the eye of the prophet only, but of the common man, yet the song of man's deliverance pierced beyond the gloom, and assured the end in despite of the thick veil of sorrow which intervened.

The third period, if we except the deliverance of the prophet Daniel and his companions, exhibited before a foreign people, is destitute of God's special intervention. But prophecy assumes a more decisive tone, and her song grows much more comprehensive; the nation was now either in captivity, or in all the feebleness of its restoration; but at the same time the great end was coming fast into sight; the interval then was spread over by a golden network, as it were, of prophecy, visibly connecting the present and future. We now meet, for the first time, with a train of prophecy; that is, with a period of time foretold, with all its divisions, by critical events pointed out, and the whole and its parts adjusted to chronological dates; thus the very year of the Messiah's coming was pointed out, his character still more clearly marked, and the last strain of prophecy which resounded in the Jewish church rose with an impetuous bound, so as far to overleap its previous limits, and to alight amid the glories and the wonders of the Christian church.

The Christian period opens with the accomplishment of the original promise, which was the key note to all others; a Redeemer has actually arisen from the seed of Adam, of Abraham, of Judah, of David. As far as they looked for, the end of the world is come. But to us the world begins anew, as with a second Adam; and through this second Adam we have a fresh promise given, that his Church shall remain upon earth until his second coming again to put the final consummation to all things. Here then, as in the two previous dispensations, we have an original promise to be carried on by prophecy, and the whole interval may be divided into two periods.

The first contains that short but momentous time when the church, as in the first period of the Jewish, was wandering, as it were, in the desert, and had obtained no settlement in the land; when it was yet but appearing in bright sprinkles here and there, like dew upon the thirsty sands of the Heathen world. The first promise had been made through the first Adam, in a season of extreme sorrow and humiliation; and, in a similar season was made the second promise, through the second Adam. This period, then, like the corresponding Jewish, is full of God's special intervention by signs and wonders, full also of prophecy. But prophecy is not continued beyond it; the last strain comes from the last surviving apostle; hence the prophecy of this period is not only particular and applying to events close at hand, as that of Agabus, but also runs on in a train so as to reach to the end of all, as in the prophecy of the 1260 years; so that this period answers to the three first of the Jewish. In the second period, God's special intervention has ceased, prophecy is silent. The church was now firmly settled; a store of prophecy had already been laid in, a vast store had also been accomplished by the time of the final destruction of Jerusalem: every thing, therefore, was assured. There was no need then of a line of prophets; this period, therefore, resembles that which ensues after the third Jewish, only the certainty which renders a line of prophets needless, rests on different grounds. The end is as far off as in the first Jewish period. But then he in whom all previous prophecy has found its fulfilment, and who, therefore, gives us the surest pledge possible, he has given us a prophecy both of himself immediately, and a long train of prophecy through his beloved apostle mediately. Nothing, therefore, in the church calls for further messages from God. But as long as she is supplied with a succession of faithful men, fit conservators and interpreters of the deposit already made, (and such he assures us that there shall ever be,) so long has the church all the substantial benefits of a line of prophets.

Such is prophecy relative to mankind in the general. We now come to consider its effects upon man individually. These may be considered as three-fold. Man will be comforted, will be warned, and will be proved by prophecy.

The two first effects are co-ordinate, beginning together from the first, and ever after associated. Sentence of death was pronounced on our first parents, in that same intervention of God in which he promised their final restoration. And we have all inherited the one together with the other. Every individual since that moment, however spiritually regenerated, may be considered under a two-fold view. With regard to the remaining (and, in this our state, inevitable) infirmities of the flesh, he is the old man condemned to death, with all its necessary attendance of pain and trouble, bodily and mental. But with regard to the power of the spirit, he is the new man, restored to everlasting life. In this latter capacity, therefore, apprehending the sure word of God, he applies it to soothe all the fears and perplexities, or to pull down all the presumption, between which his frail mortal nature may be fluctuating, according to the aspect of the world before him. God's threats fill him with humiliation and awe, and tell him that he is dust, and to dust shall return. They assure him that he shall be dealt with after his sins, and rewarded after his iniquities. They proclaim that the Lord is jealous, the Lord revengeth, and is furious. They bid him seek righteousness, seek meekness, so that it may be that he shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger. But his comfort binds up his heart, bruised and broken by worldly afflictions, encourages him to exclaim, "Art thou not from everlasting, O Lord my God, mine Holy One? We shall not die:" and promises that his warfare shall be accomplished, and his iniquity pardoned. Accordingly, every dispensation, beginning with that given to Adam, has opened with a combination of denunciation and consolation. If in one hand it has held forth to man the cup of joy and salvation, in the other it has also presented the cup of fury and of trembling. In the very address of Moses, in which, not long before his death, he concluded the covenant between God and the children of Israel, what a fearful mixture of threats with promises! Their utter ruin is predicted, together with the coming of the expected Redeemer. The harbinger of the Gospel proclaimed repentance for the remission of sins, and told men, that while God would gather the wheat into his garner, he would burn the chaff with unquenchable fire. And the blessed Preacher himself, our Lord and Redeemer, hath promised tribulation and sorrow, even to the inheritors of everlasting life; and while from his own mouth, and also from the lips of his beloved disciple, he hath assured the everlasting endurance of the church, and the victory of his saints, he is full of severe denunciations against particular churches and individuals, who shall be guilty of disobedience. And how full of warning have these come down to us! From their ashes, still smoking, those churches are crying out to us at this day, telling of wrath and judgment to come; and from their very graves individuals are raising a warning voice against opportunities slighted, gifts rejected, and talents misapplied. In every period, therefore, of the church, if adversity have its comfort, so has prosperity its warning.

In prosperous times, men are too apt to be engrossed with the enjoyments of this life, and their attention is too much drawn away from the bliss of the life to come. But even when they address themselves to such a consideration, it is in such unison with their cheerful feelings, that very general terms are sufficient to convey God's promise of the future happiness. The mind, surrounded with images of bliss, needs not a list of particulars to strengthen its belief or hopes. All is warm and full of heat, and a few sparks are sufficient to kindle a blaze. Hence, prophecy passes over such times, with but just so much addition of particulars as shall suffice to carry it on in due and gradual expansion. But in disastrous times, men's minds are unstrung, their hearts are cold, their understandings are darkened with doubt and perplexity, their affections are overcome with terror and apprehension. General terms of comfort will not now suffice; men cannot hold and cling to them: they now want particulars; they want detailed circumstances, which they may oppose to the detail of misery which surrounds them whithersoever they turn the eye of flesh. They want to contrast a deliverer with a subjugator; an everlasting kingdom, with a falling empire; partners in light and bliss, with companions in pain and woe; unlimited happiness, with dreary prolongation of misery; a time appointed, and resting-place for the sole of their feet, with the wretched uncertainty by which they are distracted; characters of goodness and mercy, with those of cruelty and vice, by which they are oppressed. They, in short, want a bright side to each of the appalling objects around; they wish each dark and threatening cloud to be at least edged with light, in order that they may be convinced that the sun still exists, and that day shall return on the morrow, if not to-day; they wish to behold angels of light combating against each of those foul fiends which disturb their peace. Therefore it was that, as the times grew darker to the Jewish Church, prophecy grew more particular, until in the end, amid all the fearful signs of approaching downfall, amid the abomination of desolation, amid the abandonment of God's visible presence among them, declared by the blazing temple, amid the humiliation and despair of the captivity of princes and people, amid the pitiable feebleness and helplessness of their restoration, amid all the horrid discordant sounds attending this sad procession of events, was heard an uninterrupted strain of the song of prophecy, which would not be put to silence, but waxing louder and louder, like the trumpet of God, rose higher and higher, with thrilling and heart-stirring notes, above the deafening din of temporal calamity. It was, likewise, from his prison, amid the weakness and persecution of the infant church, that the beloved disciple of the Lord sang forth, expanding into all its particularities his general promise, that his church should not fail, and announcing all the glorious facts of its victories and triumphs.

In both prosperous and disastrous times, men require to be warned; for in both they are naturally reckless. In the one they cry out, "Soul, thou hast many goods laid up for many years: take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." (Luke, xii. 19.) In the other they say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." It were needless to instance the solemn warnings given to the sons of Israel, and which we may consider as addressed to ourselves also, under similar circumstances, with, however, this additional weight, that having been verified once, they are of all things most certain to take place again, wherever their application is called for. These, therefore, are our warning prophets too; and our preachers delivering forth their solemn admonitions, expounding to us their awful fulfilment, and applying them to our own times and circumstances, public or private, are an unfailing body of prophets, to whom, if we listen not, neither will we, though one of the prophets of old rose from the dead. And not only have we these among ourselves, but there hath visited us a preacher such as never preached to a reckless world before, on repentance and judgment to come, since the days of Noah; a preacher who bears the signs of his commission stamped upon the man, both in body and in mind; a preacher who, like Adam, can speak from experience of the sorrows of ruin and degradation; a preacher who has been preaching ever since the Church of Christ upon earth began, and shall preach until the end draw nigh. What? Is there indeed a corner of Christendom unpenetrated by that mysterious stranger, who, bearing in his peculiar features the lineaments of Abraham, and thus at a glance announcing to us from what high estate he hath fallen; cherishing in his spirit all the sullen pride of ruined greatness; exhibiting in his dealings all the caution and timidity of the despised stranger; attracting, by his attachment to the carnalities of his abrogated law, continued mockery and derision; moving, by his superstition, his obstinacy, and his blindness, the pity of some, the contempt of others, the neglect of all; deprived even of the only ordained assurance of pardon by being denied all means of sacrifice; and holding in his hand the word of God, without a spirit to understand it;—is there, indeed, any church in Christendom, before which the Jew, this awful monitor, has never appeared? Oh! his prophetical character seems to cling to him still; every where he appears as God's herald to warn against disobedience, to proclaim his judgments; and wherever he appears, there should be, as in the presence of the prophets of old, humiliation and awe. Thus doth this preacher, traversing daily Christ's kingdom, unceasingly admonish churches and individuals; and, standing in our luxurious cities, should be to us as Jonah amid Nineveh, summoning us to repentance and mourning.

The word of God, once gone forth, never returns to him void; it abides for ever among us, and generation after generation finds it still stronger from past fulfilment, and still widening in extent of application. Were the threats thrown out against Ephesus, Laodicea, and the rest of their company, accomplished in them alone? have they found no object since? has their fiery indignation found no fuel, and become extinct? Where then is Edessa, where is Alexandria, where is Carthage, those bright and burning lights of Christendom in their day? Where are they indeed! It would be more easy to discover the ruins of Carthage, than to detect a fragment of her church. And have these threats terminated here, or are they not rather confronting the churches of this day, ready to hunt down as noble game as before? Are they not prophecies more awful than ever, more sure from fulfilment, more terribly significant from the melancholy detail by which they have already been repeatedly illustrated and verified? Doubly and trebly have we been warned compared with our predecessors; shall we then by an equal length of resistance meet with but an equal punishment, or not rather suffer in proportion to our full insight into the meaning, and our experience of the certain consequences of the neglect of the admonition?

The proving of our hearts by prophecy is intimately connected with its comfort and its warning. We shall show our faith, and manifest our obedience according as we accept it, to minister to our hopes and fears. If God's sure promise cannot avail to raise our fainting hearts in tribulation, nor to subdue their pride, and turn them unto him in our hours of prosperity, we are none of his: we have been weighed and found wanting; we have been proved, and have come out dross. But there remains a further proof, applicable to us at all times, and not the less sure, because we are not aware at the moment that we are under trial; not the less searching, because our hearts are open in all their unsuspiciousness, and we have not time to shut them before our visiter has entered, and all our secrets have been revealed. Do we, in our study of these oracles of God, keep in view the prime object of feeding a growing faith by observing where they have been accomplished; of creating and nursing in our hearts a cheerful and unshaken confidence in his protection, an entire devotion to his majesty, his power, and his truth, so that we may be found with our loins girded, and lights burning, in the day of his visitation; and thus do we look forward with a godly hope, and the earnest expectation of the faithful creature; or do we go to the perusal with a vain curiosity, with that vulgar propensity of restless man, which sent him of old to the oracle, to the auspices, to the diviner; for thus have men before now turned the pure word of God into an astrologer's almanack, and even into an impostor's credentials? It is highly necessary to distinguish these different motives, because such critical periods, as that in which we are living, are peculiarly apt to call them all into action, even in one and the same bosom; and according as they predominate is the judgment of our trial. Let us, therefore, endeavour to detect this lurking enemy of the truth, so that we may be enabled to eject him from our bosoms.

Let us try our hearts, and seek there the impression which is made upon it by the engrossing events of the times in which we are living: does it, in a sure and certain faith, in the end, say, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done," accepting equally joy and sorrow, looking to the completion of all prophecy to be accomplished on earth, with the same tranquillity and steadiness as we do to its final completion in heaven, when this mortality shall have put on immortality, and this corruption put on incorruption? Is the sorrow swallowed up in the contemplation of the bliss to come? Is the joy chastened as an earnest of everlasting spiritual blessedness? Again, let us inquire of our understanding. Does it cautiously beware of mistaking the nearness of events for magnitude, their interest to ourselves for importance to the Church of Christ; acknowledging that its limited powers can never ascertain their real importance, even in a political light, until long after they have passed, and dragged in their train a number of pregnant consequences; how much less then, in a prophetical light, where the view must be extended to an end far, very far, beyond the most acute and intent gaze of the earthly politician? Do we eject thus both from heart and head all minor considerations; reckon, under this view, the Church of Christ our only country—its triumphs our only interest? Assuredly if we indulge in any more narrow contemplation, if we exert not this catholicity of feeling, our error will be little less gross than that of the Jew, whom national pride and worldly considerations rendered utterly blind to the real end of the prophecies vouchsafed to his church; and we shall be driven to despair by those calamities which usher in the triumphs of the church, even as the fight precedes the victory. Our eye of flesh shall look upon earth, and behold trouble, and darkness, and dimness of anguish; and our carnal heart, seeing all its proud hopes laid low, the cherished signs of the Lord's coming all falsified, will, like that of the Jew, turn away in unbelief from the real heralds of his advent. Such heralds are already in the world, and one of the most obvious is the communication existing, and still increasing, both in extent and intensity, between all the sons of Adam, divided though they be by sea and by land, by tongues and by customs. They are again once more gathering to a common head. Even our own lifetime suffices to see a manifest increase here: almost daily the widening prospect takes in at least a nook hitherto unexplored by sight; and every nook is an hour or a day embodied, as it were, and visibly taken from the delay of our Lord's coming. In looking with hope and joy on such a prospect, we cannot err: there is nothing in its widening extent which can nourish a carnal feeling; for it is obvious that such extent, if it be due to peace, and commerce, and good will amongst men, is also equally owing to wars, ruined empires, subjugated nations—to pestilence, to famine, and to the sword. Having received our sign from God, let us, like his prophets, be content with it; let us see, in faithful hope, the day of our Lord, and be glad. Palpable, though undeveloped, events are in our possession; we hold in our hands, as it were, the baby Jesus, and with our dying breath we may cry, "Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Helpless may the Church of Christ appear at darker moments, helpless even as seemed that babe; it may have to endure spiteful mockings, to be a sign to be rejected, yea, may be nailed to the cross. But upon all this the eye of faith will look without a shrinking of doubt or dismay, and will continue to look to the end, while every carnal eye shall long have been averted in perplexity, disappointment, and disbelief. Even at such a moment, perhaps, when men's hearts are failing them from fear, when the strong are bearing up through faith against the burden of calamitous days, when the weak are desponding, when the apostate is triumphant; even then, in the midst of the fiery trial, that prophecy of the 1260 years, so much the concern of our days, which has been shifted by expounders continually to and fro over the range of history, shall all at once, with a noise of thunder, snap into its place, and every part and joint find its proper position and coincidence; all become symmetrical and clear, to the refutation of the infidel, the confirmation of the doubtful, the triumph of the believer. Glorious and heart-moving is the view which God hath given unto the Christian Church by his word of prophecy, uttered since the world began; the future hope of the Patriarch and the Jew, is our past and assured certainty. To them this word came in various ways, at various times; uttered now and then, and here and there; detached, progressive. But to us all has settled into one continuous whole; and comparing ourselves with the Jew, we are men, indeed, compared with children, for we see the tendency of all that discipline, and all those tasks, which he obeyed, not from his understanding, but because it was the will of his schoolmaster. Instead of looking forward with idle curiosity, let us fix our eyes upon this magnificent spectacle of prophecy, and filling our hearts with the holy feelings of joy and thankfulness, and appreciation of God's majesty, which it should excite, then carry on our eyes in lowly and cheerful hope to the end. A view hitherto denied to man has been revealed to us, and blessed are our eyes which have seen things denied to the sight of Adam, of Abraham, and of David. Jew, indeed, after Jew saw the progress of God's promises, but still at the best he was ascending within the tower of God's temple, catching but through occasional loopholes the sights and sounds from without. But we are they who stand upon the summit of that tower, and looking down on pinnacles and turrets, buttresses, and foundations of that glorious fabric, see them all conspiring in grand and terrific harmony.

Finally, my brethren, let us learn to look to the end from a right understanding of the beginning: so shall we look forward in faith, in joy, and not in vain curiosity and hankering; so shall we have grace to do our duties with all steadiness and single-mindedness in our own sphere and days, that, if at any time the appearance of the world shall say, in signs not to be misunderstood, that the Lord is coming quickly, we may joyfully exclaim, in answer, with his beloved and prophetic disciple, "Even so! come, Lord Jesus!" Thus may our loins be girded about, and lights burning, as men that wait for their Lord; for the Son of man cometh at an hour that we think not.

DISSERTATION IV.

ON SCRIPTURE.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle.—2 Thess. ii. 15.

We have already shown how the fundamental points of God's word were revealed to his Church from the first. The accessions made to it by successive revelations will appear as we examine severally its articles; meanwhile an important consideration calls for our attention. This is the means which God hath appointed for its sure transmission from generation to generation, and the use we are bound to make of such an instrument of knowledge.

There was nothing in the patriarchal stage which required the committing of God's word to writing, (supposing that art to have been then known,) whether we regard the quantity of revelation, or the number of persons through whom it had to pass, or the circumstances of its preachers. The quantity, as we have seen, depended upon the original promise made to Adam, combined with the peculiar circumstances under which he received it. Now, both these he himself continued declaring to the world for 900 years, and between him and Abraham (to whom the promise was renewed with still greater clearness) occur but two successions, namely, of Methuselah and Shem.* The circumstances of its preachers were peculiar indeed: for when has the world heard such a preacher as the first Adam, if we except the second Adam, to whom he bears, in many points, a singular relation, arising from his having been the corrupter where our Lord was the restorer. For, first of all, he only (with this exception) came to his hearers from a former state of bliss and innocence: how vivid and heart-stirring, then, must have been his setting forth of the happiness and glory promised hereafter; what conviction must have impressed his hearers, who listened to one who had actually known by experience what he stated, and not drawn upon the aspirations of a fervid imagination. He only, too, (with the same exception) knew from personal experience the extremes of exultation and abasement; knew to all its extent the degradation of sin and death, and tasted the cup of human agony to the very dregs. He alone (with the same exception) could sympathize with the infirmities of all mankind, for in him they all had their spring; he was father, not only of their bodies, but, alas! of all the sins and pains of those bodies. How passionate, how powerful, must have been his preaching to the inheritors of his own self-procured sinfulness and death. How affectionate his exhortation, both as natural and spiritual father, to resist that plague which he himself had brought upon them. How deep, how edifying, must have been his penitence. How lively his thankfulness to God, his pardoner; how joyful his hope in a Redeemer; how profound his humility; how impressive, therefore, his example, which must thus have borne to the conduct of his hearers, somewhat of that relation which our Lord's bears to ours. It bore testimony to his revelation. How unweariedly watchful must have been his care over that flock, that he might bring into the fold of eternal life the sheep whom his own sin had scattered and driven astray. How intimate, too, must have been his knowledge of the human breast: he, indeed, knew what was in the heart of man, but it was as his corrupter, and not as his maker; it was as having tasted perfect innocence before he fell into guilt, and not from the omniscience of divine purity. Finally, his very presence gave evidence to his doctrine: it was to his hearers what the written word is to us, together with all the proofs, collateral and posterior, of its authenticity. The sixth part of a man's life of those days did not elapse between him and Noah, the preacher of righteousness. And when between the first and second Adam arose a greater preacher than he, unweariedly in the earlier part of his ministry warning men of the wrath and judgment to come, and during the latter part setting forth the dreadful accomplishment of God's justice? If Adam could tell of the bliss of Paradise, and stir up his descendants to struggle and regain that bliss in a world to come everlasting, so Noah could speak of the horrors of the flood, and entreat his posterity to beware of the final judgment of the life hereafter. Thus both the mercy of God, and the justice of God, were preached in the Patriarchal Church, with a power, and under circumstances, which rendered quite unnecessary any commission of the word to writing. In Abraham the original promise is both confirmed, amplified, and defined: the Redeemer is to spring from his seed, and a new intervention of God, with an enlargement of his mercy, has now to be handed down to his posterity. But so shortened is human life, that such tradition could not go far without corruption. After, therefore, repeating his covenant with Isaac and Jacob, God put the finishing crown to it in his communication with Moses, caused the law to be registered in writing, and Holy Scripture, (in the strict sense of the word,) commenced, after three intervening successions* from Abraham, and six from Adam. But it is necessary to bear in mind that this law, which in all its provisions, civil and religious, peculiarly regarded the abode of the favoured family in the land of promise, did not take the place of the creed of the patriarchal revelation, but only surrounded it as a vineyard with a hedge, to protect it from the devastation of the superstition without. The ordinances are put upon a more settled footing; the doctrines, if not expressed, yet lie in it in such a manner, that, supposing them to be once known, their places are immediately found.† The whole faith, therefore, of the Patriarchal Church, existing at the time of the delivery of the law, must have existed ever after. But that nothing may be wanting, God maintained a continual succession of prophets, who, as they taught, appealed perpetually to these doctrines, and if these appear to be expressed more clearly, and to grow in number towards the end of the Jewish dispensation, it is not because they only now began to be entertained, (as some paradoxical theorists would have it,) but because prophecy became, from circumstances already referred to, so much more abundant in quantity, and also, from growing infidelity, so much more didactic in its nature. The very fact, too, which all divines allow, of the later prophecies hinting these doctrines, shows that they were addressed to a people to whom they were familiar. Thus the word of God came to the Jew most abundantly indeed. It came to him by tradition from his fathers, which was farther maintained by the teaching of the prophets, and hinting of the law; it came to him by direct precepts from the moral part of the law; it came to him reflected from innumerable points of the ceremonial law; and all this in such a manner, that a desire of knowledge was sure to be rewarded with knowledge, and increase to earn increase. Even the most inert portion of it, its straightest and yet most unnecessary injunctions, had its effect. When the spiritual-minded man compared this with the aspirations which had been raised in him by that portion which bore spiritual interpretation, he felt an inexpressible yearning after something better; he discerned a designed incompleteness; he was conscious of being in tutelage. Every reading of the law thus supplied him with elements of thought, which carried him on far beyond the point at which it ceased to speak openly: it hinted most abundantly, but fulfilled most scantily. Hence he was continually led on to the spirituality of the glorious promises made in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and looked out for the redemption and the life to come.

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* Methuselah was cotemporary with Adam, 243 years; Shem with Methuselah, 97 years; Abraham with Shem, 50 years.

* Jacob, Levi, Amram.

† Thus the article of the resurrection of the dead, lies in Exod. iii. 15, as shown by our Lord. Matt. xxii. 32.

But now to the Christian all this imperfection has become perfection; the obstacle of carnal ordinances has been removed, and unlimited range is given to the spirit. All that the Patriarch dimly sought in prospect, all that the Jew doubtfully handled through the veils of type and prophecy, all has been supplied, and more than the heart of man could have contemplated and desired; the flood-gates are burst with the abundance of the stream, yea, all the windows of heaven have been opened, and the whole earth is covered with the waters of life. The word of God, consigned to writing by the apostles of our Lord, and their disciples, hath come down to us, and will go down beyond us to remotest ages, delivered to successive generations by a faithful succession of members of his church, the existence of which he has assured to us for ever. Having received a gift so inestimable in itself, so wonderfully provided too with the means of transmission, let us with grateful hearts search into its riches, and learn to apply to our use its exceeding benefits.

For this purpose we will first consider Scripture as a book of knowledge, and compare it with the most instructive and interesting of the different classes of the writings of men.

I. Since it applies to our morals, teaching us our duties, let us compare it with a work of this nature. Let us, then, take up such a book, the most perfect let it be which the unevangelized mind of man is capable of producing. Let us go through it, comparing sentence with sentence, investigating its principles, proving its arguments, imbibing all its knowledge, and possessing ourselves to the utmost of its spirit. Let us rise up from it with a mind exalted far beyond its former pitch, and burning with a desire to put into practice that to which both heart and head have given so devotedly their sanction; and when we come into the world of practice, alas! is not the intoxicating dream soon over? Do we not feel deceived, deluded, and our high notions supplanted by an angry feeling, as if we had been imposed upon, or by the despondency of disappointment. For on the very threshold we are encountered with obstacles which had never been calculated upon, and find, both in ourselves and others, infirmities of which we had but slight, if any, notice; and a depth of corruption, of which but the surface had been presented. Above all, we want an immovable ground of principle; we want the pervading spirit of which the virtues which were recommended are the body: for not only are those virtues opposed, but their very foundation, such as it is, is too slight to withstand the attack. It is battered, it reels, it falls; and, with it all the proud towering fabric reared upon it, of vain-glorious virtue, comes with a crash to the ground. The only foundation is faith in God, and the only book which can supply this is the word of God: that book comes from him to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, who knows all our infirmities, and hath sounded all the depths of our corruption; who hath fashioned us behind and before, and from whom no secret can be hidden. Informed with his word, we are informed with his spirit, by which that word was dictated; we have his grace infused upon our hearts, so that we draw thence not only the will and desire to do, but the wisdom and power also. It forewarns us of all our infirmities, points out all our dangers, and sends us into action prepared to encounter the worst which can befall. We are, by the real view of our infirmities, humbled in order to be exalted; whereas that deluding book of human wisdom exalted but in order to humble. The word of men's wisdom moved us, by a number of unconnected principles, as a dead body may be put into motion by application to its different members; but the word of God is the spirit of life within, which gives motion to every part of the living body. So different is this book from a book of moral precept, in which rank half-believers are so fond of considering it.

II. Since the word of God commands and forbids, let us next compare it with a code of laws. Now in the case of all human codes, a law may be learned, and we need no' refer to it again; and indeed its principal laws are known and obeyed by the great majority without having seen the written code at all, but they have learned them from their conversation with the society which is founded upon them. But can this be done with any part of Scripture? Let us take the most legal part of it, the decalogue; will any one, who has ever reflected upon the nature of its all-seeing Giver, assert that any one commandment there comes to him with the one unvaried meaning (which it is the virtue of a human law to have) which is expressed by the outward letter? Does he not rather feel that the searcher of all hearts, who forbids murder, (for instance,) forbids also, by that same commandment, all thought and feeling which by any possibility may ultimately lead to it; and that therefore the most gentle, the most innocent, the most charitable among us, may recite this commandment every day of his life, and find in it fresh application to himself, and cry out on God for pardon for the past, and grace for the future? From human law we learn what to do, and what not to do; but from divine law also what to think, and what not to think. Doing requires a particular occasion; thinking is always at hand, always to be regulated, and therefore the law of God at every moment applicable, and to be appealed to. But if such be the case with the legal and comparatively carnal part of God's word, that we must have it ever in our hands, being required to be our own judges, that we may not be judged, (while we leave the exact knowledge of human laws entirely to the magistrates appointed to administer them,) what shall we say to the spiritual part? what to the Gospel? This is addressed to the most secret and inward part of man; in order fully to obtain its light we must bare to it the inmost recesses of our hearts: and who, with the longest life, and most uninterrupted habit of self-examination, ever arrived at its bottom? Who, then, but a madman would talk of a single reference, or of a second-hand knowledge, as sufficient here. And yet this is but half of the instruction laid out for us by the Gospel, which not only helps us to search the spirit of man, but also informs us of the spirit of God; and who hath ever fathomed that depth?—still more, who shall combine the knowledge of the two, and bring every turn and winding of his own spirit under cognizance of that unsearchable spirit? No son of man is able; but every son of man, as having a spirit hereafter to be judged by that spirit, must do this to the utmost of his ability, and anticipate, as far as in him lies, the judgment of the last day; therefore must God's written word be continually in his hand, that it may be written progressively on his heart. So far does it differ from a code of human law.

III. Since God's word contains a history of his church, and especially of its divine founder, let us compare it with a history.

In the reading of history, however amused and instructed, and even interested, we may be, yet. considered with regard to our individual welfare, we are but little concerned. Let it even be the history of our country, let our own forefathers be amongst the most celebrated names, let our own native spot be the scene of some of its grandest events; we lay down the volume indeed with a glow perhaps of enthusiasm and personal vanity, but we never take it up again but for occasional reference, or for particular passages, or to refresh memory by a rapid glance of the eye, or to indulge the abovementioned passion;—we never read it carefully over and over again, compare passages, weigh sentences, with the interest of one who could learn his own fate from it. Nay, let even this history be one of grand and critical events, which not only bear a great resemblance to those which are passing before our eyes, but also have evidently given birth to them, so that we can trace an unbroken chain from one to the other; still we do not feel individually affected, but merely as members of general society. Having obtained a clear knowledge of the events, and drawn our deductions, we close the book with a consciousness of access to our knowledge no doubt, and with a renewed interest with regard to the aspect of our own times; and we may recur often to it, as a new light reflected from other portions of history, or from passing events, clears up any portion, or throws it into glowing relief; still the feeling amounts to little more than curiosity: we perhaps strongly or jocularly express our sentiments by calling it the book of fate. Yet is this only politically speaking: we do not really feel our fortunes suspended upon those events, nor consider our individual welfare of body and mind as flowing from them; consequently in this, as in the former case, the first reading, if it be not the last also, is the only thorough reading: and however we may improve our information by further recurrence, yet at no time is either the interest of that vivid force, or the knowledge of that practical nature, such as to have any sensible influence upon moments not dedicated to the especial contemplation of such a subject.

But let us now take up the word of God, the history of the kingdom of heaven. Every event here is one of a grand and brilliant series, tending to our own salvation. The actors in them are God the Father and his blessed Son, and men, our spiritual forefathers, whom death, instead of dividing from us, unites. The public events, even of the most worldly complexion,—as the rise and fall of cities and empires, of Tyre, of Babylon, and of Persia,—as recorded there, all visibly bear to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ's gospel upon earth, are seen at this moment in their blessed effects upon us and around us, and can be traced tending onward still to brilliant points of merciful dispensation beyond us, both as to place and time. The private events are chiefly those which conduct our Saviour to his cross, give continual occasion to words from his mouth of inexpressible comfort, of peace and joy to every earnest reader, and contain those sufferings which perfected him as a high priest appointed to offer up an atonement for our sins. Thus our own salvation is the continual theme, the means of it the continual lesson. And it is the salvation, not of the body, or things of the body, of which the mind intently engaged in any study never thinks, but of that immortal part, which, while we read, we feel within us weighing and discerning the spirit of the words, and trembling or exulting at their import; of that part which we feel indeed and alone to be ourselves, from which we are conscious that we never can be separated, now or hereafter. This book, proceeding from the spirit of God, meets our spirit with his spirit; and what end can there be, what satiety of instruction and enjoyment, in such a communion? Neither the first nor the hundredth and first perusal will satisfy. It is a book for life.

IV. We may also consider the word of God as the biography of a friend, who laid down his life for us; as the testament of a friend bequeathing us inestimable and everlasting treasures; as the letter of a friend from a distant land, to which we ourselves must one day go. Under this and every other view in which we can possibly place it, we shall find it an object of continual study. The more we look at it, the more it expands. Some fresh quality of mercy, some new channel of grace, some uncontemplated importance of fact suggests itself at each perusal; and innumerable are the modes of joy and sorrow, endless their combinations, which we thence derive: of sorrow for the sufferings of our deliverer,—of sorrow for own sinfulness to which those sufferings were due; but of joy for our Redeemer's return to life and glory, and joy for our deliverance thereby so wonderfully accomplished.

So different, so inappreciably superior is this book to every other,—and so different, so inexpressibly more ardent and persevering must be our study of it. And now, let us ask of ourselves, is it thus studied? Alas! but by one or two here and there; and they will confess that their ardour and perseverance is far below what they are conscious it should be, and that they never can hope to realize, however they may, and will to the last endeavour, the notion and plan which they have set before them. But do we even hear it talked of as every book of general and powerful interest is talked of. Is it a book which even the indolent and superficial betake themselves to, because it is so common, that ignorance upon it is disgraceful? Alas! neither is it so. It is a book, the mention of which is studiously shunned in general society; it is a book of which the world will plead ignorance without a blush. Various are the causes of this treatment. It requires much study, and most men will give but little to any book; its subject is spiritual, and most men are natural. These are plain and obvious causes; but one cause there is not so obvious, but fully as efficacious, and therefore more insidiously besetting us: it is the notion that we are sufficiently acquainted with its contents already. The absurdity of such a notion has, I hope, appeared sufficiently from what has been just stated. But as its effects are grievously important, let us examine it more particularly.

Of what nature is the prevailing knowledge of the contents of this book? It is a loose, traditional information which floats about in society, obtained orally and not by reading, and known more from being at times unavoidably encountered, than by being ever purposely sought; its highest and purest source is nothing more than the attention which decency demands men to pay to public worship, and this operates but feebly. It mainly comes to men in the great traditional stream of modes and opinions, delivered down by one worldly generation to another; and thus reaches the pupil in the same channel with the law of the land, with the conventional usages of society, and other accompaniments which entirely strip God's word of its awful and peculiar distinction from man's, degrade its solemn character, and assign it a place scarcely above that of the established canons of society. Such a knowledge must be not only most imperfect, but erroneous also; but this is the very sort of knowledge which administers the most certain obstacle to all improvement or correction; this knowledge is adapted to man's corrupt inclinations, it satisfies, therefore, all his inquiries. To alter our notions is to confess ourselves in the wrong, and this our vanity will not allow; at the same time it requires exertion, and this our indolence will not endure: thus we cling to our ignorance, and in religion mistaking the familiarity of terms (which have been thrust on our ears whether we would or not,) for the meaning of them (which we have never taken the trouble to examine,) whisper in our careless and overweening spirit, before our teacher, perhaps, has opened his lips, "I know all that is going to be said already." This presumption of knowledge prevents too many from consulting the original at all, and they who carry the prejudices of imperfectly acquired, and therefore corrupt knowledge, to the reading of it, are beset with difficulties, which it requires great patience and exercise of good sense and judgment to surmount.

The great danger of a superficial reading in this case, is a confirmation rather than dissipation of previous errors. When we look at a building with a passing glance, it will often assume the features which we expect from some previous but inaccurate information, or are inclined to find: our senses have not time to contradict our notions or wishes; and the having seen it with our own eyes, convinces us more than ever of the accuracy of our original notion of it. So it is also with the mental eye, every thing is as we expect or wish to find it; we turn over the leaves in Scripture, see the same familiar terms, phrases, and facts, and shut the book with the satisfaction of having searched for ourselves, of having found ourselves moreover in the right, and are thus confirmed in our error. But as when we go up close to that building, and examine it long and intently, the whole appearance alters; magnitudes, places, proportions are changed, windows are found to be doors, chimnies to be towers, pillars to be buttresses, and in fact the very order of architecture different: so is it when we come to apply our minds closely upon Scripture,—all is changed. Those terms so familiar assume different senses, are beheld in a different connexion and bearing. This relation of the terms to each other, it is, which we must endeavour to comprehend every day with surer and wider grasp; from this alone can we gain the clear and sure understanding of the word, and be imbued with a deep and due sense of the awful meaning of its terms. Let us then, having opened the book, carry on our search with all the activity and perseverance which the investigation of truth demands from us erring mortals. Great indeed is the folly, and melancholy is the delusion, of satisfying ourselves with the mere familiarity to our ear and eye, of even the least important term (as it may seem to us) in the gospel. Every stone in a building, however magnificent the whole may be, is in itself commonplace and familiar; but as our eye carefully travels from it to its neighbours, we are led to survey the harmony and grandeur of the whole; and on returning to it, we are surprised to find that stone, hitherto thought so indifferent, filling some important position in the support or beauty of the entire building. Almost every day, on going forth from our doors in a large city, we encounter familiar faces; but unimportant as they may thus appear, did we inquire about such persons, we should find them perhaps filling, in their respective spheres, useful and necessary stations in the structure of the society by which we are surrounded. Such is also the difference in importance and meaning, with which the most familiar terms and passages of Scripture strike the person who had hitherto been content to take them as they were offered to him, but has now determined to ascertain their meaning for himself. And how happy has ever been the result. How many, thus seeking, have found that they had been familiar with an angel of God, with a prophet of the Most High, yet known them not any more than those two carnally-minded disciples did their Lord on the road to Emmaus. How many have discovered in those terms which they had carelessly heard, and still more carelessly, perhaps, employed, and discovered with a surprise of wholesome fear or joy,—here a messenger to repentance, there a monitor to obedience: here a minister of hope, there of dread: here a queller of his pride, there an encourager of his despondency: here a chastiser of the conscience and a prober of the heart, there a comforter to the spirit, and soother of his troubles.

Let us proceed to remove the veil which long familiarity has thrown over some of these terms, and see if their real features be indeed so insignificant, so uninspiring, so unappalling.

How familiar are the terms Salvation and Redemption to the ears of men; but have they ever called up together into their mind, and placed next to their hearts, the facts which are included under them,—man expelled from bliss, a world lost in iniquity, devoted to death, the Son of God appearing as a Redeemer from heaven, crucified for its sins, raised again for its justification; themselves, in particular, subject to the shame, and liable to the glory implied in all this cluster of heart-stirring facts? Men will speak of grace; but have they learned from the testimony of their own closely questioned hearts, gathered from well applied experience, and drawn from the instruction of Holy Writ, how much that is called in to repair? Have they followed with generous aspirations its glorious course through the characters exhibited in Scripture, from the first day of the spirit's visible descent upon the apostles, tracing its healing influence on the weakness and corruption of human nature? Have they examined its promises, its means, its objects, and sought by earnest prayer its effects upon themselves? They will speak of the atonement; but have they ever in their hearts leisurely confronted two beings face to face,—sinful, weak, mortal man, with holy, Almighty, everlasting God—and have they then tried to reach the height of the mercy, and sound the depth of the love which could draw cords of reconciliation between two such beings? They will use the term future retribution; but have they ever calmly looked in the face the tremendous aggregate of facts to which that term gives unity: Christ coming with his host of holy angels in the clouds of heaven, with the trump of God, to judge the quick and the dead, of all tongues, and of all ages; separating the crowd,—as Moses once the sea,—on his right hand and on his left, welcoming the one side to bliss, dismissing the other into everlasting punishment?

They will speak of our Lord's divinity. But have they ever traced him in that glorious attribute through the two covenants, blazing as the angel of the one with fearful signs and wonders; and going about humbly, as the minister of the other, doing good with miracles of mercy and love? Have they reflected how overwhelmingly awful this attribute renders what is already so awful; how it affects his rejection, his agony, his cross, and his grave; and how prominent in responsibility the Christian stands apart from the rest of mankind, for hence God is in a peculiar manner his master, God in a peculiar manner his judge? Such, when unveiled, is the aspect presented by but a few of the general terms of Scripture. And their meaning is such, we see, as must not come and go at man's will and bidding, but abide with him in his heart, being continually kept filled up to their full measure by frequent appeals to Scripture. Thus alone will they have due weight upon our understanding and affections. Otherwise with advancing years they will continually drop somewhat of their former fulness, make a slighter and slighter impression, gradually lose all power of affection, and finally sink into the most vague and unmeaning portion of the vocabulary.

Shall, then, any thing less than a serious and persevering study of this heavenly volume content us? Can we ever dispense with it? Only let us inspect our own bosoms. What infinite varieties and variations of sense and passion, what changes of shapes of thought, and all its innumerable combinations, are taking place there, within even a short interval,—within one glance, I may say,—of self-examination. Not for one moment is our frame of mind in one stay. Yet his word, who knew what was in the heart of man, has ever something wherewith to meet, correct, and turn to the best account, every one of these varieties. Can we, then, ever cease to need its application? As well may our body live without the vivifying soul, as our mind dispense with the life-giving spirit of Holy Scripture. Again, therefore, let me urge you to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest: above all, ascertain well your present state of knowledge of the word, nor be afraid to discover your ignorance; for as surely as the fear of God is the beginning of that wisdom which prompts us to obey him, so is the consciousness of our ignorance the beginning of that wisdom which leads us to know him; and having known him, to love him with that perfect love which casteth out fear. And now, finally, let me dismiss you with an appeal to that name which ye bear. Ye are called Christians. This term, so familiar as to be tossed about from one to another, bestowed indiscriminately on every one around us, nay, in many mouths, even synonymous with man, what does it imply? It implies the sworn soldier and servant of Him, who is God, Saviour, Priest, King, Prophet, Maker, and Judge of the world. In it is comprehended the extreme of earthly humiliation and of heavenly glory: in it we are reminded of man's fall and recovery, Satan's triumph and defeat, of the conquered powers of darkness, of the conquering powers of light, of the kingdom of God upon earth, and in the world to come everlasting. Keeping in sight this meaning of the title which ye bear, look into your own hearts, see their irresolution, rebelliousness, confliction of duty with passion, of spirit with flesh, of darkness with light, and fly to the remedy which God hath set before you, even his pure word. Let this title, coming on your ears, be a trumpet-call to duty, rousing all your spirit within you, as faithful soldiers of your heavenly Master. And thus, even thus, by knowledge, by goodness, by the armour of God on the right hand and on the left, may we have Christ abiding with us, ever by his precious word through his Holy Spirit, making us wise unto salvation.

DISSERTATION V.

ON SCRIPTURE.

Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word.—2 Trin. ii. 15.

The necessity of a continual study of Scripture, has appeared from its peculiar character as a book, in whatever class we choose to consider it. But this will appear still more clear on considering not merely its subject, but the manner in which that subject is treated. We shall find that there is a peculiarity in the arrangement of its matter in the holy volume, which will require a more particular study than would be necessary under other circumstances.

For this purpose let us only consider what is the nature of the most celebrated works which profess to teach us the duties of life. They are regular systems; precept is drawn regularly from precept, and all proceeds by an unbroken chain of reasoning, from some fundamental proposition. In this consists their excellence; but how unsuitable is all this to the purposes of life. Here, so far from meeting with any thing like system, every thing is a contradiction to it. We find ourselves in a wilderness of circumstances, between which the mind can, at the moment, trace no imaginable connection, amid a confused train of thoughts and passions, brought into play by unforeseen objects, without visible mutual influence, intermingled without rational order, exciting, without permanent effect. Can we wonder, therefore, at the slight dominion which such books, however admirable, have ever exercised upon practice; exhibiting, as they do, a regular chain of consequences which is never witnessed in real life; addressing themselves to that which is comparatively so little consulted—the understanding—and leaving entirely unaffected that grand and constant source of action, the heart: we may even go further, and assert, that as far as they do influence us, they throw the events of life, with which we daily come into close contact, to too great a distance, by making them subjects of theory, and thus lead us to speculate when we should be practising; and to think, when we should be feeling. The book which shall have a deep abiding practical influence on real life must reflect its image, must present that real mixture of facts, thoughts, and feelings, which is found to exist there, and while it does not neglect the proper appeals to the understanding, will hold prominently forward noble and influential motives to the heart;—such a book is Holy Scripture.

In this work the wisdom of God has consulted our weakness, which in those books it was the object of the pride of men to disallow. It would seem as if system had been purposely avoided. Of the two portions of which it consists, the one, the Gospels, is a narrative of facts, told as they occurred, which, as they arrest the attention, and challenge the understanding, in their important bearings, engage also the heart, incidentally, as it were, in the great stream of doctrine with which they are pervaded. The other, the Epistles, that great doctrinal storehouse, is composed of occasional letters, full of continual reference to facts, abounding with appeals to the affections, and so seldom indulging in any lengthened train of argument, that we are commonly left to gather the doctrine, by putting together what is there detached, and by supplying what was evidently pre-supposed. This provision of God's wisdom becomes still more apparent on turning to any of the regular systems of divinity. How cold, how formal, how unpractical they appear; yet the doctrine is precisely the same, having been drawn from its pages. It is the absence of facts, and artificial regularity of arrangement, which causes the difference. In the former case we were presented with real beings; our Lord and his apostles moved before our eyes; the doctrines came forth, as called by circumstances,—always interesting, oftentimes most heart-stirring,—from their mouths, or as illustrated with vivid beauty and truth in their behaviour. The doctrines were thus associated with facts, and made their impression on the heart with all the solidity of substance. We were presented not only with teachers, but with their hearers also. We listened to the one, we sympathized with the other. When our Saviour spoke, we stood amid the train of apostles and disciples; when St. Paul reproved the Corinthians, we were interested in their sorrow; when he commended them, we participated in their joy; when he advised Timothy, we joined with him in fearful and trembling responsibility. Every little fact, whether told directly out, or only disclosed by allusion, drew us into a nearer fellowship, giving additional substance of flesh to our conceptions, awakening our social feelings, and thus opening all the channels of the heart to the reception of the doctrine. But in the other case, our Lord becomes almost an abstract being; the goodly train of apostles, disciples, hearers, and assembled churches, vanishes at once; facts are excluded, and thus, while we have to follow the studied arrangement of the compiler, and are debarred from the interest of making our own inferences; our heart, at the same time, has scarcely any thing palpable presented to it.

This disposition of its matter will indeed require more attention; but, at the same time, the impression made is not only deep and lasting, but also sure and genuine: let us resort to an illustration. Suppose a figure, an image for instance, put into our hands, not entire, but in separate pieces, which are adjusted wisely to each other; when, after many trials and much study, we had put this together, should we not have a much more distinct and correct notion of it than if we had examined it ever so long entire? We now know clearly the relations of the different parts, with their proper proportions, so clearly, that were a fragment presented to us, as belonging to the figure, we could satisfy ourselves whether it did really so or not, and our memory retain steadily, and to our great satisfaction, that which our own labour has put together. Such is the result of having studied so as to make our own arrangement of the miscellaneous detail of Scripture. Having put all its separate parts together in our minds, its doctrines in our understanding, its feelings in our hearts, and thus spiritually framed in our breasts its entire configuration, we keep it by us permanently; and are, moreover, enabled at any moment to reject such false doctrine as the interested cunning of man may seek to impose upon us. We see at once its discrepancy; we know that there is no part to which it can be adapted. We will not argue on the doctrine itself, whether reasonable or otherwise; but we see that it is incongruous with the whole, and that is sufficient for its rejection. But supposing that what we have thus rejected, be proposed to one who has not thus studied Scripture for himself, but depends upon the aid of a system of divinity, well and clearly drawn out,—will he have the same ready discernment? He will not at the very outset, in all probability, have studied the system itself sufficiently; made out as it is to his hands, he will rely upon being able to lay his finger upon any part, when occasion calls, and not have the whole in his mind. In any case, he will not have the due comprehension of the bearing of the different parts to the one and only true shape; nor will the figure be filled up in all its parts, and unalterably fixed, but will flicker in his mind. Thus it will admit of incongruous additions, there is room for preposterous impertinences to intrude, and his faith is in jeopardy every hour. Under these circumstances, able and even honest men may be entangled in the subtleties of wily arguers, and receive for true what has been made to have to them the semblance of truth. But with the proper study of the original, men, unlearned in all other respects, may attain a stability of faith which shall be proof to any shock from false brethren without. So harmonious are the various relations of Scripture, so accordant with all his purest notions; so come in aid of all his serious wants, so adapt themselves to every turn of his mind, to every point of his understanding; so apply to all the affairs of life, that he has the firmest, the most unshaken conviction of its truth. It has completely adapted itself to his mind, become one with it, and partakes, therefore, of the certainty of its existence. No subtleties suggested by unbelievers will move him. As well may they propound to him Berkeley's objections to the existence of matter. Nor will he be less safe from the impositions of false teachers, whose doctrines he will quickly discern to be at variance with the truth. To the learned, who has to pursue the history of the Church of Christ after the apostolic period, it is absolutely necessary to have arrived thus at a decisive state of religious opinion, in order that he may discern whether what he reads is traceable to Scripture, whether they deform the original, or conform to it. This being the nature of the Holy Volume, it is plain that it requires qualities in its student in a higher degree than that in which they are commonly exercised upon other books. It must be read with more than common candour and sincerity, with more than common attention, with more than common perseverance.

We all know how a perverted mind distorts every thing to its own views in the perusal of writings, especially in such as are of a moral and historical cast. By a misrepresentation of some particulars, and a wilful slurring over of others, out of any complex question or body of facts, it can re-model the whole in satisfactory unison with its most corrupt inclinations. Now Scripture is both a moral (taking the word in its widest sense) and historical book, and the facilities of perversion are very much increased, by the very circumstance which we have seen to be favourable to ingenuous minds, namely, its arrangement. This is not that regular and closely woven chain which binds the reader to follow every step, examine every point, resisting by its systematic connection every attempt to omit or displace any link. But, in addition, the corrupt bosom is sure to carry into the perusal the most hearty good will to pervert. For the real views which the book exhibits are so humbling to human pride, so full of menace and stern rebuke, to the darling propensities of fallen man, and unfold such awful views of present responsibility and future judgment, that our corrupt nature gladly lays hold of any means of turning aside from so uninviting a contemplation. In deducing, therefore, its doctrines, such a bosom will select or omit such quantity and quality of detail as best suits its own previous views. Is not the history of the Church of Christ full of examples of this abuse of Scripture, and see we not the most determined self-accommodation in those who, in our days, denying our Lord's atonement, conduct their controversy with a perversion and disingenuousness incredible to those who have not witnessed it? But, perhaps, on a strict self-examination, we may find something of this in our own selves; and our own consciousness, combining with the memory of past experience, will suggest but too many of those shades of corrupt feeling which intervene between the first timid flutter of stricken conscience or wounded vanity, which would fain, but dares not, turn aside from some mortifying conclusion; and the proud defiance which shuts the volume at once, as speaking the language of a reproachful enemy.

A frank and ingenuous mind alone would profit of old from the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles; and the same is equally required for the profitable perusal of what they have left in writing. We must approach this volume, as we would the ark of God, with a profound reverence, with a wholesome fear of violating its purity, and with an offering of our whole heart, laying it open before him to his searching light in all its deepest recesses, without the reserve of a single nook, or the subterfuge of a single turning. Thus seeking in all humility the knowledge of his will, and not the confirmation of our own, we shall obtain the blessed guidance of the Holy Spirit, who will at once purify our bosom, and enlighten our understanding.

The very nature of this book, we have seen, forbids any correct information to be derived from such a perusal as is given to other books; a slight reading will neither dissipate previously entertained errors, nor attain to any sound doctrine, but, on the contrary, is likely to add but error to error. We are sufficiently fortunate in such a case, if we are supplied with a bare historical belief of the facts of Scripture. But never can we arrive at the deep and lively impressions of the heart, the holy temperament of the feelings, the linking of the thoughts in one bond, the direction of them to one object, the steadiness of view which can behold the light without a mote in the eye, or a cloud in the air,—in a word, a firmly rooted faith. This is the reward of far superior exertions, the effect of an union of heart and understanding in the same cause, which can be attained by unwearied diligence only, exerted in putting together again and again, and weighing in all its bearings the detail of Holy Writ.

But it must be pursued also with more than common perseverance. In the perusal of other books we may often arrive at their conclusion with our reasoning advanced, and imagination excited beyond the point at which the author has paused. And in every case, so circumscribed is the mind of man, a definite number of perusals is sufficient to give us full possession of all which the author himself really understood. But Scripture presents us with a portion of the mind of God, and who hath ever known that, or been his counsellor? Or who shall set limits to it, and think that it shall be comprehended in the limited mind of man? The least particle of revelation from God, in intimate connexion as it is with all above and below, past and future, is sufficient for ever to task the human faculties. Were, therefore, life protracted to a period ever so long, the more he studied, the more also would the student find to demand his study still. The heart needs a continual renewal of healthy affections, by feeding upon the sense of God's will; the understanding to be brought, from continual deviation, into adjustment with the standard of divine truth; and as page is turned over day after day, fresh passages are starting into importance, while others, which appeared detached, are forming clusters in his mind; and in every direction views are expanding, difficulties clearing up, deeper and more lasting impressions are forming. Who, for instance, will say that his understanding ever arrived at an unbroken view, even within its reasonable limits, in the Epistle to the Romans? Who, that his heart ever satisfied itself with reaching the depth of feeling expressed in St. Paul's farewell address to the Church of Ephesus,—how much less in those passages in which he accompanies the Saviour of the world to the cross? Who, that he ever satisfied either heart or understanding, in the crowded magnificence and awakening conclusions of the Epistle to the Hebrews? The book which tells of the future life, may indeed well demand for its comprehension all the employment of this, and the word of God for ever invite the highest exertion of the faculties of man.

With these qualifications then of more than common sincerity, attention, and perseverance, the student must approach the holy volume. The grand requisite implied in them all is an habitual and patient examination of detail, an habitual and careful study of facts, which must be the more numerous and the more established, in proportion to the extent and weight of the superstructure.

Unfortunately this requisite is less common than it was. It is the fault of our stage of society. Our predecessors have left us so many aids in every department of knowledge, so furnished us every where with ready-made collections of facts, with ready-drawn outlines and systems, that he must have a mind far more independent and original than his fellows, who will forego all these advantages, and seek for himself; who will despise the vanity and low ambition which can make an ostentatious display of knowledge acquired at second hand, and can exult in the borrowed plumage of far nobler minds; who will enter with the undaunted spirit of the champion into all the dust and tumult of the arena, and grapple hand to hand with detail; who, amid a multitude of facts, will form his own combinations, create his own shapes, cut out through the perplexing wilderness his own views, and disdain to rest content with what are termed general views,—those ordinary tracks through the field of knowledge, which have been trodden bare by twice ten thousand minds before.

To the formation of a character so requisite, there are many obstacles opposed, and by far the most serious, we see, are those which spring up in the very field of knowledge itself. The deceitfulness of the ground, indeed, is proverbial, and the more we become acquainted with it, the more we perceive the necessity of keeping a guard upon every step. Yet it is daily entered without the least foresight or precaution, as if there were a single spot in the regions of body or mind which the great adversary had not beset with his stumbling-blocks.

One character ill-suited for this study, is he who has been allured to the wide field of general knowledge, which is spread before him in such imposing extent and pleasing variety. The allurement having been his own gratification, whether of indolent amusement or of selfish vanity, he enters it under a baneful influence; for in every pursuit it is the object which gives it its character, and rewards it with a blessing or a curse. Such a person, therefore, flies from pursuit to pursuit, as the drone from flower to flower, without gathering honey. In course of time, his mind, habituated every where, from want of leisurely investigation, to gratuitous assumption, grows insensible to the force of proof: by neglecting the proper means of forming its own views, and passively borrowing those of others, its independence is broken, its stability destroyed, its native vigour and straight forward ingenuity is lost. Loose and desultory habits come in the place of single-minded, persevering industry; judgment is perverted, perception confused, memory ill-arranged and treacherous; and an overweening vanity which mistakes for talent its slavish docility, which decries as the food of plodding dulness, that detail which itself has neither sincerity to appreciate, nor powers of attention to master, nor vigour of faculties to digest,—this fills up the measure of the curse of barrenness, with which God ever visits the abuse of his gifts. What then has such a person to do with a book demanding such large endowments of qualities which he possesses not, and the spirit of which, above all, recoils from the unholy apprehension of falsehood and vanity; breathing, as it does, meekness and lowliness, gentleness and unwearied patience, from every page?

Ill-suited, likewise, is another character, in many respects opposed to the last. He who has hung over the treasures of ancient literature with that exclusive attention, that he has imbibed its proud and intolerant spirit, so that every other literature appears rude and barbarous, and, above all, that book whose spirit throughout is opposed both to the style of his favourite poets, the maxims of his favourite philosophers, the characters of his favourite worthies. Hence is that book but too frequently overlooked by men who have devoted their time and talents to this department of learning. And even when it is taken up, the profit is often far less to such persons than to other men. From having contracted their field of view, and neglected the healthy supplies to the mind from the world without, and also from the license of conjecture indulged in such a study, these men are apt to carry to the Holy Volume a spirit little agreeable to it. They have not sufficient reverence for its authority; they are arbitrary both in the reception of the text, and in their interpretation of it; and are, above all men, liable to the disease of an irregulated imagination. Nothing, indeed, can be more arbitrary in its choice than this, and nothing more exclusive when it has chosen. If it will fix upon the brilliant and vast for the room which it gives to its extravagance, it will also choose the trifling for the indulgence of the pride of creation; for there it experiences the consciousness of its own powers displayed in the magnitude to which, by the gorgeous dress laid on, it has swollen an object so insignificant. All between, which includes the golden mean of calm and sober dignity, is overlooked and despised. It comes, therefore, but ill prepared to the simple language, the sober dignity, and unaffected good sense of the Holy Text. By capriciously laying undue stress on particular points of the detail, and not giving every part its due weight, so that all shall be in harmonious equipoise, it forms a tottering edifice of belief, of discordant parts and proportions, and distorted in a multitude of ways from the features of stable grandeur, exhibited by the glorious original, the spiritual Temple of God.

A third character also ill-qualified to approach the Holy Volume, with the due correctness and proper information, is he who has never extended his serious pursuit of knowledge beyond the boundaries of the exact sciences. He is too apt to confound the nature of moral and abstract truth, which in this instance are particularly opposed; in the latter case a general truth having been discovered, all the detail included under it is also in our power whenever we choose to apply it; the proposition, retained in memory, involves all that it did when first discerned; it loses nothing of force, and lies ever ready for immediate application in all its original extent. In the former case all this is reversed: in order to obtain the general truth, we must have mastered the detail of which it is the result, and so far from the recollection of the general truth giving us the means of working out at any time the detail, its impression on the mind will be correct only in proportion to the quantity of detail retained with it, and to the freshness with which each particular is remembered. Hence, to keep up this general proposition in the memory, we must be continually repairing the loss of detail which the infirmity of our memory is continually letting drop; and this detail is acquired and maintained also not only by the powers of the head, but also by the feelings of the heart, the former of which were alone consulted in the preceding case, but the latter are principal here. Hence also, this detail is slow of acquirement, for while the understanding is to the mind as the sight to the body, informing it at a single glance; the heart is as the touch, informing it by the slow and successive application of parts, and its lesson comes upon it by the gradual process of page on page, letter on letter, line on line. In Scripture this is most especially the case, since there the doctrine is mixed with a body of facts upon which it is dependant; and each fact, on every fresh application to it, will not only revive former feelings, but also occasion new, so that we cannot pronounce at any moment, without the most gross self-delusion, that we are masters of Scriptural detail. Our whole life can but accumulate it, never complete its store.

From his confounding then these two species of truth, such a character is too much inclined to undervalue the difficulties attending the reception of religious truth, and also to be blind to the necessity of a constant recurrence to the written word of God. He is too apt to be satisfied with the general notions which he has of its doctrine, and which he has derived through an imperfect channel, considering them to give him possession of the results of the detail of the Holy

Volume, into which, as into a set of subordinate truths, they are resolvable at pleasure. He forgets the principal and peculiar province of the heart, or recoils from its tardy mode of acquirement; thus not only have his habits of thinking disinclined him from the proper and minute study of Scripture, but he is not so much as aware of its supreme necessity.

These cases, to which more might have been added, have been stated as briefly and generally as possible; and, as all general cases must be, pushed to their extremes. It is not necessary to qualify them here, or give them more practical substance. They form three great classes, to which, either single or combined, we may refer all imperfect believers; and certainly few, if any, of those who have tasted the enjoyment of a liberal education, and paid proper attention to the internal operations of their own minds, can fail to have detected in his own bosom, at some period or other, the elements of each. They must have experienced the strong temptation of a wide field of knowledge; they must have indulged, like the child who presses his closed eyes, in the brilliant and gorgeous hues of the imagination; they must have felt the power of philosophical generalization. Happy they! if they shall have been enabled to keep down each element in due and healthful subordination.

These cases are sufficient for the point in hand, which was to show the more prominent obstacles which the pursuit itself of knowledge throws in the way of the study of Scripture, rendering more rare than perhaps is generally thought, and certainly than could be desired, the character which was laid down for its earnest and improving student.

But it would be strange indeed if the cultivated mind were not exposed to increased difficulties and obnoxious to greater perils; the extension of any sphere of good is (alas! for our corrupt nature) necessarily that also of the evil with which it is so intimately mixed up; and the Giver of all good things, as he bestows not his gifts in vain, would depart from his established economy of the world, if he did not accompany them with corresponding trials to call forth and perfect their due exercise; therefore the cultivated mind dwells in the midst of perils, and, like the intruder into power, cannot remain with impunity where it is. It must neither tarry nor sleep: conspiracies of the powers of darkness are around it, which, as they grow more threatening, it must surmount by going on to greater and still greater power, until it attain that sovereign unassailable power which is conferred by the knowledge of the word of God. There alone is its resting-place, there alone its throne, whence it can behold its enemies in subjection beneath its footstool.

A sovereign power, indeed, is that knowledge to which all other knowledge must administer but as a loyal subject; for all other, however brilliant in appearance, however vast in extent, however useful in means, yet, if it be independent of this, terminates but in the mortal body. This is the fountain of honour to them all; yet (such is the perversity of human nature) as God is forgotten for his angels and saints by the weak and superstitious, so is this forgotten for its servants by the wise of this world.

Great, overpoweringly great, is the responsibility of those to whom God hath assigned the blessed gifts of talents to learn, and of leisure and opportunity of learning. The aid which they can bring to the cause of religious truth is manifest, but the harm which their apathy (to say nothing of their opposition) can effect is too little considered; here, indeed, our Lord may more especially exclaim, "Who is not with me is against me." On the unthinking, and on such as are guided by the examples around them, (and how large a portion of society is this,) is it necessary to state the effect of indifference to God's word, shown by men looked up to for power of talent and extent of information? When they see that all the treasures of knowledge have been ransacked but this, see all subjects eagerly discussed but this, find all books painfully marked and noted but this; can they do otherwise than learn to treat this volume with disrespect,—to reckon it dull and uninviting, mean and homely, a book for the vulgar? But even such treatment is less injurious, such silence less pernicious, than the levity of discussion with which it is sometimes entertained by persons of reputation for human wisdom. Unwilling, in their ostentatious display, and pretension to all knowledge, to appear quite ignorant of this, they will subject it to the same superficial means of acquirement, and with the same careless levity, as they treat the ephemeral productions of the day, which serve for subjects of conversation. Hence its awful truths are discussed with a licentious laxity of opinion, the debaters seeking effect, and not conviction, and putting together in wrong, if not paradoxical and fantastic combinations, such detached passages as happen, amid their careless hearing or reading of the word, to have solicited and retained upon their memory. The opinions of such men on religion, worthless (to say the least) as they are, unfortunately exercise much influence on that large class which look up to men of literary character as to infallible guides in every department. It were better for such to hold their tongue for ever upon this awful subject, than to rush into it without a knowledge conscientiously sought, and therefore correctly attained.

Some scholars, some men of character for all the attainments of human knowledge, embraced the faith of Jesus even in the earlier days of the gospel. Such was probably Dionysius the Areopagite, and such certainly was Justin Martyr. Let us, who have revelled, as they also had done, on the feast of literature, consider the frame of mind which led them in the end to make the inestimable preference of the word of God. Their faculties had not been abused and dissipated by frivolous and heartless pursuit of superficial knowledge; they had not been dulled by indolence of light reading, nor perverted by vanity, but had been maintained in all liveliness of health and vigour, so that the mind, having its natural sway, should pursue its legitimate objects. It must have had quick all its native curiosity, all its candour, its love of truth, all its energy of pursuit, all its singleness of view. Such qualities (and let us ever bear this in mind) it must have brought to that investigation, which God has ordained to be its noblest exercise, the investigation of his attributes; and to this end also it must have habitually practised temperance, to keep itself in vigour; prudence, to direct its exertions by the shortest and surest way; fortitude, to keep its own unswerving course, undiverted by the authority of names; adding to them all, patience to endure, perseverance to pursue, hope to attain. To such a mind spoke St. Paul at Athens, and beyond all our powers of conception must have been the effect. Let us imagine a treasure long sought, under a hope, indeed, but not assurance, of its existence, to be at last found; a grief long suffered to be turned into joy; darkness long and thick to be suddenly changed into uninterrupted light; life to be given for death. So came upon these primitive scholars the tidings of salvation in Christ Jesus. And shall not we, their successors in both fields of knowledge; we, in whom the order has been reversed, who knew the sound of the word of God long before the dictates of the philosopher, or the tale of the poet; who never knew what real darkness was, any more than he who at will retires for a short time into a cavern from the rays of the sun, in order to enjoy them again in greater effect of warmth and brilliancy,—shall not we maintain with equal sense of its value, with equal joy and satisfaction, the inestimable gift? Shall not we, who all our life long, both in ourselves and in others, have been experiencing its blessed effects, maintain our profession as zealously as they chose it? O what a state of condemnation would ours be, if, in contrast to those learned men of old, who changed the philosopher for the Christian, we should exchange the Christian for the philosopher. God forbid such a termination. Let us diligently provide against the slightest probability of it.

A tendency to this result belongs to mature age. But there are many here present who have still the great part of their course before them. They are at that period of life, when it is enjoyed to all its measure of fulness; when the experience is common of those blissful moments, in which, from health of body and lightness of heart, the bare animal existence is felt as an inestimable blessing. What feelings then, let me ask of them, can they conceive as attending the consciousness of existence of a mind fresh in spiritual health, and full of the glad assurance of immortality? How joyous, how divine! Such a sense is conferred by the word of God: thus its knowledge bestows the blissful feelings of eternal youth upon the mind. Let the recurrence and the remembrance of such moments serve to bring the analogy to view, and accustom them to appreciate the exceeding value of this heavenly gift. This (let them bear ever in mind) is the one thing, without which all knowledge at the best is useless, and may be most pernicious. For knowledge, though indeed a glorious, a powerful instrument, yet like all mere human acquisitions, is in itself but a brute weapon, depending, for its effect of good or evil, upon the mind of the employer, and may be used in felling God's cedars on Libanus, when it should be hewing down the groves of Baal.

Let them, then, remembering their Creator in the days of their youth, dedicate to the study of his life-giving word the freshness of the morning of their days: even now, in this their day, while the heart is yet plastic and unperverted, still in healthy communion with the head; while the mental vision is yet clear; while the power of observation is yet fresh and keen of edge,—of attention yet undistracted, of memory yet retentive. On the suitable employment of these mental gifts, depends not only their native health and masculine vigour of mind, but the power of appreciating divine truth is concerned, the welfare of their immortal souls is at stake. Let them, therefore, together with the blessing, consider the responsibility also of the gift which God has conferred upon them in a liberal education; and as they gaze upon the wide and spirit-stirring prospect which he has thus unveiled to them, and feel the firmness of grasp, and the extent of power, with which he has thus endowed their understanding, let them resolve to render unto him who gave, the first fruits of their harvest. With the Word of God let them begin, and with the full blessing of the Word of God they shall end. The right understanding, the unreserved acceptance of this, let them ever keep in view; and, looking steadfastly to the end, cheerfully enter upon the labour of detail, accustoming their minds, in all conscientiousness, to that patience which alone can produce a perfect work, or attain a precious object. For without the substantial support of a full body of well-canvassed facts, reason will decline into barren speculation, imagination will degenerate into idle dreaming. Let theirs be the patience of that wise king of yore, who built the temple of the living God; and, laying fact upon fact, as it were stone upon stone, let them, like good spiritual masons, gradually raise and combine their views, until all shall grow in harmonious proportions of strength and beauty into a goodly temple, aptly fitted together. In such a temple only of the mind will scriptural truth deign to dwell; and it will dwell, and fill the whole house with the glory of the Lord.

DISSERTATION VI.

ON SACRIFICE.

The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.—John i. 29.

It is difficult to conceive how any one, who believes in the atonement of our blessed Saviour, can consider sacrifice to be of any other than divine institution: the Jewish sacrifices, and more especially that of the Lamb, are continually appealed to in the New Testament as foreshadowing the offering of his body upon the cross. But these are but the continuation, under certain qualifications, of a rite which can be traced up to the immediate sons of Adam. Now had it been the invention of Adam, or of these his sons, and had so spread through all their descendants, as to become an universal means of worshipping God,—which last we know to have been the fact,—would God, when he took so much pains to separate the children of Israel from the rest of the world, and keep them far away from the abominations of the Heathen, have maintained among them a rite which, beyond every other, was universally held with the grossest notions, and practised with the vilest abominations? Would he, had it contained nothing more than what the carnal mind of man could impart to it, have suffered among his chosen people this stepping-stone to the horrible depravities and uncleanness of the sacrificers to Moloch, and to Baal? Would he have taken out of the hands of man a rite which his creature had invented under gross conceptions, (for blood-shedding, as conceived by himself, could not be otherwise,) and abused to his deepest moral degradation;—would he have adopted this as the vehicle and type of the greatest and purest of moral blessings, even of the atonement of his only begotten son?—or viewing it even in the highest light which it will thus bear, namely, as an act of will-worship of the first man, conceived in his purest thoughts; is it consonant with due notions of the Almighty to suppose that God, by a second thought as it were, imparted to this act a meaning which he himself had previously revealed, but without making any provision for thus embodying and continuing it? It must be some strong prejudice indeed which should make us espouse a supposition clogged with such difficulties, and reject one which immediately brings all into harmony. But if we proceed in our examination, we shall see that such a means of worshipping God never could of itself have entered into the minds of the persons who are represented as having first employed it.

The occasions on which man approaches God, may be reduced to two:—he comes before him with his offering, either to thank him for past mercies, and to implore their continuance, or to ask pardon for past offences, and deprecate punishment. But however we may in thought separate these occasions, yet, in the worship of a fallen creature like man, they must ever be combined; the offering, therefore, which he brings must be considered in the twofold light of a gift, and a ransom: of a gift, as the natural expression of thanksgiving and homage to him who gave, and can give more, who is the ruler and maker of all things: of a ransom, to him to whom his life hath been forfeited by transgression, to him whose holy nature cannot endure the least unholiness, and who can take away no less than give. Considering it then as a gift, we find it hard to reconcile this meaning with the very inadequate notions which the first sacrificer (who could not be later than Cain or Abel) must necessarily have had, both with regard to its nature and efficacy; such a meaning surely supposes a stage of society much advanced beyond his. Let this point, however, be granted; we have next to ask how he could conceive a slaughtered beast to be a gift?—to us, habituated to animal food, the idea is not so incongruous. But how could men not allowed the use of such food, thus conceive of it? How could Noah, (to come lower down still,) who offered his sacrifice upon his deliverance, imagine that he was thus presenting a gift? How, when death was an idea so exceedingly abhorrent to the mind of the first sacrificer, could he dare in the very first instance to put an animal to death; much more to present it as an acceptable gift to a being of those attributes which his yet unadulterated creed acknowledged? The same objections are fatal to its being considered as a ransom; and to these we may add the impossibility of supposing that a man's reason could induce him to conceive that the life of another could be any substitute for his own, except by express compact between the parties offending and offended; still less could it go a step farther, and make the life of an irrational animal that substitute.

But if we suppose him to have sacrificed on the express injunction of God, every thing is clear. Humbly acknowledging that he had forfeited life and light by his transgression, deeply thankful for God's merciful pardon, he would joyfully accept (although he could not of himself have devised) this lively mode of expressing both his confession and thanksgiving—the more lively from its repugnance to law and feeling; and when once revealed, sacrifice so adapts itself to every turn of man's feelings towards a superior being, that it would survive the wreck of every other portion of God's church. For since the notions formed of God by impure and gross minds, are also gross and impure, the offering of blood and of meats would be a suitable expression of their homage or deprecation to the lustful, capricious, and cruel beings, whom their corrupt imaginations had set upon the throne of heaven. Thus it would be maintained (though under a very different view) no less by the apostate than by the believer, by the Heathen than by the Jew. And its universal prevalence proves no more, than that it is one of those instances where man can turn to the account of his own corrupt passions the will of God, as declared by his revealed word, no less than as expressed by the voice of nature.

We conclude, therefore, that this prominent feature in God's Church, was expressly ordained by him, who designed from the first to sum up all in Christ (Ephes. i. 10,) both in heaven and in earth, and that any other account of its origin is equally inconsistent with the original notions of man, and with the harmony of divine revelation.

Hence, sacrifice embodied to man the circumstances of God's first intervention with him after he had sinned; it was both a history and a prophecy; it carried him back to a lively view of his fall and condemnation to death; it carried him forward to a bright prospect of his redemption, both being figured to him by the death of the beast, which was slaughtered before his eyes and was accepted by God as an offering; and thus all its applications to outward circumstances, throughout all ages of the church, are referable to two heads. It is on the part of man, the offerer, either a confession of sin, or an oblation of thanksgiving: it is on the part of God, the acceptor, a correspondent remission of the sin, or an acceptance of the offering, implying a continuance or furtherance of blessings. And as prophecy, in reaching to its grand and final object, becomes applicable upon its way to many subordinate objects, so sacrifice (which is indeed a species of prophecy) is applicable to all circumstances which are subordinate to, and contained in, the one great deliverance from everlasting perdition. Accordingly we find, both in the Patriarchal and Jewish Church, sacrifices of propitiation both for moral and bodily impurities, and sacrifices of thanksgiving for any great success or signal deliverance; so Job sacrificed for his sons lest they should have thought evil in their hearts; so Noah sacrificed on his deliverance from the flood. To a mind, steadfast in holy hope, every chance and change of life will serve to bring the great end in view; and sacrifice, therefore, will convey the expression of its feelings, be they of abasement or exultation, whether it acknowledge its worthiness of condemnation, or its unworthiness of redemption.

The occasional sacrifices mentioned in the Old Testament, mostly concern, as would be likely from the recorded events which called them forth, the whole Church of God. Such is the sacrifice of Abel, who, although dead, yet speaketh: such is that of Noah, when he re-built the Church of God after the flood: such is that of Solomon, when he dedicated the Temple of God. And since sacrifice was also the covenanted channel of communication between God and man, we find that some particular sacrifice forms the link between the successive stages of the church. The offering of Isaac, upon which God promised Abraham a posterity numerous as the stars in heaven or sand on the sea shore, and that in his seed all nations of the earth should be blessed, connects immediately the Patriarchal with the Jewish Church, and draws cords of relation to the Christian. A particular celebration of the Jewish Passover, connects the Jewish with the Christian: for at this our Lord not only instituted the sacrament of his body and blood, which should supersede that Jewish rite, but also, yielding up his breath at the very hour of evening sacrifice, combined the type and the reality, the shadow and the substance, the former and the latter days.

We have said that sacrifice was prophecy in a bodily shape: it follows also the same law of expanding clearness of meaning, by means of narrowing limitation of application, which we saw was observed by the other, in passing through the Jewish dispensation. As a national offering, it was limited to a number of particular cases, each sending forth from many mouths a loud prophetic voice, as the stated daily sacrifice, the Feast of the Passover, the day of atonement. As a private offering it met a number of stated cases of impurity, which, going to the very bodily condition of the person, even to the meats which he ate, reminded the Jew of his natural unholiness, his conventional holiness. Thus restored to purity, he typified bodily the spirit elect of God, of whom his Son should in the latter days compose his church, having made them clean by the sacrifice of his own body; and assuredly this solemn and striking rite, being thrust upon his continual attention, must have prepared the serious thinker to look beyond the letter, and seek for the spirit. It became also still more pointed to its object, by being confined to the tabernacle, and by the varying place of that tabernacle being at last fixed at Jerusalem, after the temple had been built. And just as the promise of the Redeemer was generally narrowed from the whole family of mankind, from the seed of Abraham, from that of Isaac, from that of Jacob, from the tribe of Judah down to the house of David; so, in this analogous rite, his representative, the High Priest, was gradually taken from a narrower range,—from the first born of mankind, from the nation of the Jews, from the tribe of Levi, from the family of Aaron. Thus significantly converging through successive stages from many quarters to one end, sacrifice, receiving its substance in the death of our Redeemer, closed for ever its shadowy representations.

But as prophecy, though it received its grand fulfilment as far as man looked for, in the coming of the Saviour, Jesus Christ, and had become history, yet took up a new strain at this point, and turned all eyes towards his second coming in glory to judge both the quick and the dead, as the end of all things: so sacrifice, although it received its full accomplishment in the death of our Redeemer, by whom it was once offered for the sins of the whole world, past, present, and to come, and therefore, as a rite, is virtually extinct; yet has had its place supplied in God's church by an ordinance, which is both historically commemorative, and at the same time prophetically assuring. This is the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in which we not only commemorate his death and passion, but also look forward to his coming again. And although it be, as we have said, no real sacrifice, yet, inasmuch as it is commemorative, and therefore symbolical, of the great sacrifice, inasmuch as the sign is often called by the name of the thing signified, inasmuch as its included offerings of prayer, of repentance, of thanksgiving, of charity, are each of them figuratively designated by this title in Scripture, we may in common language (which is never peculiarly strict) join with the ancient church in calling it by a term, which brings at once so many of its relations to view. On this principle we will now proceed to consider it, ever keeping a watchful eye upon its predecessor.

First of all, the hideous and appalling representation of death, exhibited to our predecessors in the bleeding, groaning, and struggling victim, has been removed from our eyes. Several reasons concur for this, all arising out of the fulfilment of the type. For instance;—the Patriarch and the Jew looked forward to an obscure future; the prospect of their deliverance was dim and distant. They required, therefore, a lively representation to bring it near to their minds; and as the ceremony was prophetic, it was necessary that it should, at the moment of fulfilment, confirm the truth, by the most startling coincidence of the figure with the reality. But to us, living after the fulfilment, and therefore looking back to one of the clearest and most carefully detailed facts of history, a resemblance so close were unnecessary. It would indeed be more than unnecessary; it would be inexpedient. For the ceremony, by going so far into reality as actual death, would be too strong an expression of a fact, of which we can form a very lively conception already, and a far more accurate, also, than any which could be suggested by any sensible object. Hence we could not but be struck by some disagreement between the sign and thing signified. At the same time, by going no further than death, it were mutilated and incomplete: it would tell us but half the truth, showing, indeed, the death for our sins, but not the resurrection for our justification. For us, therefore, it is not only sufficient, but even expedient, that the signs employed in our commemorative rite should be as slight as the mind's ordinary powers can allow, and more especially when these signs have been instituted by the great Offerer himself; since the very circumstance of institution necessarily fixes our attention upon the event commemorated; therefore the mere pouring out of wine and breaking of bread, coupled with his charge to continue this commemoration until his coming again, are sufficient to lead our minds to the crucifixion of his body, the shedding of his blood, and his second coming in glory to judge both the quick and the dead. But the most important reason of all is the nature of the gospel of Christ. It is the proclamation of pardon to all mankind,—it is the declaration of the perfect love of God,—it is the certification of his wrath appeased, and of his justice satisfied; it is the announcement of the victory over death, and of the life everlasting. Aptly, therefore, in this rite, has the harsh threat and open rebuke of death (which daily humbled the Patriarch and the Jew), been removed from the eyes of the celebrator. For a frightful scene of gasps, and groans, and bubbling blood, has been substituted a picture of overpowering love—a representation of the last supper of our Lord; meat and drink, emblems of life and joy, are set before us, and both signify and convey to us the nourishment of everlasting life, which we have in his body and blood: meat and drink, not supplied from slaughtered fellow-creatures, but being the untortured products of the earth. Thus the very nature of the elements which show our Lord's death, conveys the assurance of the abolition of death to ourselves.

Secondly: We saw that sacrifice carried the mind of the offerer both backward and forward: backward, by the death of the victim, to the sentence of death at the fall; forward, by God's acceptance of this substitute, to his restoration. Alas! through what a long and dreary interval did his eye move to reach this last bright object! How weary and sickened did his heart arrive at this resting-place! and, after all, how faint was that brightness, how unstable that resting-place, compared with ours. Our rite, too, is both retrospective and prospective. But what is our retrospect? not our fall, but our redemption. And what is our prospect? not our redemption, but our exaltation to life and light everlasting, at the second coming of our great God and Saviour. We begin with historical certainty of fact, where he ended in prophetic hope: we end with the complete and glorious reversal of the condition of misery and degradation, with which he began. Thus we have a bright and burning light at each extreme of view, and all between is full of joy, and peace, and comfort. "Oh Lord, our Governor! how excellent is thy name in all the world," exclaimed David, on considering the glory of the heavens: what words would he have found had he been admitted to this our spectacle, and gazed on the spiritual firmament which is expanded before our eyes!

Thirdly: On the same principle with sacrifice, this rite will be an especial vehicle of confession and of thanksgiving, on the occasion of the various incidents of life. These, be they to our pleasure or our pain, to our encouragement or chastisement, it is our duty to point to the great end of our being, to turn to the account of the life to come. If we suffer, let us take care so to suffer as fellow-sufferers of Christ; if we be in joy, let us be mindful so to rejoice, as joint-heirs with him in bliss. In either case, this rite, setting forth our Lord's death and passion, and also assuring us of his glorious coming again, will be in exact accord with our hearts, will give them proper vent and due expression, and with its refreshing benefits supply grace for grace; therefore, in all the grand interventions of life, hither let us resort,—here let us seek the Lord, and we shall find him. As surely as he performed his promise of meeting his disciples in Galilee, after his resurrection from death, so surely will he meet us here, and give the blessings of his spiritual presence. If God of old chose the hour of sacrifice of bulls and rams, in which to reveal himself, and made gracious promises to Abraham and Zachariah, will he leave this ordinance fruitless, in which we spiritually partake of the sacrifice of the body and blood of his only begotten Son? Therefore, let him who hath fallen into sickness or trouble, hither repair, to make confession of his sins, and acknowledge God's justice. He will not have come in vain; he shall have mercy for justice. Let him who hath risen from pain or sorrow, here confess himself less than the least of God's mercies, yield his entire thanks; neither shall he have come in vain: his hope and his joy shall be chastened into that hope and joy which can never fail. Let those who have lately joined their cares, their joys, their fortunes, their affections, here make their solemn homage and profession, as heads of a new household in the Church of God; neither shall they have come in vain: God will give them grace to rear children of grace, and they shall be succeeded by heirs of promise.

Fourthly: Like sacrifice, and, indeed, every other ordinance of worship, this rite will be one of stated times and seasons. Now, if we be bound to repair to it whenever we can, under whatever circumstances of life, since all (we have seen) are peculiarly met with some appropriate blessing, how can we willingly absent ourselves on fixed occasions? Is it more difficult to prepare a due oblation of our hearts, because we have time at our command? Are we less peculiarly circumstanced for the reception of blessings in this sacrament, because we have leisure to review beforehand our whole condition, and thus to find out its chief bearing? Does the general benefit of anticipation meet here with its single exception? are we less prepared when in the enjoyment of health of body and mind, and with days, and even weeks, before us, than when surprised by sickness and dismay, and obliged desperately to snatch at opportunity, ere it be too late? "Three times a year shall thy males appear before me," said the Lord God to the Jews, in giving his ordinances of stern command from the blazing mount; and, dispersed as they were, they gathered before him from every quarter of the earth. "Do this in remembrance of me," said our Divine Master to his church, in delivering his last charge of love at his last meal. What then? Are we less bounden than the Jew? need we pay less attention because our summons has come more in the form of a request than of a command: because our love is appealed to, and not our fear; because we are invited as men, and not compelled as children? True it is that the request of man may be neglected, because it commonly implies the want of means of enforcing his will. But the request of God, is an expression of love, and not of weakness. It is a commandment, and the most fearful to the disobedient of all commandments; for it appeals not to our carnal man, not to our slavish fear, of pains and penalties: but it is addressed to our spiritual man, to our love and eagerness of obedience, the fruits of that love. If therefore we hear not, where is our spiritual man? and then, indeed, where, alas! are we?

This last analogy with sacrifice has now brought me to the practical consideration of this sacrament of God's church; with this I will proceed.

Very different indeed from the prevailing notions of the present day, were those which were entertained on this point by the earlier Christians. Let us for a moment suppose one of these hearers of the hearers of our Lord, or even of the hearers of the sixth or eighth succession from them, to arise and take his stand in a church of these times and of this land. Let us endeavour to conceive his feelings on seeing (as we repeatedly see) a whole congregation turn their backs upon the table of the Lord, and thus voluntarily put themselves into a situation, which with him was one of incapacity or degradation, reserved for children, for the unbaptized, for the lapsed, for the possessed: on hearing the solitary minister of that table call, with the voice of one crying in the wilderness, lost upon stocks and stones: would he deign to acknowledge for a portion of Christ's church, that crowd which he saw hurrying through the door, as if escaping from an unwelcome invitation? would he condescend to term that a flock of Christ, which he saw refusing the food provided for them by their shepherd? He would indignantly deny all fellowship with them in Christ; he would assert that they had neither part nor portion with him,—that the memory of his mercies was unpleasing to them,—that they recked not of his body and his blood,—and careless of how he had come, were careless also of how he would come. Were we to ask him, in what company then would he place them, he would unhesitatingly answer, in the company of Peter, who denied his master; in the company of Judas, who quitted that very table to betray him. To any attempt at palliation, he would indignantly demand if we held that to forget God is not to have cast him out of mind,—to neglect his injunctions is not to rebel against him,—not to thank him for his blessings is not to slight them,—not to be with him is not to be against him,—not to gather is not to scatter? However reproachful this language may appear, no one, who is acquainted with the sentiments of the earlier ages, will assert that it is stronger than such as would rise to the lips, if not pass them, of such a spectator. Custom has reconciled us to the sight, and so it will to that of the most hideous deformities; they are not the less really hideous notwithstanding.

After this none will surely find fault with the plain uncompromising language of our church, which so earnestly enjoins her members to repair to the celebration of this rite, and so solemnly warns them when they are come. She uses the language of Scripture, and such language will equally condemn us in carelessly approaching God with private prayer. There, however, neither she nor any other human agent can interfere. There we must be left to our own comfortable self-delusion, and no words from without can interrupt the pleasing dream that we are really praying, when we are neither penitent, nor thankful, nor obedient. But here, in a public ceremony, where her voice must needs be heard, she exhorts and she deprecates in the most earnest terms, and honestly opens the truth, however unpalatable. She is the most anxious and affectionate of mothers. Let us not then complain of her public severity, but rather embrace it as an occasion of inquiring into our private laxity. Let us not, by wilfully mistaking her affectionate exhortation for stern denunciation, be of that company, which, when our Saviour spoke of the eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood, cried out, "This is a hard saying: who can hear it?" and walked with him no more.

This rite, my brethren, is a spiritual sacrifice, in which we spiritually celebrate the great sacrifice of our Saviour, once offered upon the cross; and entering into his sufferings unto death, which are our redemption unto life, we offer up ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto God. But men cry out here that they are not in a fit state to make use of such strong expressions, they cannot pledge themselves so far, their intentions cannot rise to a mark so high. Let them now consider, to what does all this really amount? Even to this, that their profession of Christianity is but that of the lips, that they will not form a single steady and sincere resolution, and so give God a single pledge that they will ever confess it in their hearts. Have they ever reflected that there is such a thing as apostacy, and no less amid the seductions of quiet luxurious times, than amid the compulsion of troublous and necessitous? Can they imagine, that either in one case or the other they can hold fast the faith of Christ, when they have taken no pains to acquire either knowledge or resolution which shall support them in the day of trial? For a real strife after such knowledge and resolution would of necessity bring them to the table of the Lord. But be the world how it will, full of joy or of sorrow, of seduction or of intimidation, the life of the Christian is a scene of continual trial, a long-protracted agony of conflict. Sacrifices are there to be daily offered by him to his Saviour, of pleasure, of comfort, of riches, of power, of affection, of every thing which the world holds precious. And will a single such sacrifice ever be offered by him who will not so much as engage in the shadowy representation of the great sacrifice? Will he ever suffer for Christ's sake, who will no teven enter upon the bare commemoration of his sufferings? Will he ever take up, still more bear, the cross of Christ, who turns away from his table? Here, then, my brethren, is a most simple test, and at the same time most effectual. The time is indeed gone by, since this rite has been applied as a test of allegiance to an earthly sovereign. But it will ever remain a test of loyalty to our Heavenly Sovereign; and disaffection cannot but be most justly imputed to him who refuses to take it.

How blissfully, amid all the horrors of the wilderness, amid the conflict of surrounding enemies, could the eye and heart of the pious Israelite repose upon the cloudy pillar of glory, which rested upon the tabernacle. There was peace. there was security, which no power of this world could disturb. And although he knew that God was ever nigh unto all them that call upon him, and that no sensible representation could bring him nearer, yet this visible token of his presence, and sign of his covenant, could not but administer continual hope of comfort. And are we, amid the perplexing wilderness of life, amid the weary struggle with foes of body and soul, are we left destitute of similar comfort? Oh no! the same Lord of glory, who exhibited that symbol of his helping presence to the Israelite, hath ordained a resting-place for our spiritual eye. He hath established among us a visible sign, and given us in this rite a palpable assurance, that if we suffer, then we suffer with him who rose again, and ascended to prepare mansions of bliss for his faithful followers; for if he show us his death, he also foreshows to us his coming again, when all enemies, with their great leaders, sin and death, shall be put under his footstool, and he shall receive his own into everlasting glory.

Come, then, let us offer our sacrifice, and the greater our health and wealth, so much the more let us repair to its celebration: for we have both more to be thankful for, and all our affections and faculties are in their best vigour for God's service. Let us not wait for the desponding, the distracting, the misgiving hour of sickness; nor let the hour of death so surprise us, as but to leave time for our first and last celebration of the Lord's supper, as the only test which, after a life of so many opportunities, we can give of our profession. What were this but the delusion of him who deemed to save his soul by securing his dying limbs in the dress of a monk? Let us then come to our Lord's table, and bring with us to it a thankful acknowledgment of the high and blessed privileges of light under which we are invited to it. Consider a moment, my brethren, and look at the patriarch: see with what a vague undefined prospect of the mode of his redemptoin, he brings his offering to the altar. Look at the Jew: behold how, in despite of the light of his law playing around, of the blaze of prophecy streaming in advance, yet is in ignorance of the precise events by which his salvation shall be wrought, that he goes up to the altar. And now look at yourselves: with a clear knowledge of the manner of your redemption, of the character of your Redeemer, every object, every motion, every word in the rite before you, implying no obscure future, veiling no promised blessing, but referring you to past events distinctly and minutely made known to you, the blessed effects of which you are now experiencing in substance, not anticipating in hope; the whole scheme of man's restoration being drawn out and laid open before your eyes, your Saviour's express words inviting you; —thus, even thus do ye offer your reasonable, your bloodless sacrifice. Think of this, and compare your situation with that of the most enlightened and illustrious characters under the old covenants. Yea, compare it with that of Noah, when he built anew the church of God, on the renewal of the world after the flood: with that of Abraham offering up his son in a type of that which was to come: with that of David, when he brought up the ark of God into its resting place: with that of Solomon, when he made his royal and costly offerings on the dedication of God's temple: with that of Isaiah, when at sacrifice he beheld the glory of the Lord: with that of Zachariah, when the archangel Gabriel promised a Son, the forerunner of the Redeemer: with that of Simeon, when he offered the sacrifice of the blessed Mary, and held up in his arms the Saviour of the world. All these obtained not the promise, and the least of us in the kingdom of God is greater than them all. They had but the faint glimmer of the broad daylight amidst which we are living. Let us think of these things, and, endeavouring duly to estimate this our peculiar blessedness, thankfully dispose our hearts, so to eat of the bread and drink of the cup (which are the body and blood of our Saviour) upon earth, that we may indeed drink of the fruit of the spiritual vine, and eat of the spiritual bread of everlasting life, together with him, new, in the kingdom of God.

DISSERTATION VII.

ON THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE CHURCH OF GOD.

Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus.—Heb. iii. 1.

Christ, having been ordained for the salvation of mankind, and, in order to this end, having to reconcile by his mediation two separated parties, must have performed this office under a twofold character, by which he may present himself to either party on the part of the other,—to man on the part of God, to God on the part of man. In the first case, as sent from God, he would proclaim to man God's gracious intention, signify his gracious promise of pardon, and instruct him in the way of obtaining it. In the second case, he would appear before God with the means of satisfying his justice, and to present to him man's entire repentance, thanks, faith, homage, and submission. To the first of these his human nature was necessary; to the second his divine: the former is the duty of his apostolical character, the latter of his pontifical. Now, since the proper scenes on which these two appear are earth and heaven, he must previously to his advent have discharged the former by deputation: and since man requires a sign to assure him of the discharge of the latter, hence in this also, a representative on earth will be required. We have now to look out for these representatives in the Church of God.

Adam was evidently such a representative under both heads. As an offerer of sacrifice, he was the pontifical; as an inspired instructor of his children, he was the apostolical representative. And the same combination will continue throughout this stage; since the joint offering of a family cannot be so properly offered by any member as by the father, its natural head; and he is already invested by nature with the apostolical office. But in that state of the world, families grew into tribes, and tribes into nations, and the head of the nation would necessarily combine these offices: hence we may also resolve them into three divisions. He would be priest, prophet and king; according to the second and third offices, governing and teaching his people, and being the lineal conservator, if not the deliverer, of the oracles and promises of God. Such was Melchisedec.

We may here remark the exceedingly high privileges of the first-born, who was the natural heir not only to temporal, but also to spiritual dignities; and may estimate the crime of Esau, who was heir not only to what had been transmitted to Adam, but also to additional promises made to his father, and his father's father.

On coming to the next dispensation, we immediately encounter its characteristic limitation. As the sacrifice is confined to one place, to certain times, to specified sins, so the sacrificer is limited to the first-born of a single family. We also meet with a disruption of the apostolical and pontifical offices, the first being conferred on Moses, the second on Aaron. This was necessary to the more full and perfect development of each during this stage of preparation and foreshadowing. There is also a difference in their transmission, the second being entailed on the first-born of Aaron's family, while the first is not confined either to person or family, but distributed among several at the same time, as between Saul the king, and Samuel the prophet; and indeed Solomon was the last in whom the dignity of rule and gift of prophecy was united. This difference of transmission arose not only from the circumstance of the second being merely passive representation, and therefore affording no reason for departing from the line of succession; and of the first being most active exertion, and therefore requiring qualities which could be maintained in a limited succession only by a continual miracle; but it was designed also to narrow the view down to the one only mediator, who, when once come, could never again be represented by human creature; while in his apostolical character our Lord continued and continues to be represented by a widely spread ministry, deriving commission from him through his apostles. Amidst all his exclusiveness, however, and in the very pages of the book of that law of contraction and constraint, the Jew was warned of the shadowy nature of his priesthood, by the exhibition of that of Melchisedec, who there stands without enumeration of ancestors, so necessary to the genuineness of the Aaronic priest; without time of birth or time of death being stated; without predecessors or successors being specified: and the spiritually minded, no doubt, were instructed by this comparison to expect the passing away of their own priesthood, and look forward to one common to all mankind, and of everlasting duration.

But now those shadowy priests have all vanished, and their substance is come. The first-born among many brethren, the true priest, the true king, the true prophet, has appeared, hath announced pardon from God, and hath offered the sacrifice ordained from the beginning of the world. On earth, and for all men, and not in the temple and for the Jews, the great High Priest hath made his offering; and in heaven, and for all men, and not in the holy of holies, and for the Jews, the great High Priest, in virtue of that offering, is standing with his intercession. There is, therefore, no longer, upon earth, a sacrificing priest; consequently, it is only in his apostolical character that our Saviour can have any representative: generally speaking, he is represented by every one in the Christian Church to whom we are bound to pay obedience or reverence, since, however nature may have invested them with claims to such, yet they derive a new and higher title from the great head and ruler of all. We must be faithful to our rulers, we must be obedient to our masters, attentive to our teachers, dutiful to our parents, for his sake by whom all these powers are ordained. But more particularly he is represented by the spiritual pastors of his church, whose office, since sacrifice has been finished, and the volume of prophecy sealed, is now confined to the spiritual government and instruction of his church; they form, therefore, a ministry, and not a priesthood: accordingly, they are never once designated in the New Testament (however they may be in later writers) by the word (*hiereys*) which signifies a sacrificing priest, but are termed bishops or overseers, presbyters or elders, deacons or ministers. The root of all corruption in the church, has been the blasphemous assumption of the sacrificial and mediatorial character, by these representatives of but a portion of even the apostolical.

We will now proceed to examine our own dispensation, under the two heads of its pontifical and apostolical government.

I. The first we have seen to belong to Christ alone; it has been partly fulfilled upon earth, and is still partly fulfilling in heaven. Let us consider our state in this respect, and compare it with that of the Jew, which was one of greater blessedness than that of the Patriarch, inasmuch as a written and recorded warrant and promise of God was more satisfactory than one which was merely traditional, and therefore also not so expressly traced to God's command.

We have seen that Jewish intercession was confined—first, to a certain place; second, to a certain time; third, to a certain person; fourth, to certain sins.

1. The place was the Jewish temple, a building of stones and timber. Intercession, therefore, was subject to all the external accidents. A conflagration might put an end to it, nor could it be renewed, after such an interruption, without fresh warrant from God. Thus the Jew was in spiritual jeopardy every hour; he was, indeed, subject to worldly elements; every threat of the Syrian, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, or the Roman, made him tremble, not only for his temporal, but also spiritual welfare. And it required the uninterrupted and stirring song of prophecy to keep his heart above despair, and assure him against the threatening appearances around. Now turn from this bondage to our liberty. Our temple is heaven; there is our High Priest, far beyond the reach of all the powers of earth or of hell; nay, keeping them in subjection under his feet. Nothing in this world, neither kingdoms, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things upon earth, nor things under the earth, can give us a moment's anxiety.

2. On incurring any sin or impurity, for which his law had provided atonement by sacrifice, the Jew had all the formal, and (unless resident in Jerusalem) tedious and dilatory process to go through, of repairing in person to the temple, of instructing the priest with the occasion of his sacrifice, and then of the ceremonial of the sacrifice. Thus innumerable accidents may intervene to deprive him of restoration to his former state, and the whole nation might be deprived of its imputed character of holiness, be degraded from its glorious state of an assembly of priests and kings, by some worldly incident, preventing the annual celebration of the great day of atonement, on which this nation of exclusive holiness and vaunted privileges was summoned as a criminal before the bar of God, and in the very form of absolution underwent all the solemnities of the passing a sentence of death. In every case, private or public, the offender was left in utter helplessness during the interval between the commission of the offence, and the offering of the sacrifice. No prayer, however humble; no appeal, however earnest, could avail one iota of his contracted uncleanness. For that he must await an external rite in the flesh; his spirit was bound, as it were, to the earth, and was unable to rise until its dull and mortal companion, the body, had gone through certain prescribed forms and motions. Here was rebuke, here was perplexity indeed; and then how limited in every way was the pardon obtained. It went as far as the prescribed form of words put up by the priest, and no further; as far as the remission of the particular offence, and no further; and the continual renewal of sacrifice was required to meet the continually renewed guilt. The law was, indeed, a schoolmaster to bring unto Christ; but it was a stern schoolmaster, whose voice never ceased to chide, whose rigour was ever demanding satisfaction. But we are under no schoolmaster, our spirit is under no bondage. Our sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient for all the sins of the whole world, past and to come, has been offered once; and our High Priest's mediation proceeds, from that moment, with unbroken efficacy, to continue until sin with death shall be no more. At every moment, therefore, we can, by appeal to him, obtain the benefits of that sacrifice; at every moment our spirit can rise in prayer, and procure his intercession. We are released from all bondage of the body; time, place, and form, can raise no obstruction to us; we are free, we are spiritual. Tied to the bed of sickness, we are not precluded from our temple; neither prevented from the presence of our priest, who is God over all, blessed for evermore.

3. Jewish intercession could be made only through a descendant of Aaron. Now, though an official succession of men may proceed without interruption, as long as the society or nation in which they are included exists, yet this is far from being the case with family succession, of the termination of which we see instances every day. Here, then, was another point of uncertainty to the Jew. If his temple was brute stones and timber, his priest was frail flesh and blood; and if the axe and firebrand may destroy the one, the sword or the pestilence may extinguish the other. But this was not all the imperfection. His priest, being sinful man, was indebted for the efficacy of his intercession to imputed holiness; and, therefore, in despite of the express covenant of God to accept such mediation, there would arise most uncomfortable doubts upon the following points.

1st. Whether he really was in that state of imputed holiness which was necessary to the efficacy of his mediation. Through neglect, wilful or unintentional, he might have omitted some ceremony prescribed for this purpose; or may have relapsed into a state of defilement since the performance of those ceremonies.

2d. Was he well assured that all in the rite itself of the sacrifice was done according to rule; whether nothing was omitted, or admitted, by which the whole proceeding was vitiated? The number and minuteness of the ceremonial regulations of his law, could not but subject the Jew to perplexing questions of this kind. But our High Priest liveth for evermore: he is purity itself, and therefore has no offering to make for his own sins; he is truth itself, and will therefore sincerely plead: and he is the son of God, and therefore will effectually plead. Nor does this unearthly character preclude us from the assurance of his sympathy,—an assurance so necessary to our confidence in such a mediator; for he took our nature upon him, suffered temptation, underwent our sorrows. Thus every opening is closed against doubt, and we may boldly approach the throne of God, confident of the all-sufficiency in every point, and at every time, of our heavenly and everlasting mediator.

3d. Jewish intercession was applied to particular sins, selected each for a peculiar atonement: and these were rather infirmities than sins, while the greater transgressions were left without the benefit of any rite of absolution. But the pardon procured by the intercession of Christ is not thus confined to any particular infirmity, nor unequal to do away the greater transgressions. It extends to our whole life. Nay, more: it not only annuls the past, but even in the very act creates the future: for with forgiveness for what has been done in sin, it confers the grace to do it in righteousness: and it fills the mind not only with the lightness of heart arising from the having thrown down a burden, but also with the delight experienced from taking up a gift; not only with dismissal of doubt and fear, but with the entertainment of hope and love. Thus its effect pervades the whole mind of man, refining his affections, exalting his thoughts, pacifying the terrors of memory, and presenting views of glory to his foresight.

And now, my brethren, may we not indeed joyfully assent to our Saviour's assertion, "that his burden is light, and his yoke easy!" On this vital point of mediation, how bound in hand and foot did the Jew approach God's altar? What a slave indeed was he! even the most spiritual-minded, they who looked beyond the letter of the law, to whom the law itself furnished elements of thought which carried their minds far beyond its narrow barrier, felt their spirit at every turn opposed by its wall of fleshy ordinances. They were prisoners in a dungeon, who could overhear the glad sounds of life without, and to whom through its loophole there streamed a ray in tantalizing token of the joyous light around. In all their aspirations they were exalted but to be humbled. After their widest spiritual range, they returned (like runaways to their prison) to the distinction of meats, and all the minute and formal observances which God indeed had imposed, but at the same time had informed them, both by the spirit of the very law which bound them, and by the mouths of his prophets, whom he sent, to be intrinsically unnecessary. Amid the multitude of bulls and rams slain in the temple, their reason informed by God, cried out to them that such brute offerings could not avail to take away sin, and his messengers were exclaiming, "to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams;" that "the sacrifice of God was a contrite spirit," and demanded whether "God would drink the blood of bulls, and eat the fat of rams." Thus were they daily rebuked, thus straitened, thus imposed with a hard, and, at the same time, unnecessary task.

What shall we say, then, my brethren, of them who would bring us back into all this jeopardy? And they do bring us back, who invest the human minister of Christ with the mediatorial character; they bring back all the carnal purifications, and all the doubts of efficacy which we saw attendant upon Jewish intercession. Let us stand fast in the liberty with which Christ hath made us free, who is our only mediator and advocate, and who hath once and for ever offered the only sacrifice.

II. Let us now proceed to the apostolical part of our Lord's office in our covenant. As our Lord, though represented in this character by human agents in the two preceding stages, yet did not altogether exclude his own occasional and particular interference as head of the church, but appeared and directed his deputed agents amid mighty and fearful signs and wonders, so, notwithstanding his appointment of apostles and ministers, he did, in the infancy of the Christian church, which called for especial assistance, manifest his open and direct superintendence, as on the day of Pentecost, in the conversion of St. Paul, and other remarkable events of that period. Nor will an attentive and pious mind fail to trace the mighty though secret working of its great superintendent, in the series of events which have befallen his church in later days, however they may assume to a more circumscribed view the shape of effects of ordinary agency; each single event may appear natural, but the series is miraculous.

The ordinary charges, however, of government and instruction, he has deputed to human hands, in analogy with the constitution of human society in general, whose order is maintained by chosen members of itself. These he deputed to his apostles, and their successors for ever; first in the commission which he gave to the twelve and the seventy, and finally, in the moment previous to his ascension, in those memorable words, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo! I am with you, even unto the end of the world."—(Matth. xxviii. 19, 20, To which may be added, Matth. xviii. 18, 19.)

It is then the prophetical part only (taking that word in its wide sense) of his threefold office, which our Lord has deputed to the Christian ministry; the strictly prophetic gift, that of foretelling the future, was indeed imparted, but only for a season. There remain the conservation of his oracles, the teaching of his word, and the government of his church,—all three intimately connected indeed, but yet not so entirely, but that one may devolve to an individual in a much larger proportion than the others: for instance, the conservation of his word will require a more deep and extensive learning, than will be called forth by the ordinary duties of teaching it, since it establishes what the other takes for granted, the authority of Scripture, and authenticity of its documents; while the government of the church again will demand qualities, many of which are not required, and the rest necessary but in an inferior degree, to the mere teacher. To these offices God ordained in his church—first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; then, workers of miracles; after that, gifts of healing, ministers, governors, diversity of tongues. (1 Cor. xii. 28). Into these distinctions it is now unnecessary to enter; we will proceed, therefore, to consider the Christian minister in the general, and first view him in comparison with the Jewish teacher.

1. He had a predecessor in the Jewish prophet, in common with whom he has to uphold the honour and glory of God, amid an unbelieving generation. He has to unfold his blessings given and to be given,—to signify his everlasting counsels,—to promise pardon and peace, or to denounce judgment and woe,—to publish unwelcome truths,—to appear before kings and rulers,—to rebuke the impenitent Ahab,—to comfort the pious Hezekiah. But far more excellent than the heralds of the Christ who was coming, is the ambassador of the Christ who is come; they saw the ray, these beheld the sun; they preached the hope of things unseen, these announce the substance. They saw in part, and could unfold but in part; these have the whole scheme of God's redemption gloriously unveiled before them. They sang of him who was to come in the flesh, a man of sorrows; these tell of him who is to come at the last day in glory to judge the quick and the dead. If the least in the kingdom of heaven be greater than him who was greater than all the prophets before him,* great indeed may we conclude to be the superiority of the Christian minister to the Jewish prophet.

2. Still higher does he stand than the Jewish priest, to whom was committed the teaching of the law of ordinances, the exposition of the letter;† while the unveiling of the spirit was confined to the prophets. Supposing him, therefore, to act up to the duty of the most faithful expounder of God's word, how narrow after all must have been his views, how timid his exposition. Accustomed himself to officiate in the temple with a number of minutely prescribed ceremonies, and hedged in by the text of the law, which he had to interpret every where by positive injunctions, beyond which he dared not enlarge; can we wonder if he went not beyond the letter which killeth, until, like the captive who hugs his chain, he took delight in narrowing to still greater straitness what was so narrow already; and can we wonder if the people, amid all their stupid carnality, observed a want of freedom and authority in this unedifying literality: such was the Scribe, such the Pharisee, who, in addition, by their pretended traditions, threw a veil still more thick upon the spirit of the word. At other times, the expounder running into the opposite extreme, escaped from the literality of the text into the wilderness of moral allegory, and despising and despised by the vulgar, left his flock still more unedified than the former: such was the Sadducee. But the Christian minister has to expound the liberty of the spirit, and not the slavery of the letter; the spirit of the Gospel, not the letter of the law: for prescribed and outward observances, he has to inculcate inward and essential principles; for formal ethical precepts, he has to infuse energetic spiritual motions. The volume which he interprets, gives his spirit unbounded range; day after day it may feed in fresh pastures, drink from fresh streams, nor can it visit, to his life's end, more than a small portion of the regions open to its excursions: unfettered by distinctions of meat, ablutions of the body, sacrifices of brutes, observance of carnal forms and prescriptions; free from such a body of death, it expatiates over the boundless prospect of the life to come; gazing on the mighty works of its Master and Creator in the spiritual world,—on his conquest over sin and death,—on the assurance of pardon and peace,—on the sanctifying graces of the Holy Spirit,—on the life everlasting. His understanding is in no danger of being led captive by a round of formal duties; for he officiates after no mechanical formulary, he is engaged in no dull handling of earthly elements. The vessels about which he is concerned are living spirits, vessels of the Holy Ghost: the vestments about which he must be careful, are the robes of righteousness: the washings with which he has to do, is the laver of regeneration, and the washing away the filth of a bad conscience: the leprosy on which he has to pronounce, is the leprosy of sin in the soul: the temple in which he ministers, is the church of God,—no building of stones and timber, but an assembly of living spirits: the altar at which he ministers, is not made of earth, but is spiritual, set up in the heart of the spiritual man: the sacrifice which he offers, is no shedding of the blood of bulls and goats, but is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, taken to the soul with praise and thanksgiving. The knowledge required by his office, is no minute and barren information on rites and ceremonies, it is the knowledge of the heart of man, and of the spirit of God: of the heart of man, in order to detect all its windings and turnings, and so dispel all its delusions and perverseness, and for which purpose is de-

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* Matt. xi. 11. † 2 Chron. xv. 3.

manded the constant watching of his own: of the spirit of God, in order to be able faithfully to unfold his will and counsel, for which purpose he must diligently search the Scriptures in study, in meditation, and in prayer. All the duties, including even the teaching of the Jewish priest, were confined to the temple, and these in fit analogy with his temporal covenant, were but for a season: on the expiration of his course, he returned to his proper city, to a life of religious ease and calm. But the house of prayer contains but a fragment of the services of the Christian minister. His commission comes direct from heaven, and not from Mount Sinai; and the only temple which includes his possible duties is the wide earth. He preaches the covenant made with all mankind, and not with Abraham only; and deputed by the great Melchisedec, has his charge open to every tribe and nation. His commission is to "go, teach all nations." He blows a trumpet not on Sion only, but in the whole earth, and proclaims to all mankind the acceptable year, the last jubilee.

Such is the minister of the Gospel, compared with the minister of the law. And if deep responsibility confer honour, if the alternative of the highest crown of reward, or lowest degradation of punishment bestow importance, then indeed is the former character one of exceeding dignity: but it is a dignity under which man will tremble, and not triumph; will humble himself, and not exalt. He is not a master amid his brethren, but a spiritual servant, to diligently watch and provide for their wants, and be within the continual call of their spiritual necessities. The greater his talents the more extensive is the service which he is bound to yield; and he must put the whole man, in body, soul, and mind, to the work; adding to faith diligence, and to diligence knowledge; so that by labouring for the salvation of others, he even thus strives to attain his own. His very growth in usefulness and diligence will also increase his growth in humility and lowliness of spirit, since his sphere of duty thus enlarged brings into view more and more to be done, and makes what is done appear more and more inadequate to that which ought to be done. Well may he exclaim, in the words of the apostle, "Who is sufficient?" (2 Cor. ii. 16,) many and manifold are the tempers and qualities which he must bring to his work. He is a soldier ever engaged in a spiritual warfare; yea, and a captain in that warfare. He must have unwearied circumspection; be ready against open attack, watchful against secret assault, set the first and best examples of patience and hardihood, perseverance and courage, and guide and sustain all committed to his charge, in every trial of weariness, of famine, of the sword. Then again, he is a shepherd, whose flock is feeding far and wide, over which he must watch by day, that is, in easy times, lest they extend their pasture into the wilderness, and be lost; and which he must gather carefully by night, when times of difficulty are come, and watch lest the wolf assail the fold. He is a husbandman also, whom God hath put into his vineyard, where he must labour diligently; digging, watering, and dressing, that his master may receive fruit plentifully. He is a builder, too, a builder of God's temple, of his holy church; of which he must study well the plan, must accurately acquaint himself with it, putting into practice all his knowledge, judgment, and charity, so that he may build in unison, finish his portion in harmony with the glorious whole; working, as he does, in co-operation with builders of different quarters of the earth, of different ages; with builders of this world, with builders of the world to come. He is a fisher too, but a fisher of men, whom he must gather into the ship of salvation from the depths of sin and corruption; and must fearlessly pursue his occupation by day and by night, be the waters of the world troubled or still, reckless of its monsters below, unappalled by its pirates above. When engaged on shore, it will be in mending his nets, that is, in repairing his shaken fortitude, his fainting perseverance, his failing powers of persuasion, his exhausted knowledge. Again we may exclaim, "Who is sufficient?" not the will of man, but the grace of God.

Thus have I endeavoured, to the best of my power, to draw out before you, in pursuance of my plan, a sketch of the priesthood of the Church of God, and especially, by a comparison of the Christian priesthood with such as preceded it, to show how blessed are we in having been planted in the church of the latter days. In this, as in the former respects, it maintains its striking superiority: we are brought nearer to the Father of Spirits, and endued with far higher graces, and more lofty privileges. In our blessed Saviour,—having died for our sins, and risen again for our justification,—we have a priesthood, through whom we confidently approach the throne of grace and mercy; not with the timid crouching of the pardoned slave, but with the generous openness of the accepted son. And in his deputed ministers we have guides and instructors on the road of salvation, whom he hath endued with powers and opportunities for their charge, such as were never committed to human hands before. Not a single want is left unsatisfied: we are a people fully equipped, furnished for our journey with all appliances. Our march through this wilderness of the world is supplied with spiritual manna from heaven; our steps, through this darkness of sin and woe, are directed by a spiritual fire. Let us not provoke God by ingratitude, and fall in the wilderness; but strive to enter the promised land, which Israel won only in the flesh, but which awaits the faithful Christian in the spirit.

DISSERTATION VIII.

ON PRAYER.

Unto him that hath loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God, and his Father: to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.—Rev. i. 5, 6.

In this passage, and in two others in the New Testament, (Rev. v. 9, 10; 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9,) Christians are termed priests: we shall understand the application of this term by attending to the following considerations.

I. The word here translated priest, is not presbyter, but means a sacrificing priest. But such a priest, with the exception of our Saviour, does not exist in the Christian Church, still less can the term be applied to Christians in general; it is, therefore, figurative, as the word "kings" obviously is.

II. The figurative sense is clearly determined: first, from a parallel passage in the Old Testament, (Exod. xix. 6,) where God says to the Jews, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." Now to the Jew, having an established priesthood, the term, thus applied, was clearly metaphorical; and, familiar as it was, would convey the notion of selection, consecration, sacrifice. With regard to the first and second, every Jew was a figurative priest, from his selection from the rest of the world, and by the imputed holiness consequent on this selection; of this he was put in mind by the numerous ordinances to remedy uncleanness, both in individuals and the whole nation, by which he was rendered fit to appear before God, just as his real priest was qualified for his duties by purifications. With regard to his sacrifice, we have only to see to what things Scripture applies this figure; and on turning over its pages we find mention of the sacrifice of praise,[*] of thanksgiving,[†] of repentance,[‡] of righteousness,[||] of charity;[§] and as all these, outwardly and inwardly, are comprised in prayer, in which we peculiarly make an offering of our thoughts and deeds, our souls and bodies, to God, we may understand, in one word, prayer to be this figurative sacrifice.

What was applicable to the Jew, is, of course, still more so to the Christian, who is also selected from the rest of the world, (Rom. xii. 1, 2,) has been washed and consecrated in the laver of regeneration, which confers purity by virtue of the sacrifice of Christ; even as the prescribed sacrifices of purification, and especially that of the day of atonement, obtained it for the Jew. This is the consecration by which he ministers, and in all the above-mentioned passages of the New Testament, our spiritual priesthood is mentioned as a consequence of our Redeemer's sacrifice. We are "a holy priesthood," says St. Peter, "to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God, through Jesus Christ." And our sacrifice, as in the case of the Jew, will be prayer, proceeding from unfeigned lips, and from a clean conscience. And this our daily sacrifice has the same relation to the sacrifice of Christ, as our figurative priesthood to his real. In the offering of the one we obtain the benefit of his sacrifice, in the character of the other we gain the intercession of his priesthood.

And now, is it not grievous to think, my brethren, that, while prayer is ascending every day from millions of bosoms, so few, comparatively, should be qualified to offer it? All are not within the covenant of Christ; therefore, they cannot be spiritual priests. They have had no consecration, they stand not within the temple, which is the Church of Christ.

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[*] Hebr. xiii. 15.
[†] Jer. xxxiii. 11.
[‡] Ps. xxii. 17.
[||] Ps. iv. 5.
[§] Phil. iv. 18.

But of those who do stand within the temple, are all indeed qualified? Are they truly thankful, truly penitent, truly resolved upon holiness of life; truly impressed with the efficacy of the intercession of the great High Priest? With such a mind must they come, in such robes must they minister, such incense must they burn, such sacrifice must they offer. This most important duty of prayer, this high privilege of the church of God, it is now my intention to discuss; and before proceeding after my plan, to compare the different stages of that church under this head, I will pause to explain more exactly its nature.

As in sacrifice the victim became peculiarly the property of God, so in the sacrifice of prayer we peculiarly abstract our spirit from the world, and yield it up to God; and we may define prayer to be the communion of our souls with God, by the lifting up of our hearts, either with the words of the lips, or in the aspirations of silence. And as communion with God is the great end of our being, it is plain that to this act we must bring the whole man, with all his gifts, helps, knowledge, faculties, and privileges. This act, therefore, is the putting forth of our powers of the spiritual life, of which we are then conscious, in the same way as we are of our mental, when we task our memory, or exercise our reflection; as we are of our bodily, when we move a hand or foot. We are then, and only then, in the full enjoyment of all our blissful powers of existence. All the rest of our time is like the rest and the sleep, so necessary to our imperfect frame of body and mind. And if, in the body, our waking hours influence our sleep, furnishing the mind with its peculiar train of dreaming thought, shall not these waking hours of our spirit influence the rest of our life? What trains of glorious and blessed meditation shall they not leave behind? Into what an excellent arrangement of high and solemn thought shall they not have framed the mind, which, when shut out from this its more immediate connexion with the world of spirits, may, in the dream of earthly life, retain and feed upon its waking recollections. Oh! sluggard, indeed, is he, who is unwilling to awake to so glorious a day!

This communion with God implies, of course, the unreserved opening of our hearts to him. If a single cell be kept closed, it is a wall of partition between us. Then it is, therefore, that we ascertain whereabouts we are amid the wide regions of existence; then we try and search our spirit; then we sound the depth of our affections; then, like blossoms to the sun, we put forth all our understanding, all our imagination, all our memory,—exercise all the prerogatives given us above the rest of the tribes of creation, as being formed in the image of God. Then, therefore, it is, that coming to a full knowledge of ourselves, and having our faculties quickened, we acutely discern and condemn our unholiness and infirmities; then we acknowledge and confess our unworthiness; and then we perceive distinctly the unbounded mercies of God, and rise from fear, and sorrow, and doubt,—to hope, and love, and joy. Then our connexion with the world to come, our prize of immortality, is distinctly assured. Then is a conversation going on between us and our God, between the creator and the thing created, between the giver and the receiver, between immortality and mortality; and as the one opens his bosom, the other pours forth his treasure into it; as the one offers homage and allegiance, the other dispenses his royal bounties. Such communion have we with God, through our high priest, Jesus Christ, being consecrated priests for that purpose by his sacrifice; and such, in the prospective virtue of that sacrifice, and through the medium of representation, had the Jew.

Prayer consists of confession of sin, of thanksgiving for mercies, of petition for either the continuance or increase of blessings, of deprecation for the removal or assuagement of afflictions. These last depend entirely for their success on the sincerity of the two first, and obtain it immediately, or at a distance, according to circumstances. In many cases, and those the most important, by God's blessed economy, the very act of prayer obtains the petition. The mind is brought, by praying, further and further into a state of spiritual blessedness, until, at length, the utterance of the lips, entreating comfort and deliverance from temptation, becomes rather the expression of the heart, which at that moment has found what, a moment before, it had not, than of a sense of its destitution. For we are then in God's temple; priests ministering at his altar, with eyes and ears intent upon our duty. The noisy world is shut out, and its affliction cannot reach him whose mind is thus excluded, and in a state of bliss and unchangeableness. Temptation dares not, any more than its evil author, intrude before the presence of God. Other objects of prayer will require time, because they admit of degrees of perfection, and can come but by repeated prayer. Such are a certain amount of grace, of knowledge, of wisdom; a portion of which, insensible, perhaps, at the time, is imparted at every earnest prayer: and if we have faith and patience to persevere to the end, we shall obtain more than we, in the first instance, imagined to desire; while one desire, satisfied, will awake another to be satisfied, and improvement lead on to more improvement. Others, again, as most temporal objects, must be prayed for in such a manner as must interpose delay. We are bidden to ask the greater, in order to obtain the less; the heavenly, in order to obtain the earthly. Thus they will seldom come immediate or singular, but in their appropriate season, and with their due concomitants. For example, in asking for length of life, our prayer will not be directed to the longer enjoyment of it, but to our being enabled to bring to a ripe conclusion the great work of life,—our own sanctification. If we ask for fruitful seasons, we shall not have in our minds the luxurious ease and plenty which they supply; but the peace, the charity, the holy leisure, the thankfulness, and dedication of heart to God, in all hope and joy, which they are apt to diffuse among us. If we ask for peace, then the peace of our particular time and nation will come included under the peace of the reign of the prince of peace, when not only the body, but the spirit too, shall have peace. If we entreat for relations and friends, it will be for them as intimate fellow-members of Christ's church, and, therefore, for their spiritual health and wealth, in the train of which their temporal shall follow also. Thus we shall, in all things, obey our Lord's charge, "to pray first for the kingdom of God, and his righteousness;" and we shall reap his promise also, and find all corresponding temporal blessings added unto them.

According to the view which we have taken, prayer is a special privilege accorded to men by express revelation. This will further appear if we consider the requisites to its efficacy.

I. It requires a special promise on the part of God to hear it, and a knowledge of his attributes by which to shape it. To prove this we have only to turn to those among the heathen, whose very investigations into the natures of God and man, led them to conclude the inefficacy of prayer, when addressed to the supreme God, and to betake themselves to the gods of their country as mediators between him and them. The notion which they had formed of him being derived from a severe process of abstraction from every thing human, elevated indeed the understanding, but repelled the feelings. There was nothing in their notion of him to which they could plead. If he was almighty and all-wise, he was also passionless and unchangeable. Hence the philosopher contented himself with the conception of this being.

II. As prayer is the opening of the heart to God, telling out its hopes and fears, these must have some object presented by God; for the telling out of hopes and fears on purely worldly matters, is unworthy the name. But how, without revelation, shall man have these spiritual objects? Another life must be revealed, forgiveness of sins must be revealed. These hold out the only lasting objects of hope and fear to the human mind; nor without the knowledge of these has he either the wish or the permission to approach with prayer, properly so called.

III. The mind must have some manifest acts or words of God upon which to plead, some embodying, as it were, of his abstract attributes: the world indeed is full of his wondrous works, but yet, as we know from the case of the heathen, they do not come home to men's minds in that individual shape which alone can interest them. They seem, also, matters of course, and may, as far as they know, administer to other beings specially, to themselves but accidentally. They are, too, as far as they affect them, but of the present hour. Now to their view whom he hath called by revelation, he has proposed mighty deeds of the past, wrought in especial interventions; and again, by means of prophecy, fixed their eyes on glorious works of mercy to come: so that wherever in time the mind may place itself,—in past, present, or future,—the sight is full of objects displaying, and particularly directing upon the beholder himself, the wisdom, the goodness, and the power of God; not in abstract, but in substance.

Let us now proceed to examine the comparative advantages of the Patriarch, Jew, and Christian. The Patriarch had from the mouth of Adam an account of the blissful days of Paradise, and of the intervention of God at the fall; he had also, from the same source, the prophecy announcing his restoration, so that his retrospect and prospect was bright with heart-stirring operations of God in his especial behalf;

and these imparted their appropriate colour to the present and ordinary works of God lying before his eyes. Thus his matter was abundant; his heart had sufficient upon which to plead.

But comparatively with the Jew, he was distant indeed. This favoured worshipper could call upon the Almighty as having announced himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, his fathers. God had intervened, by a long series of most signal and glorious mercies, and held up to his eyes a long and burning train of prophecy, growing more specific every day. The very land in which he was living, was a testimony and pledge of his peculiar mercy and love; and all the temporal blessings which it afforded him, came thus specially from God's hands, and mingled harmoniously with the great mass of spiritual mercies, past and to come. He was a priest indeed, with innumerable offerings to lay upon God's altar; the dedicatory sacrifice of Solomon did not more exceed in magnificence that of Abel, than the spiritual sacrifice of the Jew, considered under the head of matter for prayer, did that of the patriarch. How beautiful, how glorious are his prayers; the great body of them is still put up by the church of God, which is still in the enjoyment of his blessings.

But how distant indeed was he compared with the Christian; the Christian has all the glorious past, present, and future of the Jew in retrospect. But above all, God has appeared to him not through angels, not from Mount Sinai, but in human flesh, in domestic life. The Christian can appeal to him on human attributes, on the love which he himself entertains; on the mercy which he himself shows; on the justice which he himself administers. He can appeal to one who has called himself not the God of his fathers, but his brother: so that our High Priest mediates not only directly and officially by his human nature, but also incidentally and instrumentally by his human qualities; by means of which we can feel ourselves one with him who is one with the Father. Our retrospect, in addition to the Jewish, is his incarnation and whole sojourn on earth; his crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension. Our present view is his sitting at the right hand of God in mediation for us, together with all the gifts pouring down on us in his name; our prospect is his coming again in judgment, and the life everlasting, when all his glorious promises, still due, shall have been fulfilled. Priests, spiritual priests indeed are we, rich beyond all telling in the abundance of offerings for our sacrifice; and we have received a fresh and special ordination from God in those words, (Job xvi. 23), "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he shall give it you." In addition to all this, he has provided us one whose help shall never fail to make our sacrifice perfect, the advocacy of the Holy Spirit, which intercedeth for us with groans which cannot be uttered.

To illustrate by example this our blessed superiority, let us take up the most fervent, the most explicit of such Jewish prayers as are still at this very day used by the church of Christ; and let us, if possible, divest ourselves, during the perusal, of our Christian associations. Let what was dark to the Jew, be dark to us; let the great Redeemer be obscurely future, and not gloriously come. Do we not appear far away, even where the Jew felt himself to be most near? Now let us take up the prayer again with our eyes open, and our heart quick to all our spiritual happiness; read it, and then close with the words, "through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour." Are we not brought near at once, taken up like Elijah from earth, caught up like the apostle to the third heaven? Here is indeed one great reason, exclusive of the intrinsic merits of the hymns, why the Christian church has retained so much of the praise and prayer of the Jewish. To all who are diligent to understand, it carries back the thoughts to the glorious train of mercies by which God prepared the way of our dispensation, reminds us of our eminently superior privileges, and every expression comes to the heart with a sense of glorious prophecy most gloriously fulfilled, and with the consciousness of ourselves being the blissful enjoyers of the fulfilment.

Such being our means, let us examine our duty on the head of prayer, which we shall distinguish into private and public.

Most of what may be said (on the first especially) has been already anticipated. We have been both commanded and invited to pray. Prayer is to us the only channel of communication with God,—the only duty in which we pointedly fulfil the purpose of our being,—the only acknowledged vehicle of his gifts,—the only refuge from a corrupt and troublous world. Without it the word of God, sown by his teachers, has no ground in the heart wherein to take root; without it we are mere animals, beasts of the earth, creatures of rapine and prey.

The transition to the consideration of the objects of public prayer, is short and easy, from some principal duties of private. In his private petitions, the individual must never forget that he is one of many, a member of a body, through the head of which he has access to the throne of grace and mercy. He is bound to many brethren in the unity of one altar, one faith, one baptism; so that his prayers must be directed to their welfare as to a part of his own, and even the most special and private part of his devotions cannot leave his neighbour out of all consideration. To them his conduct for good or bad can never be indifferent, bodily or morally; and therefore his petitions for grace to amend his life before God, will include the desire of avoiding offence before men; with the earnest wish to build up his fellows in redemption, so that every thing which he may think, say or do, may tend to the glory of God and his Saviour Jesus Christ. Here then is a close, indissoluble bond between private and public prayer. Private must proceed upon the understanding that its offerer is a member of a society, and to this society he cannot be counted to belong, if he shun its assemblies. He cannot put up petitions for the brethren in spirit, if he avoids their spiritual communion. This would be like thinking to love God whom he hath not seen, and hating his brother whom he hath seen. Both modes of prayer are necessary from the very constitution of our nature as social beings, both are imposed by Christ's ordinance, both are blessed with his promise. Just as the Jewish priest united his public and private devotions, and offered first for himself, and then for the people; so closely united must the truly spiritual priest maintain his private and public offices, nor deem that one will be accepted when the other is neglected. If he unite not the two, he is no priest; he has no altar, no sacrifice, no temple.

To be in communion, therefore, with the invisible church, we must be in communion with the visible; to be in communion with Jesus Christ its great head, with all the angelic host of heaven, with the spirits of just men made perfect, we must also be in communion with the brethren who are labouring together with ourselves in the infirmities of the flesh, and looking for help to the same Redeemer.

For this assembling ourselves together we have the special promise of our Lord, that where two or three are met together in his name, there is he in the midst of them; and for neglecting such assembling, we have his threats of casting us out of his church; for in his Epistle to the Hebrews, the apostle of Christ strictly charges them not to neglect the assembling of themselves, and proceeds to show that such neglect is the commencement of an apostacy, after which there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin. Now, he is writing to persons who were in danger of this sin from the violence of persecution without. Will it be more excusable in us, who commit it from inward choice? In them the spirit was willing, but the flesh weak; in us not even the spirit will be willing, and the flesh will be proud and rebellious. They would err from severe compulsion of pain; we from mere recklessness and wantonness of ease.

The benefits of public prayer may be discussed as received through the outward, and through the inward, senses.

Much indeed comes through the outward. Not derived from the beauty and magnificence of the temple; not from showy pomp of ceremonial; not from charms of song and music, and other stimulants to the dull senses, which rouse them indeed to a certain degree, but often prevent them effectually from rising higher, by constantly rivetting the attention, and intruding objects of the senses on the moments of abstraction,—the sights and sounds of earth on the contemplation of heaven, flesh upon spirit. But that which delights and teaches the eyes, is the sight of Christ's flock; that which charms and instructs the ears, is the sound of joint prayer. When we thus join ourselves in uniformity and equality of prayer, all of different stations, different pursuits, different dispositions, different ages,—the rich and the poor, the merchant and the husbandman, the wise and the weak, the healthy and the infirm, the young and the old,—what a varied family does that of Christ appear; how manifold are our wants, and how surpassingly great his power and loving-kindness who undertakes to supply them all,—who sheds upon each of them his appropriate gift, and they all, in different tongues as it were, tell out the mighty works of God. And when in despite of all the obvious differences in the flesh, we find ourselves, by the very act of our meeting, all equal and alike before the throne of God, what should we reckon of such differences, but as mere accidents, utterly inessential to our real nature? If God, who made us, and knows our nature to its inmost recesses, regard them not, why shall we so painfully attend to them? Such differences, however, will act still more beneficially, if they act but as outward fleshly signs, to lead us to think of most important inward spiritual differences; of growth or diminution of grace, of wealth, of poverty, of spiritual knowledge, of performance or neglect of God's will, of the understanding or ignorance of his word, of the subjection or dominion of the flesh, of the willingness or reluctance of the spirit. These distinctions are indeed essentials, and no accidents. On either consideration, the world and its code is set aside; and faith and hope and charity bring together, whom its fraud, its hatred, and violence, would fain keep asunder. Here, therefore, all boasting of the flesh is humbled, all meekness of spirit is exalted. With regard to the inward, as the very sight of assembled men is delightful to him who has been long solitary, so is the joining of our spirits in prayer to each one after an interval of lonely meditation and prayer. We refresh ourselves, as it were, with conversation, and with the exercise of our social faculties after seclusion, and the exclusive indulgence of our individual. And assuredly, if interchange of thought, mutual converse and debate, the participation of pleasure and instruction, the imparting of advise and comfort, form the essentials of worldly conversations,—so do the conscious expression of mutual wants, confession of common sins, partaking of common forgiveness, consolation, and peace, give its value and character to our spritual conversation. Such conversation is that which pervades the society of the church of Christ, at those seasons when it assembles as distinctly such, as having separated itself from the world and its lusts and cares, and thus put itself into exclusive unison with its head, forsaking all for Him, and anticipating its future blissful estate, when, without a spot or wrinkle on her garments, she shall be united a glorious bride to the heavenly bridegroom, never to be put asunder, At her time of public prayer alone can she enjoy an unmixed foretaste of her future bliss and peace; at that time alone can each of her members be certain of enjoying spiritual fellowship with his brethren of the life to come. Then all the hindrances which the world interposes to the unity of spirit are removed; the disruption of the bonds of peace is closed up, for its passions and its assaults are at least for a time put aside; then the social joy of the spirits of the saints is unfettered; then the charity, which is the prelude to the links of love which shall bind the blessed in the world to come, is assured. We are all one with each other, by being one with him, who is one with the Father.

Can any one therefore imagine that he shall attain to the fellowship of the saints in light in the life to come, who despises its preparatory elements in this life; can he indeed entertain any adequate notion of it; nay, can he have ever entertained any notion at all? It is easy for any one to remark upon the general appearance of a congregation, and demand what ought he to conclude from its prevailing listlessness and inattention; whether it be really that body which I have been describing, or an assemblage of unsanctified flesh and blood; and ask, if the latter, what becomes of the duty which has been enjoined as so imperative? The person who is thus prejudiced, before he enters the house of prayer, is destitute of the charity which he should carry thither in order to enjoy its benefits; and he, who having entered, is at leisure to remark upon his neighbours, has gone thither to as little purpose. But were it certain that there was but one, even one only, who was sincere in his attendance there, this would not excuse his neglect; with that one brother he may have joined his spirit, and where even two or three are met together in Christ's name, there is he amidst them. To excuse himself therefore at all, this person must be certain that not one single supplicant in the house of prayer is sincere. It may be asserted that a supposition so dreadfully uncharitable could never enter into the mind of a man who was in the least capable of sharing any spiritual intercourse with a brother; hardened must be the heart, and blinded indeed the understanding, of such an arguer. The world had never before received such an invitation to public prayer as our Saviour has given in his memorable promise just quoted. How different from the authoritative injunction upon the Jew. "Three times a year shall thy males appear before me!" And how different the mode of his presence! Not as to a gross people, in the substance of a sensible glory, but as to a spiritual people, in the spirit; not limited to place, as that was to the temple; not limited to time, as the approach to that was. The Jew was told to fear the Lord his God, as a servant. We are bidden to love the Lord our God, as sons. He, therefore, was commanded to approach, as to a haughty and imperious king, through a long series of formal delays interposed by ceremonies of purification and sacrifice. But us he calls immediately to his presence, as a parent his children: our purification has been made by washing of the Holy Spirit; our sacrifice has been offered by our High Priest Jesus Christ; and his ears are ever open to our prayers.

DISSERTATION IX.

ON REPENTANCE.

When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.—Ezek. xviii. 27.

The Jewish prophet has here furnished a complete definition of repentance, applicable to every period of the church of God. According to this, it consists of two parts; one of which is the turning away from his wickedness, the other is the doing that which is lawful and right: in other words, it implies the turning away from the world, and the turning towards God. And he has crowned his statement with a declaration of the blessing which God has promised upon such a change, even of the salvation of the sinner, through the remission of his sins. These three heads of this most important doctrine must be carefully distinguished, because they have no necessary connexion with each other, none which man's reason could lead him to discover. It is God's free mercy which binds them together,—it is his revelation which assures us of their union; and the knowledge and acknowledgment of their connexion is one among those vital differences which have ever distinguished the sons of God from the children of the world, which set apart the sons of Shem from the sons of Ham, the Israelite from the Gentile, and the Christian from the Heathen.

That this is the nature of their connexion, will appear from a very few considerations.

I. A man may forsake former sins, and yet not turn to God. The world, at some point or other, ever disgusts its votaries; ever, if they live but long enough to make a certain progress in its delights; and the same palling satiety which has dismissed successive objects of appetite, at length takes away the appetite itself. But many circumstances continually intervene to abridge or prevent so long an indulgence of sin. Men are deterred by a sense of their own interest,—by a regard to worldly reputation,—by apprehension of temporal consequences,—by accidents which put it out of their power, however the will may be at hand, such as want of means, absence, infirmity, old age. In all such cases, the foregoing of sin is no more an act of obedience to God, than is its termination at their death, which cuts off all opportunities of sin at once and for ever. Sin, which would supply a particular gratification to the body, is renounced in favour of a superior gratification, or is put beyond their reach. Nay, men may not only abandon sin, but even be sorry for it, without turning to God. Its consequences may be such as to make them ashamed of their folly, to smart under chastisement, and therefore to loathe the remembrance of it, deeming it a grievous and intolerable burden. And yet this shall amount to nothing better than the painful and distracting feeling of remorse, which arises from the consciousness of having wilfully thrown away our own happiness. Thus far went Cain, thus far went Pharaoh, thus far went Saul, thus far went Judas; yea, and thus far went even the devils in hell, and are going still farther,—and yet to all eternity will never arrive at the second stage of repentance. So far from it, that their deepening remorse only deepens the depth of that tremendous gulf which separates them from the bliss of God's presence. Though, therefore, sorrow for sin be indeed in the road to repentance, we no more on that account advance towards it, than we do to the leading object of a road, by merely being upon it. Though it be indeed the first step, we no more on that account pass beyond, than the person who chances to place his foot on the lowest step of the flight of stairs which leads to the door of God's temple, therefore enters it. That step we may have taken to avoid the pressure of a crowd, or to abridge our road; and, lying in a frequented thoroughfare, it may be trodden in the course of the day by thousands, not one of whom turns to tread the next above. Yet how common is the error of mistaking this kind of sorrow for a godly sorrow; and how many have deemed themselves at peace with God, merely because they were at war with the world.

II. Neither is there any necessary connexion between addressing ourselves to God, and obtaining his forgiveness. Gross and carnal minds may indeed imagine that God's indignation may, like the wrath of proud and vengeful man, be appeased by sorrow and submission, or even be bought off by costly offerings. But acute and disciplined intellects arrive at a very different conclusion. They see in God a power, which has no need of sympathizing with the weakness of man; a holiness, which can admit of no compromise with unholiness; a supremacy, which can brook no particle of rebellion; a justice, which cannot take into favour an offender; and a mercy, which, in the narrow glimpses obtained by them, serves but to perplex and confound them, seeing it shed the rain upon the just and upon the unjust. How shall they hence conclude the forgiveness of sin? Such men, therefore, in their sorrow for the commission of sin, would rather turn away from God than seek him, unless it be natural for man to seek punishment. Revelation it is, (as we have before shown,) which alone assures us that the turning to God shall win his forgiveness.

The mercy of God, thus stepping into these two intervals, and thus blending into one, what were otherwise utterly unconnected, now gives rise to two considerations; first, on the general promise of pardon to the penitent, and next, on God's special call upon the individual to turn and repent.

I. The revelation of forgiveness on repentance is necessarily coeval with the church of God, which is founded upon it; its declaration comes to us included in the promise, made to Adam, of a Redeemer; nor had Adam been in a fit state to be party to the covenant into which God then entered with him, were he not in a state of penitence. The promise was farther daily repeated to him in the typical rite of sacrifice, which he daily, with contrite confession of sin, offered for himself and his family, and which was thus, at once, an assurance and a vehicle of pardon: we need not then go farther to seek instances of this doctrine in the patriarchal church, and will only quote the beautiful passage of Job, in which it is so affectingly put forth. "If thou prepare thine heart, and stretch out thine hands towards him; if iniquity be in thine hand, put it far away, and let not wickedness dwell in thy tabernacles; then truly shalt thou lift up thy face without spot, and shalt be stable, and shalt not fear, but thou shalt forget thy misery, and remember it as waters that are past."—(xi. 13, &c.) We need not seek instances of its declaration in the next covenant, when God, not only through the daily sacrifice, but also through the mouth of his prophets, was calling his people to repent and be forgiven; how completely it was declared, the passage, chosen for the text, bears witness. All that remained obscure was the cause for which God bestoweth this precious boon of pardon, and this portion flashed into glorious and dazzling light by the revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Being the very fundamental doctrine of his church, God has solemnly promulgated it at the opening of each new dispensation; and this was still more necessary, because at those periods mankind had fallen into a very general apostacy. Noah, a preacher of righteousness, proclaimed it before the flood, which began a new stage of the patriarchal church. Israel was commanded, on the day previous to the delivery of the law from Mount Sinai, to sanctify himself for to-day and to-morrow, and wash his clothes, (Exod. xix. 10.)* in which charge, assuredly, every pious mind would understand much more than a dress of outward purity, in which to appear before the visible glory of the Lord God of Hosts. He would understand that the heart must be clean, and not the garments only; and how shall the heart be cleansed, but by repenting and turning unto God? We ourselves are praising and imploring God under that very covenant, whose harbinger cried out to the whole world, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand!" and, at a signal time, indeed, was this proclamation made; the whole world, Jewish and Gentile, was apostate, while the last veil was going to be taken off from God's mystery of salvation; the real substantial sacrifice was going to be offered, mankind was going to be openly, palpably, convicted of sin, by the suffering of the promised Redeemer on the cross. Men are, therefore, by this last proclamation, called to repentance, in such a manner as they never were before; and such as neglect its summons will sin in such a manner as never did offender before.

II. But vain had been the warning voice of proclamation, had God gone no farther; it had, indeed, been a voice crying in the wilderness, it had been a shouting in the ears of the deaf, it had been commanding the dead to rise, without imparting to them the power of life. But God, in calling upon man to repent, has also enabled him to do it by special means, which it is now time to consider.

So little is man able to furnish himself with the requisite means, so entirely do they come from God, that in more places than one Scripture mentions repentance as a gift of God: it is so, in whatever way we view it.

I. Let us view it as supplied by the channel of the ordinary visitations of Providence. God, at the very moment of turning the Christian's face away from the world by any visitation, invites him by the act to turn it upon himself in heaven. This should seem to be as necessary an alternative as darkness and light. To him, therefore, God makes immediate appeal in every event which raises his dissatisfaction with the world; and the visitation, however temporally severe, is spiritually considered a gift of golden price indeed. The wounds inflicted are but the openings through which he pours in his oil and balm. And not only does he call us to himself by calling us away, by dissatisfaction with the world, by sickness, want, sorrow, and anguish; but oftentimes also by a spirit-stirring note, which completely draws off our attention for the time from the voice of the world, he invites us directly to himself,—by unhoped for restoration to health or wealth, unexpected rescue from danger, unlooked for happiness, and by innumerable occurrences in which the thankful and devout heart is ready to acknowledge God's special intervention. And thus it is, that, on this side and on that, above and below, trumpeted heralds of God are set to summon us to repentance; and if we neither hear them nor see them, we have foregone the commonest principles of our spiritual nature; we have subdued even that elementary curiosity which is necessary to the maintenance of its existence; we have severed the golden chain by which God would hold us to him, in our wanderings in this wilderness below.

II. It will appear still more specially a gift, if we proceed from the consideration of these loud and obvious calls, to that of the still small voice by which he sometimes addresses us much more effectually. These occasions are far more numerous than the world is apt to imagine. How often can a man date his change of heart, and turning to God, from something which, to all other eyes, and even to his own, at any other time, appears trivial and inadequate to so great a consequence; but what more trivial than a burning bush: yet God was in that bush, speaking to the salvation of Israel; and here is God, in the occurrence, calling the sinner to escape from his worse than Egyptian bondage. An object contemplated but with passing attention; a word from a person not looked up to with any particular reverence; a trifling accident in our way which we scarce recked of; a passage of Scripture fraught with no obviously superior importance, and turned out by apparently the merest chance; these have often been the holy ground on which God hath chosen that His spirit should meet our spirit: and what had else suggested but a random, momentary thought, being now the vehicle of his grace, has entered, abided, and leavened the whole mass of feeling and of understanding. Of such vehicles of God's preventing grace, who has not heard from the testimony of others; of their existence who can doubt, if he attend to the internal motions of his mind, and observe how continually our thoughts arise, independent of any call of our own? Some one may here object, that if this grace of God calling us to repentance, be thus independent of us, what need have we to exert ourselves; why not sit down, and await at leisure its proper and appointed season? It is not here the place to canvass the ways by which God works together with us: how the free agency of the latter is the instrument of the former, and the constraint of God is the choice of man. It will be sufficient to ask, whoever delayed to raise his hand, or stir his foot, from the conviction that God's operation was necessary to enable him so to do. Experience, in this case, has certified to us that we can so do, and God's express promise in the other ought equally to assure us that our exertion will be attended with God's co-operation. If God sometimes calls us when not exerting ourselves, what is this but an argument that he will so much the more assist us when we are exerting ourselves? If God sometimes intervenes to insert a holy thought in a train not directed to him, will he not ever sanctify with his grace a train which is directed to him? If a grain of wheat chance to spring up occasionally in our field, shall we, therefore, neglect to sow? The instances which prove to us the preventing grace of God, should, in like manner, stir us up to ensure it by those exertions by which we are conscious, through God's promise, that we can. Sinners, indeed, often find themselves so far fallen away, as to feel convinced that nothing less than some special intervention of God can recall them: they become, therefore, desperate. And yet which of them, in a long and dangerous sickness, from which he felt that nothing less than God's special mercy could raise him, ever neglected all human means of restoration to health? Much more reasonably may they (not with a faint hope, but in full reliance on God's recorded promise) avail themselves of the means which he has put into their power.

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* See also Deut. xxx. 3.

III. And more special does this gift become, in proportion to the length of time which we have suffered to glide by without applying ourselves to the ordinary and offered means of obtaining it. As in every other case, so in that of change of mind,—the opportunities presented to us for effecting it, diminish to our perception, in number and importance, as we proceed further and further in slighting them. Thus a portion of them perishes to us daily, neither can any art or contrivance of man recall them. As well may the greybeard demand back from the grave the mates of former years, as endeavour to resuscitate these golden attendants upon his better days. He is left alone, abandoned both by one and the other; he has outlived them all. Our experience, both from without and from within, tells us that this miserable destitution must, in too many cases, occur. The most vigilant among us has to weep over opportunities neglected and irrevocable: what then has been the loss, how incalculable in price and amount, to the reckless; to those who, ever intent on the present hour, neither looked for warning wisdom to the past, nor for cautious foresight to the future; whose whole life was to-day,—to whom there was neither yesterday nor morrow; who lay like a dead body, fixed in one spot, passive to all accidents, unconscious of the past life, insensible to the life to come? But behold the overpowering mercy of God! Is health, after a long and desperate sickness; is prosperity, after a weary period of severe distress; is joy, after nights and days of deep and prolonged sorrow,—are these reckoned special gifts of God's intervention? What then shall we think of his raising the sinner's spirit, which has been long bowed down to the very dust of this carnal world? Is it not the miraculous raising of the crooked cripple; is it not a spiritual resurrection of the dead? Taken in every view, therefore, repentance, coming to a sinner, is a special and signal gift of God: it is a grace which we cannot, any more than any other, confer upon ourselves; and yet is so far from being placed beyond our reach, that we may rather say that it has been most anxiously intruded into it; while at the same time it argues the utmost infatuation of recklessness to neglect its opportunities, under the notion that we can recall them at will.

Having thus considered the call to repentance, let us proceed to discuss the work itself, beginning from the second stage of it, in which the heart, now partly weaned from the world, first addresses itself to God. Of the heart I have spoken, as being but partly weaned at this stage; and we should be much mistaken, and most grievously discouraged, did we imagine repentance to be of a day, and not of years. Its two elements, namely, the renunciation of the world, and the conversion to God, being both gradual, of course the whole is gradual likewise.

I. With regard to the first, let us only reflect how manifold and how intricate are the bonds of entanglement by which the world holds us captive. They are not only bonds of strong and wayward passion, links of iron and brass, obvious and palpable to the dullest sense; but they are also fine and silken, an intricate net-work, so subtle as to escape our unpurified eye: bonds formed by the gentlest affections, by the most amiable feelings, which sit so easy, so accommodate themselves to all our motions, that we imagine ourselves free. Here lies the pith of our resistance to the world; here is the crisis of our struggle. How many persons, for instance, who would maintain the dictates of their conscience most manfully against open force, yet have yielded them to gentle influence: how many, who would turn with abhorrence from a direct and open temptation to sin, have been drawn into it by indirect and covert invitation: how many, who blamed or pitied a neighbour whom they saw under its gross and open tyranny, have all the while been equally under its invisible power. To escape from such bonds, requires two qualities bestowed by God's grace, both of them of gradual growth; discernment, to see those secret ties, and resolution, to snap them asunder. These will grow stronger and stronger by exercise; and exercise they will have, to the end of life, until its last thread be broken.

II. With regard to the second, ask of those who have been long in the habit of keeping God before their minds; hear them confess how unsteady, after all their aspirations, is the hold of their sight upon him; how the due notion at which they would arrive, floats and flickers before them; in what perplexity they find themselves, when endeavouring to select it out and make it the leading idea, amid the less worthy and tumultuary crowd which is hurrying through their bosom; hear them acknowledge to what various and singular expedients they are often obliged to resort, in order to rouse their dull feelings, and express in their minds a due sense of his continual presence; an adequate apprehension of his awful attributes of majesty, power, holiness, and justice; or a proper estimate of his exceeding loving-kindness and mercy. If such be the case with those who are far advanced on their course of amendment, how must it be with him who confronts, as it were, his God for the first time? Brought from outer darkness into the intolerable blaze of the majesty of his presence, what can be his feeling, but that of overpowering fear, which, for the moment, sees no other attributes in God but inevitable ubiquity, inexorable justice? This, however, is the beginning of wisdom, and as, in God's moral economy, chastisement introduces happiness; so in his spiritual, horror and dismay usher in the sense of his gentle attributes of mercy, love, and forgiveness, which arrive, in the end, in company with hope. So then here is a progressive state from fear to love, the penitent casting out every day somewhat of the first, in proportion as he imbibes of the second. Penitence becomes thus gradually a more calm and staid quality, but at the same time, it deepens in feeling, for the growing purity of the bosom, arising from the grace of our communication with God, makes us daily more sensible to the iniquity of our former sins; the lightness of our yoke reminds us more strongly of our previous burden; our improving obedience sets in deeper, darker contrast our previous disobedience; our deepening consciousness of his mercy makes us more ashamed of having formerly slighted it; and our brightening notions of all his attributes, make us more and more astonished at our infatuated recklessness, which could so long have trifled with them. Thus fresh objects of repentance are daily rising to the view of the penitent, witnesses of the corruption of heart in which he has been so long sunk, which will continue prophesying to him in sackcloth and in ashes to the last. From them he receives a daily rebuke; from them turns, fully humbled, to supplicate the God of mercies, and the God of mercies each day turns his mourning into joy: the wounds which he now bears being no longer the effect of present sins, but the impression of the sorrowful memory of the past, are the marks which he bears, not of the world, but of Christ in him. From this fear and this love—these two co-relative sources of sorrow and joy—flow all the Christian's graces: from the one, his lowliness, meekness, and charity; from the other, his elevated feelings of hope, fortitude, and thankfulness; and these apparently opposing elements, chastising and curbing here, invigorating and enlarging there, perfect that frame of mind which results from a full and unfeigned repentance,—even from that repentance by which we are admitted to covenanted pardon and peace, in Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Consisting, as the process thus described must, of several steps, we need not be surprised if the penitent sometimes stops short in it. We have already seen that the first step of turning away from the world by no means necessarily leads to the next, which is the turning to God: even when the sinner intends to turn to God, he often mistakes for it his disgust of the world, and contenting himself with this evidence, proceeds no further, but rather in a short time becomes reconciled again to the former minister of his false happiness. And even if he have turned and caught a glimpse of his God, this very glimpse presents in the same moment so long and dark an interval of continued and laborious struggle to attain a full, clear light, that he shrinks from the toil; he wilfully deludes himself with the comfortable thought, that having once turned to God he is advancing: and, having admitted a ray of heavenly light into his bosom, he rests upon it as evidence of being in a state of peace with God, instead of proceeding with it as an earnest of more to be obtained. Even thus it too frequently happens that God's summons to repentance is misinterpreted by our self-delusion into an assurance that all is well. We regard it as a signal to go to quarters, and not to march. We look upon it as a certificate of being put into possession, not as a promise that we shall possess. It is to us the setting sun, which tells us that our work is done; not the rising, which tells us that our work must be begun. It is the rainbow, which we may stand and gaze at, and assure ourselves of God's covenant of safety; and not the cloudy pillar by day, and fiery pillar by night, which we must never cease to follow up.

Again: even after we have turned our face in good earnest (at least, as we think) to God, the distance at which he appears from us, and our consequent despondence, gives a temporary advantage to the world, which is nigh at hand with all its outward cheerfulness. We have now, therefore, for the first time, two masters openly set before us, each calling us to his service: for the first time we are fully aware of the difficulties which beset the road to eternal life: for the first time we become conscious of the exceeding power of the world. We thought not of the strength of its stream while we were carelessly floating with it; but now we have to make head against it, and with difficulty can we keep our footing. What wonder, then, if at this point often occurs a long pause, or even a retrograde step? Here is the crisis of the penitent's fate, but here, likewise, is the assisting grace of God most manifestly shown, strengthening amid weakness. But for this help our corrupt nature would immediately relapse into its former state, and we should deem the fleeting world, of which we are in occupation, at least an equivalent to the everlasting world, which is in expectance. From the whole process of repentance, thus considered, it is evident that we must address ourselves to it without delay; it is a work to which the more bodily and mental vigour we can bring on our part, the more certain are we of completing it through God's grace. But not only our limbs and senses are daily becoming less active and pliant, but our minds and thoughts also. Our will is daily losing somewhat of its sovereignty over both one department and the other; and when the trembling hand refuses to obey, the thoughts also will most probably be out of our controul. Thus there is a point where, humanly speaking, repentance is no longer possible. Now, therefore, when it is suggested, is the acceptable time. Now let the holy work begin; and God, that desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live, will save our souls alive.

DISSERTATION X.

ON THE STATE OF A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF GOD.

Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.—Rom. iv. 3.

IN the moment of the first man's sin, his relation to God was changed. He had disobeyed the will of God, conformity to which constituted the excellence of his nature, and was the only principle of harmony to its various qualities. His original nature was now, like a dead body, in a state of hideous dissolution, from the loss of the vital principle; and discordant passions, unrestrained appetites, broken thoughts, took place of that compact system, in which every part bore without a single deviation to the one grand object. His passions, instead of being excited by the love of God, were now roused by the love of himself; his appetites, instead of finding satisfaction in God's provision for them, sought it any where else, and therefore in earthly things rather than heavenly; his thoughts, instead of centering in the worship and contemplation of God, were scattered abroad, and having lost that converging impulse by which they ascended straight to the throne of heaven, lay, like a fog, entangled amid the briers and brambles of earth. If, therefore, in his former state, he was an object of God's love, what else could he be in his present, but an object of his wrath and condemnation? Nevertheless, such is God's unspeakable mercy, he was met in this miserable state by a promise of restoration. And the effect of that promise on this state, now, alas! the natural state of man, is the object of the present inquiry. It is essential to the nature of a promise, that it can have no retrospect: however suggested by past circumstances, it cannot take them into its conditions. Hence the promise of everlasting life, being proposed by God to man, he is freed from all anxiety regarding his conduct previous to his acceptance of it. The very promise annuls the past, as far as responsibility can be concerned, and assures him that it is irrelative to the great bliss to be conveyed to him. Such a promise is therefore necessarily accompanied with an assurance of the forgiveness of past sins. The acceptance of the promise on the part of man, is through faith in God the giver; this being essential on the part of the receiver, in any promise between any parties. This promise also is made by God for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ, his only son. From these several considerations being put together, there arises the proposition, that our sins are forgiven through faith, for the sake of the merits of Jesus Christ; in other words, we are justified through faith, on account of the merits of Jesus Christ.

And this proposition, having been deduced from principles common to every stage of God's Church, is applicable to every period of it; the only difference will be, that the reason of God's forgiveness is not necessary to be revealed to all men, and therefore its complete development was reserved for that period which he had destined for the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began. (Rom. xvi. 25.)

The forgiveness of sins thus conveyed to the natural man on his accepting God's promise in faith, is called justification, his injustice up to that moment not being taken into account.

We have now to examine the nature of this faith.

It is a lively and implicit belief in God's promise, nor can man, from the very nature of the case, bring any thing more wherewith to meet God: works, we have seen, are entirely excluded. What, indeed, could the lost, the degraded, the despairing Adam bring, but an humble and earnest acceptance of whatever God in his mercy should think fit to bestow? What could be the recommendation of Abraham before God, more than a sincere conviction of the truth of his promises, even against all human grounds of hope? and what can the receiver of the Gospel plead but his faith in God through Christ? Works taken into account at this moment, would throw man back again into his condemnation. We are justified, therefore, by faith alone, without works, and the faith of man and the forgiveness of God are correlative terms; and thus, for instance, the Gospel of Christ proclaims remission of sins to all men, of whatever condition, mental, moral, or physical,—to the philosopher and to the ignorant, to the publican and the pharisee, to the man in the king's court, to the beggar on the highway,—to him who hath worked from dawn, and to him who began but at the eleventh hour, provided they will only repent and believe. All, therefore, whatever they may have been before,—by whatever ways, and through whatever length of time they may have arrived at it,—are in this moment held to be equal,—there is no difference between master and slave, Jew and Greek. But however long God's preventing grace may have been predisposing the heart to entertain this justifying faith, it is evident that the act of justification is momentary: it is a single point in our life, on one side of which all the past is cancelled, on the other all is future in bright and brilliant hope. It is a moment, as it were, of spiritual re-animation; and as when God recalls from death, he by that very act also necessarily infuses a principle of life, so in this act he not only acquits us from sin, but also infuses a vivifying spirit of holiness. From this circumstance, and also because it is due to the operation of the Holy Ghost, the state ensuing from this moment is called the state of sanctification, and must extend henceforward to our life's end.

Now, since the moment after justification, our previous nature, with its thoughts and feelings, still subsists, the relation in which God chooses to consider us, alone having undergone an effective change as yet, and as the Holy Spirit has commenced his operations, and as faith (which waits in hope the accomplishment of the thing promised, but unseen) must still subsist and proceed, we see that not only faith, but works also, must be taken into account in our consideration of this state.

And first, with regard to faith.

Every one knows by experience, that the more objects we can lay hold of, and bring together, as it were, to converge to the desired end, the firmer our assurance in its accomplishment becomes: hence, our faith is capable of growth in extent and stability. And, indeed, since an active mind is always progressive to some point, if our faith did not grow correspondingly, it would soon be overlaid and choaked up by the growth of other faculties and feelings: but the objects thus supplied to the exercise of the faith of the religious man daily grow in number and importance. He has God's holy word, and God's holy spirit, to supply them. The latter enlightens his understanding to the study of the former, which, having been also the production of the same spirit, brings him into still closer communion with the giver of light, whose co-operation is still further obtained in meditation and prayer; hence the faith of this man is every day seeing fresh objects to lead him on to the end unseen. He is taking a more and more comprehensive view of the holy word; he is constantly bringing more and more points together to bear to that end, which before seemed unconnected; he is gradually supplying to every communication with the world, a firm base in God's revelation, on which it shall rest like a rock amid the waves, unmoved by wind or tide of human affairs; he is daily providing some new heavenly principle, some new deduction of faith, to support him against trial and temptation; every day he opens his eyes upon more on which to be humbled, more on which to be thankful, more on which to love, more on which to praise, to sing, and to be joyful. Thus our faith, growing with the number of objects which give it exercise, daily gathering under its dominion more and more of the subjects of thought and passion, advances continually towards that comprehension which shall include all our reflection and practice, and that stability which nothing of this world can shake. It is attaining a protecting omnipresence, as it were, in all the goings forth of our spirit, whether its objects be within or without. While human faculties, such as human knowledge, widen at the expense of depth, this heavenly faculty is given without stint or measure.

This progressive quality of faith is several times mentioned or implied by Scripture. In its least degree it is likened to a grain of mustard-seed (Luke xvii. 6); but this, though the least of seeds, grows to the greatest tree. Men may be established and grounded in the faith, and may be moved away (Col. i. 23), and faith is the victory which overcometh the world (1 John v. 4).

We may briefly show the vast extent allowed to the progress of faith, by instancing the difference between a justifying and a sanctifying faith. The one is the result of a comparison of the gifts of the world with God's promise, and ends in the joyful election of the latter. But the other has entirely dismissed the former from all consideration, and fixes entirely upon the latter. In the one, was an assured expectation of help from God; in the other, is the conscious enjoyment of it, acting as an earnest of more and greater. There, the beginning is in fear; here, the end is in love. There, the seed was sown; here, the fruit is gathered. The number of objects supplied to the nourishment of faith must have grown more numerous as the church grew in age, which, in this instance, resembles one of its members, whose case we have been considering. The faith of Adam, and his patriarchal successors, must have had its objects, few, and all prospective; nothing, as far as is recorded, having been added to the original promise, which could bring it nearer to the eye, or increase its clearness, until the call of Abraham. If we take the Jewish church at its brightest period, we find that its members had presented to their eyes a bright track, allowing the eye to rest at intervals on brilliant and glorious objects, and yet conducting it on, through an undeviating line, to the accomplishment of the original and general prophecy. The Jew stood here at a point of time up to which, from the delivery of the prophecy, stretched a series of heart-stirring wonders and mercies, shown to his nation; and onward from which stretched another series, glittering through the darkness of futurity. At the same time, the voice of living prophets was sounding in his ear, and adding star after star, cluster upon cluster, until he gazed upon a milky way, as it were, of coming events. But how insignificant is even all this, compared with what is presented to the eye of Christian faith. It is, indeed, the starry night which ushers us in a bright and glorious day. For all which was brilliant vision to the Jew, is to us a body of glorious and substantial facts; our future begins where his ended, and is limited but by the consummation of all things, when our mighty Lord and Saviour shall come again in glory to judge both the quick and the dead. Besides our own peculiar view, we have all which the Patriarch saw in hope, and the Jew in prophecy. It may, perhaps, be objected, that our advantage is not so very great here, inasmuch as our belief is more easily given to a few well-established facts, than to a multitude; that, at all events, a few are sufficient, being as much as the mind can command in its grasp. This would be true, were not the connexion between the facts so close, the tendency of all to one point so clear, that, a single term accepted, all the rest follow of course; and then the accumulation pressing upon the mind in every direction, leaves not a single heaving point; not a single expression of murmuring doubt can escape. Belief will readily admit intervals of other impressions on the mind, and may therefore come from a few facts; but faith is, as it were, an omnipresence of conviction, flowing from every quarter to which we turn, and for this continual impression requires a continual supply of objects.

To illustrate what we have been saying, let us take up an individual instance; let us consider the progress in faith made by the Christian convert. At the very outset, his faith, by keeping his eye fixed upon his Saviour, would now enable him, for the first time, to overcome some besetting temptation; for the first time to subdue some tyrannous passion, which had destroyed his peace of conscience. He has here a cheering proof of the efficacy of faith, and his faith is increased; and as he advances from conquest to conquest over the flesh, he also grows from faith to faith. Thus is it with regard to his practice. At the same time, on his applying in his newly-acquired faith to God's holy word, he would there, for the first time, find something wonderfully corresponding to some particular state of his mind, both vividly suggesting it, and most happily directing it; whether it be some uneasiness which he now finds turned into comfort, or some enjoyment which he now finds exalted and sanctified into lasting spiritual happiness. And thus while, on every successive reading, he brings different states of mind to it, and receives for each an all-sufficient remedy, or sanctifying direction, his faith grows stronger daily, until the word of God is so inwoven into all his thoughts, is so diffused into the whole frame of his mind, as to be the ruling principle, and not the mere accessory. Thus internally also he grows from faith to faith. Again, every day that he turns over the pages of Scripture, some fact detailed in it strikes him as it never did before; and objects are daily arising to nourish his growing faith in his hours of meditation. And thus, at length, he attains unto that faith, which is proof to the seductions of the flesh, to the perplexities of the spirit; which, in a word, overcometh the world.

Having ascertained the nature of faith, let us next inquire into its rank and value. It is the fountain-head of every other holy acquirement. Faith in the love of Christ moves our love towards each other. Faith in the help of Christ, and in the life to come, which he bestows, gives us patience to bear, and courage to dare. Faith, holding up our own unworthiness, and his all-sufficient merits, inspires us with gentleness and meekness. Just as a powerful well-head supplies a number of pools below, which serve for heads of water for irrigation, so does faith supply the forementioned qualities, which give life and vigour to our Christian practice.

It is in constant activity, ever welling forth, and bubbling up, and by a constant supply keeping the pools full against the proper season of their being called upon to perform their part. Possession, therefore, of this can alone give us possession of the rest. On this account it is that sometimes Holy Scripture sums up the whole Gospel under this single term of faith. If all our other Christian qualities are thus dependant upon faith, much more are works, which are the outward expression of those qualities. Faith, therefore, is the main-trunk, these qualities are the branches, works are the fruit. Faith is essential to the very existence of the tree; works are necessary to its value, but accidental to its existence.

But, at the same time, it is with very good reason that the authors of the epistles of the New Testament direct their exhortations not to faith, but rather to works; with provocations to these they overflow. For faith, being the inward principle of exercise to the spirit, as life is of motion to the body, can only be maintained by that exercise. A physician would not say to the sick man, maintain your life, increase your vital powers; but would insist upon using exercise, practising diet. If a body show neither motion nor speech, it is dead to all purposes of this world; and so faith without works is dead to all purposes of the spiritual world. But though the supremacy of faith be thus undoubted, such disputes have taken place upon the relative value of works, that the subject cannot be so immediately dismissed, especially as the result is of the utmost importance. It is astonishing what continual mistakes and misunderstandings in moral questions arise from inattention to the definite sense of words. While every one is eager in the use of general terms, scarcely any one is patient enough to ascertain their full meaning. We have a strong instance of this in the use of the term "good works." How many have defined to themselves their acceptation of the word "good" here?

Good works may be so termed in two ways. First, they may be called good, because they have resulted from the natural principle of right reason, recognized by us individually and socially; in this sense they are good according to the moral philosopher. But in a second sense they are good, as proceeding from a conscience informed by God's revealed will. In this sense only are they good, according to the theologian; for it is clear that the Christian who works upon the first principle, who is dutiful, affectionate, charitable, merely from natural motives, so far from obeying God, is disobeying him. God tells him to act from this motive, and he chooses to act from that. The confusion of these two different principles of action is the rock upon which heedless and mere professing Christians are perpetually striking. They imagine themselves to have performed God's will, when they have not taken the trouble to learn it; to have pleased him, when they have but pleased themselves; and mistake the applause of man for the approval of God.

But among those who understand the term in its proper sense, there are unfortunate disputes as to what title we should give them in expressing their relation to our spiritual condition. The only opinions which need be canvassed here are two; namely, that which entitles their exhibition a condition of salvation, and that which calls them the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith. Between the well-informed propounders of these opinions, the difference appears to be rather nominal than real. But not so among their less considerate followers; they are led more by words than things. It becomes us, therefore, to make our election between these two modes of expression. The first appears deficient in logical precision upon so critical a doctrine; for it includes in its terms two propositions, which, while it is most necessary to distinguish them from each other, thus come confounded to the understanding of the unexploring reader. It tells us, not only that if we have not works we shall not be saved, but also, that if we have works we shall be saved; and in this latter sense, which commends itself so much to our self-sufficiency, it is very generally accepted by the careless and unreflecting; to them it expresses little, if anything, less than the doctrine of merits. But neither, if we confine the expression to the first of these included propositions, will it give a clear statement of the fact; for it confounds the sense of the word condition. The condition of salvation is purely conventional, being the merits of Christ on the part of God, faith on the part of man. But here the condition is necessary, and moreover subordinate to the other, since the expression, when fully explained, must be intended to say that, if we are to be saved, we must have faith, (where the condition is one of convention:) and that if we have faith it must produce works, (where the condition is a moral necessity.) In whichever way, therefore, we resolve the general proposition of the exhibition of works being a condition of salvation, there is ground for misapprehension, and its employers cannot complain of misrepresentation. The second mode of expression, therefore, seems preferable; and both boasting and despondency, which may arise from differently misunderstanding the first, are excluded. Boasting cannot have place, because the man, whose lively faith is the author of the work, has in his contemplation such attributes of perfection, even of the Father, whom he sees in his son Jesus Christ who hath declared him,—such justice, such holiness; and turns from these to find in his own best frame of mind such an humiliating contrast; is so continually rebuked by the comparison of what he has done with what he should have done; descries such a wide interval even between the will and the deed, imperfect as the former is, and again between the means given to him, and the end produced by him, that he will indeed confess with all confusion of face that he is an unprofitable servant. But despondency will be excluded, not only because his lively faith has a lively apprehension of God's mercy, but also because his works, embodying though they do much sad fleshly superfluity together with his principles of faith, will be evidences to him of the abiding of God's grace in his heart; and although they bear no proportion to the model which he has in view, no more than finite to infinite, yet they admit of degrees among each other; and if the progress towards perfection be indiscernible as ever, yet the remoteness from helpless human corruption begins to be visible. His tree at all events is bearing fruit; it is in the heavenly vineyard, is is tended by the heavenly vine-dresser, and the earnest which it has given of answering his care will earn still more of his attention; grace will be given for grace; the very discovery of his deficiencies will administer comfort in the same moment that they abash him: for when a man has found out where he is weak, he has also found out where he may hereafter be less weak; and from the corruption of man he is enabled to estimate more distinctly, by contrast, the power of the amending grace of God; and hence he feels assured that sufficient shall be supplied to his overcoming the world.

Good works, therefore, are the fruits of a lively faith, and are acceptable to God, as the fruit of the tree to the Father, which has been planted by the husbandry of his only begotten Son. Holy he accounts the vineyard, holy the tree, and holy the fruit; if it continue to bear fruit, the care of the husbandman is both continued and increased. If it bear not fruit, it is cut down, cast out of the vineyard, and burned. But as the ploughman who looks back is not fit for the kingdom of heaven, so neither must we be casting fond retrospects upon our works, and thus resting in them with all complacency: we must be ever looking forward, and what has been done must be but a call to do more; grace supplied must lead to grace to be supplied. Hence a diligent examination of our state is necessary, and here it is that our good works tell practically as evidences to us of our state towards salvation. This will appear from an examination for the proper tests of our faith. They are from within and from without.

I. The testimony from within is peace of mind, being borne by our conscience, and in three different ways.

First: It will come from the understanding; and this, when well examined, gives the surest evidence of all, because it is that part of us, which from its remote and abstract nature, is least likely to be imposed upon by the outward world, and its passions. The force of this testimony will consist in the absence of all doubt and perplexity, in the entertainment of clear and consistent views, in quick discernment of consequences, in most full and reasonable conviction of the principles of belief, which it has attained by long and patient investigation, and in a mastery over its sacred subjects, so as to be ever ready to produce and apply them as the practice of life shall demand them. No man can have confidence in the steadiness of his faith, without the answer of some such touchstone as this.

Secondly: It will consist in purity and propriety of imagination, by which I mean not only the presence of nothing but pure images in the mind, but also proper and adequate, and abiding. Is our notion of God sufficiently exalted; is our view of the gospel, with all its facts, consistent with Scripture? Is the character of Christ written in all its true holiness and loveliness on our breast? Are the mighty events by which he wrought our redemption, pictured there in true, lively, and abiding characters; cheering us, and prompting us as models by which to shape our own conduct? Do these holy pictures, drawn after long study of their heavenly prototypes, touch after touch, by perusal after perusal of Scripture, still grow day after day into greater likeness and harmony with the originals, which day after day we turn over? Do we hail them with increasing delight, and patiently proceed comparing, improving, amending, until the glorious whole be formed in us? In proportion as we have repelled all impure, low, trivial, and earthly imaginations, and possessed ourselves with pure, lofty, serious, and heavenly, we have acquired a saving faith, and are enjoying the beneficial cooperation of the Holy Spirit.

Thirdly: It will come from our passions and feelings, and will consist in the absence of all vexation; in the consciousness of daily gaining some victory over them; in the resignation of all our desires into God's hands; in the looking on the world with the calmness of one who sees in each event, however it may affect him, even to extreme poverty and affliction, one harbinger more of the coming of the kingdom of Christ; to whom and to whose cause he has surrendered himself in every wish and appetite, and can cry out, joyful amid sorrow, like a zealous imitator of the obedience of his Saviour, "Not my will, O Lord, but thy will be done." In proportion as we thus can overcome the world, and establish the kingdom of heaven over our hearts, will be the value of the testimony arising from this source. Before, however, proceeding to the next class, we must observe, that not very many men are possessed of sufficient reflection, and of such steady attention to the working of their own minds, as to draw much advantage from the above sources. Only the higher and most carefully disciplined minds can apply to them. The rest will, except under very pressing circumstances which concentrate their attention on some particular occasion, cast a look so superficial, that they will not be aware (at least from these means) how vanity is deluding their understanding, enthusiasm abusing their imagination, and interest working upon their passions. To these, therefore, that is, to the great generality of mankind, a surer test is afforded from sources of the next class. Happy indeed is he who can make good use of both!

II. The value of the testimony, from without, that is, of works, arises from their being a palpable expression of our frame of mind, the final result of the thoughts and passions which we have been cherishing there. And it tells us of two things: first, whether we be really possessed of certain inward qualities, for which we give ourselves credit; and, secondly, brings to light qualities which we had not suspected in ourselves.

On the first point we may remark how prone we are to give ourselves credit for certain gifts of nature; for calmness of mind, contentedness of spirit, evenness of temper. But it is plain that unless we can exhibit to our conscience outward proofs of these being put into exercise, not by the dictates of nature, but by the motive of faith, they are of no account, but rather the contrary: we have received talents which we have never sought to improve, and turn to the service of our Master. From faith alone can we receive the energy to overcome the lets and hindrances, with which all natural gifts are, as with means of proof and trial, accompanied. With the above-mentioned gifts are generally found also reluctance to exertion, passiveness to the authority and advice of others, fear of contradiction. So also fortitude of mind is often joined with an unevangelical stubbornness; cautiousness of belief, with scepticism; curiosity of inquiring, with barren and minute trifling. Faith alone will free the gift from its countervailing partner, and bring it unfettered and energetic into action; and so brought, it will give us a testimony of the spirit abiding within us.

On the second point we need not observe how ignorant men are of themselves, not only through passion and interest, not only through inattention, but also from incapacity of passing judgment upon their inward thoughts. Such a mingled mass is the mind of almost every man, consisting of thoughts and passions of manifold complexions, of manifold stages from mere confused elements to ripe matured notions, that they seldom know its general bearing before it gives birth to some work. Then, indeed, the deformity which escaped them in the dark depths of their bosom is seen clearly in the light before men. Then the laws and the customs of the world, and the word of Scripture, immediately bring it to their bar, and the whole man is judged from this single fact. His works then tried in the conscience of the believer, will give him an evidence, which otherwise he could not obtain, of the spirit within him. The approval or condemnation of the world will only operate to his examining it with greater and more scrupulous jealousy by the test of God's word; and according as it is agreeable to that test he may reckon his sincerity of faith.

Such are the testimonies from within and from without, which the Christian has of his spiritual state, and to these he must be daily appealing: they mark distinctly out the way which he is going, and he can see whether it tend to the only proper end or not. The proof of the accuracy of his examination will be the accordance of the testimony from within and from without, in both cases subjected to the word of God, that searcher of the heart. If both agree in telling him that he is advancing in grace, most happy he, and the effusion of the spirit upon his heart will give him still further assurance and faith in God, and his Son Jesus Christ, even as the dew on the fleece of wool did to Gideon of old (Judges vii. 37). And finally he will obtain that faith which overcometh the world, and enjoy its crowning triumph, which is, to have transferred himself in hope and affections above: and as in the body he puts full faith in the permanency of the operations of Providence; pursues his plans on the full assurance of the sun rising on the morrow, of the sea maintaining its level, of the earth yielding its increase; even so, even with the same certainty, to work in spirit, convinced that the grace of God shall never fail, that the help of his knowledge shall ever abide, that the bliss and glory of the life to come shall keep the appointed day, when the Son of Man shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge the quick and the dead.

DISSERTATION XI.

ON THE ANALOGY OF THE NATURAL AND SPIRITUAL BIRTH.

Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.—1 Peter i. 23.

To be born again of God and of the Spirit, to be begotten by the word and through the gospel, to put off the old man and put on the new, to become as little children, to grow in grace and knowledge of the Lord, to come unto the perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ,—these are phrases which are continually meeting our eyes in the pages of Holy Scripture; and it were well if their pregnant meaning as often found its way to our hearts. They are indeed figurative; but it is only by means of illustration, drawn from the world of flesh, that our imperfect nature can obtain a glimpse of the objects and operations of the world of spirit; and they convey to us as clearly as our duties and condition here can require, the important fact, that we have to undergo a moral death, the death unto sin,—and a moral birth, the birth unto righteousness; and that there is a strong analogy between the birth and growth of the body and that of the spirit, so that we may learn from the one to ascertain, with sufficient precision, the progressive stages of the other.

As this analogy (which it is now purposed to pursue) is intelligible only so far as our consciousness carries us, it will be sufficient to commence it from that moment, when God, by some one among his many merciful interventions with sinful man, calls him from a state of worldly thoughtlessness to a serious consideration of his spiritual condition; and from a secure and almost unconscious enjoyment of mere initiatory spiritual privileges, to their actual and full exercise. That moment is, perhaps, with some, but too transitory, and the creature dies almost in the birth; others expire in the rudiments of childhood; some, alas! in the prime of manhood; some, after a long struggle with infirmity, start into health, and illustrate the analogy to its full extent, and to their own salvation, and the glory of their master.

Let us take the natural world, and contemplate the young child. Observe his intense curiosity, his unwearied, minute, and detailed examination of the new world around him. He will not be satisfied with the distant evidence of sight, hereafter to be his principal guide; but he must touch, taste, handle, and thus is forming that correctness of vision, whereby he may in future judge of what lies beyond his reach. Such is the new man, upon his first introduction into the spiritual world. Besides what is peculiar to it, all that detail which before surrounded him, but scarcely could engage his attention, now, invested with a new character, solicits his observation, at every moment, from every quarter. All that train of consequences which flow so abundantly from the sinfulness of man, from the mercy, love, and justice of God, from a crucified Redeemer, and the certainty of everlasting life,—all that is delivered line by line, and page by page, in God's holy word,—all the hourly duties of life, which are now become the palpable dress of spiritual meditation and feelings,—all the opportunities which his clear sight now perceives thrusting themselves upon his notice, coming from God, like his daily bread, to try and nourish his young faculties,—all these fill his sphere of thought and action to overflow, attract him by their novelty, invite him by their grandeur to examine, and compare, and spiritually handle. His ardent curiosity will let nothing pass before him, merely as an object of sight; he must take in hand and prove all things, and cleave to that which is good. Thus he acquires those just powers of spiritual vision by which he extends his sphere of knowledge, that he may be enabled to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, and be filled with all the fulness of God.

The child, moreover, even while apparently least engaged, is nevertheless by various unseen ways acquiring the necessary experience in the world around him; his habits are forming, he is growing conscious of his faculties of body and mind, more sensible to the calls of his new existence. And so, too, the infant of the spiritual world, in his intervals of practical quietude, is still busy; his newly-formed thoughts are arranging themselves, his mind is ascertaining its place and relation in the new world, he is almost unconsciously analyzing and combining the precious materials which he has gathered, so that on his return to more active communication, it is with augmented powers, and with more intense enjoyment. The child's communication with the sensible world presents him immediately with one set of instincts, and mediately, through gradual experience, with another; and thus he proceeds from the use of his mother's breast, of his own limbs, organs, and appetites, to those multifarious habits, those instantaneous though acquired operations, bodily, intellectual, and moral, which unconsciously are exhibited by a settled system of body and mind. Exactly analogous is the process and result upon our introduction to the spiritual world; and as in the former case we were under the influence of that continued exertion of God's power to which we owed our birth, and which we call nature, so in this we are under the continued grace of the Holy Spirit, by which we were born; and the world to which he has brought us operating upon our minds, produces a class of appropriate spiritual instincts,—partly directly, from the very act of our intercourse, partly indirectly, in the process of habitual reflection and continual experience,—the results remaining by us in the shape of first principles, though the process by which we arrived at them may have been long dismissed from memory. To the former class, for example, belongs the fear of God, and a sense of our own unworthiness, the immediate and inevitable results of our first communication with the spiritual world. Among such as the course of time supplies, may be placed instantaneous resistance to temptation: for it is only by a series of mortifying experiments that we can learn to distinguish its most dangerous aspects, espy its most formidable points of attack, estimate the ruinous consequences of a momentary relaxation of our guard; and thus arrive at the desirable result of an instant and intuitive view of the peril, and of as instant repulsion.

As in the case of the child, these principles increase in strength and number as we proceed, daily embracing a wider range of our actions, and guarding us more and more effectually from those unforeseen accidents, forestalling all calculation, to which our course is liable; fresh acquirements being daily made, others obtained long ago are daily settling down into the class of first principles. And thus, as in the sensible world, our immediate healthy communication with the spiritual world being secured, the higher faculties, released from the slavish duty of the mere preservation of this new existence, are at liberty to extend their range of discovery through the realms of spirit day after day, refining our nature, and raising us from a precarious and bare subsistence to a more exalted state of being. There is, therefore, a childhood, a youth, and a manhood. In the first state, the new man is learning the use of his limbs and senses. He is, therefore, in continual apprehension. As he endeavours to keep the way of God, he is liable to swerve or to stumble; as he puts forth his hand to lay hold of God's promises, his aim is uncertain, his grasp is weak. As he gazes around him he is alarmed by unwonted sights; in the old man he had never imagined that such infirmity would be his lot; he had imagined that he had only to go on and prosper, whenever he should seriously address himself to newness of life. He clings, therefore, anxiously to his divine teacher, and confidence in his ready help, joined with the growing sense of power, gradually frees him from the slavery of his fears. With youth, his fear of falling is exchanged for a determination to run for the prize; his aim is sure; and as his previous state required an anxious shunning of unholiness, his present includes also the joyful pressing on after holiness. Still, however, his different powers have not been equally put forth: some are too forward, others too backward. There is a quickness of mental sight to catch the golden opportunities of God's grace, to discern the workings of the Spirit, to discover on each occasion the will of his master; there is confidence in his means, strength in his arm, and resolution for the struggle which he has to maintain. But the unwinking steadiness of observation, which faces the evil as boldly as it hails the good; the patience which is unwearied by slow and lingering trial; the caution which, gained from previous defeat, will beware of a second temptation, however disguised under a new aspect; the pertinacity of hold which will not forego an occasion of grace until he has extracted all its preciousness from it,—these belong to the grown man, whose various powers being fully ripened, have found their proper balance. And where is old age? It is not here. The new man, the restored inhabitant of Paradise, is immortal; and all his sojourn on earth is employed in attaining to a manhood, which can never be perfected in the mortal body, nor shall ever cease in the immortal.

The right use and diligent exercise of these faculties, acquired under our education by the Holy Spirit, is as necessary to our spiritual health as those of the body, under the continual influence of its peculiar Creator, are to its vigour and perfection; misemployment or neglect not only prevent progress, but also cause them to recede; derangement ensues, and disease, day after day, closes up some organ of communication with the world of spirit, till at last an exclusion, a spiritual death, ensues. Meanwhile, their proper use and improvement is attended with pleasurable feelings analogous to those which accompany a healthy growth of the body; and as the youth hails with delight the increasing supplies of stature and strength, which, by God's bounty, are flowing in so fast upon him, so the born of the Spirit enjoys the consciousness of continually increasing strength of spiritual grace, the development of one faculty, the ripening of another, by which he is enabled to soar still higher above mere earthly existence, and arrive at a closer communication with the Father of Spirits.

No analogy, however, can be perfect: sooner or later the parallel must fail. In the case now before us, we must remember that, while we are perfect denizens of the sensible world, we are at the same time but imperfectly admitted to the spiritual. In some points, therefore, this analogy of flesh and spirit can be but fairly traced, in others will fail altogether. For instance; in the former, so powerful are our instincts, that no perversion of our reasoning faculties (and this has been attempted) can resist or overcome them: but in the latter, owing to our imperfect tenure of it, their resistance may be surmounted by wily argument, and the consequence is more dreadful in the proportion of a spiritual to a corporeal death. Therefore they must be guarded and obeyed with all diligence: they are as necessary to our spiritual welfare, as the belief of first principles is to that of the mind,—as the continuance of its various involuntary motions to that of the body. Let the Christian, therefore, beware how he argues against an instinctive reluctance of spirit. Let him contentedly abide the charge of obstinacy, because he cannot assign his reasons for it; and demand, in return, of the man of argument, why he turns away from a precipice, avoids a raging torrent, shuns a devouring fire. We may be assured that whenever reasoning is employed to stifle this internal protest, whether from ourselves or from others, it is supplied by the father of lies: is a net laid for our feet by the unwearied craft of the enemy of our salvation, who would willingly quench the life-giving spirit within us, and reduce us once more to the mortal bondage of the flesh.

Again, our spiritual creation is not independent, like that of our body, of any previous existence. It presupposes all along the ruder elements of our moral nature; and before we can acquire new principles peculiar to the spiritual world, such as maintain our intercourse with the sensible must have been moulded anew, received a different bias, taken another channel.

We have not only to learn, but to unlearn, and one of the most delightful feelings with which God rewards our spiritual improvement, is the discovery at length of a task which can satisfy our noblest faculties,—one in which alone we find them to act in perfect unison with concentrated effect, and this our complicated mental frame, to show forth all the harmony designed by the hand of its Creator. It is a feeling analogous to that of manhood, when it finds the proper direction and combined effect of those powers which had been lavished separately, and without object, on the trifles of childhood. For example:—the Christian who had formerly found, as he thought, his powers of understanding so vigorous, so acute, so suitably employed in the questions of policy, literature, or science, discovers now that they were coarse, blunt, inadequate, and unsuitably employed, compared with those to which, in the service of the spirit, they have now ripened, when his judgment has grown up to that intuitive and exquisite discernment of God's will, that nice selection, amid the daily mass of occasions placed before him, of what shall contribute best to his own spiritual health, and most redound to the honour and glory of his Saviour; setting apart, with unhesitating distinction, profitable from unprofitable, holy from unholy, lasting from fleeting, what is of God from what is of man; when his power of abstraction is spent no longer on unpractical dreams, but grasps real spiritual essences; when his foresight pushes far beyond the boundaries of life; and when his power of attention has become an absorption, by which he can shake off at will the distracting intrusion of the world.

Meanwhile, the power of imagination, that fruitful source of virtue and crime, of joy and sorrow, controlled now in its course by those improved powers, fastens upon what is pure, turns away from what is impure. It draws out before him, in visible series, God's mercies and dealings with mankind; it brings home to his heart all that is detailed in Holy Scripture, of his suffering and triumphant Saviour; embodies his holy attributes, renders sensible his presence, and continually holds up to his mind that which it is his prime object to realize, the model of the Christian character; depicturing all his graces and acquirements, suggesting his pure and unworldly sentiments, his towering thoughts, his unceasing homage to God, unwearied charity to man, his meekness, patience, hope, fortitude, and presenting his crown of everlasting glory, and the peace of the world to come.

Similar, too, is the improvement of his affections, which being, in the first instance, generated and nurtured by healthy exercise upon their proper objects on earth, and thence lifted up to God, their final object, in whom alone they find their craving satisfied, and object permanent, return upon the objects of daily duty, endued with a constancy superior to all caprice of chance or change, founded upon a new and unfailing basis. The Christian loves, for Christ loved him; forgives, for through Christ he was forgiven; is humble, for he is a fellow in sin; is charitable, for he is a brother in redemption; is patient, for he is an heir of salvation. Even the commonest gifts and qualities grow up into estimable Christian graces; passive good nature is exalted into active charity, sanguine temper into lively hope, flow of spirits into angelic cheerfulness, diffidence into humility, a quiet spirit into fortitude, contentment into devotion.

Thus, from his communion with the spiritual world, the Christian comes as from the presence of God, with his faculties refined and affections purified, carrying into the world of flesh around him, like Moses from the mountain, traces of the high communion in which he has been engaged. But his illumination is not of the face, but of the mind; not to be done away, but introductory to greater.

Such are a few of the coincidences which may be brought forward to illustrate the analogy of the growth of body and spirit, the Holy Ghost supplying a continual inspiration of life to its creature, just as the Creator supplies the breath of his nostrils to the man. It is difficult perhaps to pursue such an analogy far, without inadvertently falling into the error of describing spiritual operations as too much allied to corporeal; and much caution is required in drawing deductions from metaphorical illustrations, where the line of correct doctrine can be kept only by incessant reference to other considerations, which haste, or the natural fondness of pushing an analogy, is too apt to overlook. None, however, will dispute the conclusion, that spiritual amendment must be a work of time. Its commencement, indeed, must, like our birth into the sensible world, be momentary, whether it be referred to our entrance by baptism into the Church of the Christ and God, or to the first awakening impression of spiritual things upon the worldly-minded heart. But we may as well expect the perfect man to issue from his mother's womb, as conceive the Christian to be completely formed in the instant of his first turning his heart from the world to God. Were we to proceed with the analogy, we should conclude, inasmuch as the nobler creature is longer in arriving at maturity, and as the creature thus born admits neither of old age nor of death, that the spiritual man was longer in forming than the natural. Not, however, to insist upon this, it must be borne in mind that there is a long process to be undergone before a positive growth in spirit can be said to commence: previous affections must be weaned, passions subdued, faculties diverted from a wrong channel. And, moreover, let it be remembered, that the full measure of the gifts of the Holy Spirit is not poured upon the mind at once: it is distributed by successive portions, increasing in proportion to what is already maintained and turned to its proper account there. For, as our Lord himself says, "To him that hath shall much be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away, even what he hath."

Great, therefore, on every consideration, is the danger of procrastination, and even to speak of the past in the solemn phrase of lost moments never to be recovered, is to express but half of the melancholy truth. For every one of these moments, however swift of foot, or light of burden, has left its impression for good or for evil upon the mind, according to its state, clean or unclean; just as the same outward impressions which bring health to healthy organs, but aggravate the disease of the unhealthy. There is no middle point: if we go not forward, we go backward; if we be not standing, we are falling; if we be not in health, we are in decay. Do we delay on the idea of being able to commence the work of religious amendment, and start into newness of life, at will? Every consideration is opposed to an idea confessedly so absurd, and yet so commonly acted upon. It is indeed a strong proof of our delusion, that, with the analogy of the body before our eyes, and that body, too, often suffering for the sins of the mind, we should think to resume our moral health at pleasure: that while months, and even years, of painful and cautious regimen, are often necessary to re-establish the one, a few hurried days are at all times sufficient for the restoration of the other. That wound, and bruise, and putrifying sore, which for the best part of life have been cankering and eating into the mind, shall cease at once their horrid repast, upon the bare expression of our wish for health, and sorrow for their origin.

The human mind, however inattentive we may be to its operations, is all along growing up towards a certain system: feelings are becoming rooted, thoughts are interlacing one with another, according to some predominant principle, which at last, assuming sovereign sway, excludes all such as will not bend to the general organization which it has established. If this principle, therefore, have nothing in common with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it will in the end effectually exclude all sense of its necessity, and almost of its existence; and if it be not actually the Gospel of Christ, it will admit but of partial views of that which we ought to comprehend as a whole. Languor and listlessness are the consequence, and repeated stumbling, from ignorance and carelessness, makes us disgusted with the road which has been pointed out. We are blaming in our hearts the severity of God, when we have to complain only of our own want of energy; and accusing the niggardness of light, which our earnest and sincere exertion is, according to his holy promise, assured of obtaining in satisfying fulness.

It is in perfect accordance with this narrowness of view, to sit down in idle expectation of some peculiar summons to begin upon the work of newness of life, as if all had not been summoned by their acquaintance with that Gospel, in the very front of which it is written,—"Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" as if all required that palpable interference which called the apostle of the Gentiles to his vast and extraordinary charge. But have they indeed had no call? Has God never been challenging their attention amid the multifarious incidents which he has strewn in their daily course, and the many desires or reluctances with which he has informed their spirit? Have they no remembrance of resolutions formed from time to time, none of hours of repentance, none of hours of hope, none of hours of that holy calm which instantly overspreads the bosom when it has formed some pious determination? All these were consequent upon some call of God, and are evidences that he has not been forgetful of them. But if they pass by such as these, in expectation of something more rousing, more special, of what nature may we reasonably conclude that to be which they await so complacently? God's ordinary dealings with man lead us to presume that it will come in the shape of some overwhelming visitation, which shall scatter their habitual frame of thought to the winds, dissevering all their usual links, and turning them with their affections from earth, weeping and dropping blood like the fabled myrtle; so that all being once again disentangled, they may grow together anew according to a new principle, which is Christ in the mind and in the heart. O, let no one wait for such a call as this to his duty!

We have now but just advanced within the commencement of one of those revolutions of time by which we number the days of our sojourn upon earth; a period upon which the most careless are accustomed to bestow some reflections;—for who can avoid throwing back a look upon days now parted for ever, and upon time which can never be recovered? Happy he who, in his present state of mind and practice, can find substantial records of past moments: to him, though bodily, they are not spiritually, past; they have an indissoluble link with the future,—they are the palpable earnest of eternal life,—the first-fruits, picked here and there, of an abundant harvest. Far different, indeed, is he whose restrospect is but a dream of barren thoughts and idle pursuits, where all is in wild disorder without the one grand object to unite them, and runs from the grasp of memory as freely as the sands of the hour-glass which have measured those precious moments. To him may well be addressed the words of the apostle,—"Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light," for he has been indeed sleeping; and the dreamer has been indulging, amid darkness and night, in fantastic and unbridled thoughts; he has been enjoying a world of his own, where he himself has been creator, and not

God, where all has gone according to his own capricious imagination, and the will of God has found no place; the sights and sounds of God's world have been excluded, and he has wasted the precious moments, reckless of place, insensible to the lapse of time, holding converse with unsubstantial beings, expending his affections upon fleeting shadows.

"Life is a dream," said the natural man. Let no Christian account of it so; for it is to him a time allotted by God for beginning and completing a most momentous work,—a work which is sufficient to fill up every part of it, to whatever length it may be extended,—which requires the ardour of youth, the steadiness of manhood, and the caution of old age. Let him not, therefore, defer an employment, the very commencement of which becomes daily more unsuitable to his years, and be like the tree which, when it should be bearing fruit, is but blossoming; for thus the very purpose of life will be eluded, and a work, whose difficulties demand the pride and bloom of the faculties, will be first imposed upon them in their decay; and what requires unabated vigour, unwearied watchfulness, unexhausted spirits, will be reserved for a bed of sickness, or decline of years, seasons of langour, indifference, and irresolution. True it is, that highly-gifted men have before now spoken in fond and complacent anticipation of setting apart some work, as the suitable employment and fit solace of their old age. But how different was the nature of that work from that which we have in contemplation. That was a work pleasingly associated with the past, not anxiously connected with the prospect of the future; it was a natural confirmation of previous habits, not a violent alteration; it was an amusement, not a toil; a minister to the mind, of pleasure, and not of pangs.

To-day, therefore, while it is called to-day, the work should commence. Who knows what impediments the morrow may bring? It may bring friends to delude, or enemies to confound; it may introduce calamity to bewilder our senses, sickness to paralyze our exertions, or death to cut short at once our miserable vacillation.

Each day, as it successively becomes to-day, is all that we can call our own: let us make it truly God's too, by dedicating it to his service, in sincere endeavours, by newness of life here, to realize the promise of everlasting life in the world to come, which he has given us in Christ Jesus our Saviour.

DISSERTATION XII.

ON THE REWARD OF OBEDIENCE.

But we trusted that it should have been he which should have redeemed Israel.—Luke xxiv. 21.

A PRIZE no less than everlasting happiness is proposed to the endeavours of man when he diligently seeks God. We have already seen that the expectation of this, which is so necessary both to engage him in the struggle of well-doing in the first instance, and to support him in it ever afterwards, was held forth from the very beginning of the Church; and Scripture assures us that it was earnestly cherished by Enoch, by Job, by Abraham,* by Moses,—testimony being also borne to the latter in a very remarkable passage (Matth. xxii. 31), by the great Bishop of our souls himself, and in short, distinctly informs us that it was a doctrine of the Patriarchal and Jewish church.†

From the first to the last prophecy, the ground of this hope is laid in a Redeemer to come; but the way in which God drew the attention of the members of his church upon it is different.

On that second apostacy of man, which drew on the dreadful visitation of the flood, God treated him as a creature in a still lower state of degradation; he dealed with him as with a wayward child, who is to be won to obedience by cates and delicacies, and not, as with a man, by cogency of reason. Man's spiritual sight had become so dim, that he could not look on the distant prospect of another life, without some middle point. To the original promise, therefore, of everlasting happiness, still remembered, he added that of temporal bliss, so that the completion of the one promise may remind and assure him of the certainty of the other also; that the taste of blissfulness, however fleeting, yet coming expressly from God, might lead his infant appetites to appreciate the promised happiness which should endure for ever, and that the toils and delays which are rewarded by the one may give him experience, and render him patient, long-suffering, unbroken in hope, under the still more serious difficulties to be encountered, through a still longer interval of suspense in the course of attaining the other. Hence Noah was both assured against a repetition of the calamity of the flood, and at the same time comforted with promises of fruitfulness and increase. As apostacy revives and increases, God at length interferes again, and deals with man as reduced a degree lower still. For under the Jewish dispensation, a grand feature of which was the settling that chosen people in a land flowing with milk and honey, so completely is the promise directed to temporal things, that we need not wonder why that carnal people, in despite of their prophets, continually recalling them to the original and universal spiritual promise, should have fondly imagined that themselves were the end, and not the vehicle, and that the magnificent series of words and deeds proposed by God to their ear and eye, referred but to their own national aggrandizement. Of this prevailing state of feeling we have a signal example in the words of the text, which come to us with peculiar interest as being uttered by men whose lives, being partly under the old dispensation and partly under the new, (of which themselves, under Christ, were founders,) exhibited in the first all the pride and carnality of the Jew, in the second, all the charity and spirituality of the Christian. These eminent and godly persons were among the first who grew up from the childhood, under which mankind was formerly considered in God's dealings, to the manhood of the Gospel, under which consideration we are now treated.

This manner of God's dealing with his chosen people will appear more peculiar and distinct, if we refer to the situation of the Gentiles. They had lost the original promise, or only knew it by a tradition so faint and so corrupt, that its influence was completely lost upon their moral conduct. They had no reward proposed to their obedience in this life, or in the next. What a contrast do they present to the people of God, even taking these latter at their very lowest degradation! In them we see to what our nature was indeed reduced by Adam's transgression, before yet it was raised again from the dust by God's gracious promise. Though he had lost both the possession and expectation of perfect happiness, man had still the appetite for it. So far from satisfying him, every enjoyment administered a craving for one more intense still; and while the beast lay down satisfied after his meal, and reckless of the future, man in his happiest moments was unhappy still, for he was still unsatisfied. In vain the philosopher sought the chief good, advanced from a bright to a brighter; still something remained behind to attain, and of that he in vain attempted to ascertain the nature. The search led him into a dim and tangled region, and there left him in miserable perplexity.

Thus was the Jew, in his temporal blessings, continually rebuked for his unmindfulness of the great spiritual blessing, and the Heathen abandoned to his ignorance of both, when, in the fulness of time, the original spiritual promise given to Adam, was accomplished in Jesus Christ. The restoration of man was now accomplished; a new heaven and a new earth had been created, and man also morally created anew in the second Adam. The life to come, with all its preparatory means, had been actually exemplified before the eyes of the world. Man, therefore, henceforward needed no intermediate object to draw him on; he rested at once upon the great end, which was now near, certain, and continually in sight. In this change of circumstances, can we wonder that the order of the objects of our aim is reversed, so that when any temporal blessing is pronounced, it is merely by the way, and quite accidental to the spiritual one; that we should be told to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and then all these things shall be added unto us; and that while their expectation of spiritual good should be fed and maintained by the experience of temporal good, so our consciousness of possession should be proved by the trial of temporary evil? Here, indeed, lies one great point of contrast; here the spirituality of our dispensation is peculiarly shown. Where temporal blessings are a reward, and therefore temporal afflictions are naturally looked upon as a punishment, man, who is born to sorrow as the sparks fly upward, must have felt as under continual bondage. He must ever be either suffering

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[*] See Hebr. xi. 5, 10, 13, 14, 24.

[†] Ib. 39, &c. The whole chapter is opposed to Bishop Warburton's paradox.

the scourge, or in continual apprehension of it. And though, as appears from Scripture, good men had imbibed, through God's revelation, proper and spiritual notions on the nature of affliction, yet this did not accord with the deduction generally drawn from the law, and was rather the easing of the yoke to a favoured few, than the removal of it from any one. The very promise of the Holy Land, had been accompanied with threats of expulsion; and as that was the title to all his joy, so would these impart a character to affliction. If one was the reward of obedience, the other was the punishment of disobedience. When, too, the Jew looked to his history for the comfort of examples of affliction, if it presented him the instance of Job, for this one it gave him many others of a very different character. It offered to him Sampson, Eli, Saul, and David, all suffering for heavy transgressions, and bearing in their body the marks of the scourge of divine vengeance. But now to us Christians, since temporal blessings are but accidentally our reward, of course bodily sufferings are but accidentally our punishment; and in the greater number of instances can be regarded but as the turning away of our face from the importunate allurement of temporal enjoyment to the contemplation of spiritual; as the call given to inattention,—as the warnings to consider the fleeting state of all around,—as the race to be run before winning the crown,—as the refining fire whence the saint issues forth as pure and undrossed gold. Therefore they have been proclaimed to us in company with our everlasting inheritance, by him who said, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." They are not a hindrance, but a preparation. And therefore where Noah was promised the fatness of the earth, and Abraham enjoyed its inheritance, we are warned to expect its toils and miseries; where they were bound closer to earth, we are rudely shaken from it; where they were bidden to go to its enjoyment, we are sent to its denial. To us the world is indeed crucified, nor have we to reck either of its blessings or its sorrows, excepting in so far as we regard them as vehicles of grace; as furnishing that state, and affording that scope of action, without which the Christian character cannot be developed. There is no soldier where there is no war, and no victory where there is no battle. Then if we look round for companions in affliction, the very first who presents himself is the great Captain of our salvation; and we are amid the throng of the holy army of martyrs, and all the elect of the Church of Christ. What need indeed have we of any pledge supplied by bodily blessings, we who have a pledge so much more palpable, so much more accordant with our state of spiritual manhood; a pledge in the earnest of the spirit, in a real earnest, not in a gross carnal representation, but in an actual portion of the bliss to come, communicated through the sanctifying graces of the spirit. Thus we have actually a part of our reward in our hands, and not the bare distant prospect before our eyes; we see our freedom and election in the very quarter where our predecessor, the Jew, saw his bondage and reprobation. We are daily quelling through these means, some earthly enemy, rising from conquest to conquest; continually casting off something of the old man, over which Satan was victorious, and putting on something of the new, which is victorious over Satan; gradually growing into that image which has been restored to our nature through our great Redeemer, and approaching to that bliss of immortality, which, lost by the first Adam, has been regained for us by the second.

But this peculiar condition of the Christian, demands also peculiar considerations on his part. The life to come being placed so very palpably and prominently before him, and casting into shadow all the toils and troubles of this life; being ever present to us as the grand feature of the Gospel, mingling itself with all our thoughts and actions, it becomes so familiar to our minds,—so completely a thing of course, that we are apt to lose sight of the extraordinary value of the gift, and to under-rate, if not cast out of account, the difficulties which lie in the way of attaining it: we rest in the end, and become too indifferent to the means. Let us now, therefore, proceed to inquire into the view with which we should contemplate this prize, referring, for the sake of illustration, to those considerations which enhance the value of an earthly prize, and which may be reduced,—first, to our inadequacy of desert; second, to the distance from which the object once appeared to be removed from us; third, to the difficulties which have been overcome in the way.

On the first ground, let us look into our own hearts, and consider our nature as it is absolutely, without any relation to what it has received from God's restoring grace. What a scene is here! Can we discern in it a single seed of everlasting peace and joy? If it is to inherit such a blessed state, surely we ought to espy some elements of such in its constitution, and if the immortal principle, of which we feel conscious within ourselves, assures us of a world to come, should there not be corresponding traces in our frame of mind to assure us, as initiary elements, of the peace, and joy, and purity, of that world to come? But now let us look at that promised state of blessedness and glory, and then withdraw our eyes, to fix them upon our own bosoms. Can the tumult and disquiet of the pride, the pangs of the evil passions, the darkness of the ignorance which confront us here, have the least in common with the dazzling brightness of the peace, and innocence, and knowledge, which met us there? Can one, by any natural possibility, lead to the other? So far from this, would it not lead in a totally different direction? Yea, eternal death itself had been a signal mercy, had we been left thus by our offended Father in heaven. For that immortality, of which we have the seeds within us, could then have been no other than that enjoyed by the fallen angels; a woful prolongation to all eternity of the misery and degradation ensuing upon our apostacy. Had death, therefore, been our final doom, we should even then have stood in the place of a pardoned criminal. What shall we say, then, if God hath not only pardoned this criminal, but even restored him to his former rank and state of enjoyment? For from that dreadful immortality we have been rescued by our divine Redeemer; so that passing from this earthly state of sin through death, we may rise again to an immortality still more glorious than that in which the first man was placed. Can we arrive at any thing like a due estimate of this so great mercy; may we not despair of so doing in the words of the apostle,—"O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out." (Rom. xi. 33.)

Let us add to this the price at which this seeming impossibility of the union of our sinful nature with everlasting innocence and joy, has been purchased, being no less than the sacrifice of the Son of God in human nature upon the cross. What shall we say of the value of the prize proposed to us? Let the purest, the most heavenly-minded among us, carefully look into his bosom, discuss his own words, thoughts, and deeds, endeavour thus to discover his own real position, and then gaze up at the place to which his Redeemer's merits have advanced him. He will confess his own utter ineffable unworthiness, and adore the unspeakable love of Him who brought him the gift, and own, with tears of thankfulness and joy, its inestimable value. The cross, with all its previous and accompanying sorrows, pangs, and humiliation, led the way to the glorification of our human nature in Jesus Christ. On this contrast we should fix our look: reading in the one the extreme of misery and sin into which man had fallen, beholding the price, exceeding all powers of calculation, which was requisite to procure his redemption, to free him from the servitude of a tyrannous master, loth to forego his hold of a slave so manageable, in the possession of whom he enjoyed the consciousness of his power; and seeing in the other the exceeding bliss, such as never could enter into the thoughts of man, which is laid in store for him in the world to come. From this constant contemplation let him learn the utter inadequacy of his own deserts of eternal happiness; and in full reliance on the merits of his Saviour's sufferings, in deep humility at his own total unworthiness, looking to the end in steady and joyful hope, so work out his own salvation with fear and trembling.

On the second ground, we carry into our consideration of this heavenly prize, the same short-sighted and paltry views as we take up in our pursuit of earthly objects. Of these, whatever their intrinsic value may be, we are accustomed to prefer such as require least time to be passed in the toil of attainment; so that a very inferior object, attainable through a short interval, shall be preferred to a far more excellent, coming after a long period of labour and expectation. Thus we think and act, because time, in proportion to its length, admits of so many more intervening accidents, of so many more competitions, of so much more which may snatch the prize from our grasp. And thus the more splendid prizes of life being apparently removed from any given individual's attainment, seem in expectation the common property of all,—are admired, talked of, but never seriously striven after, except by minds of deep foresight and energy, which, fully aware of the difficulties, have also determined to overcome them. Now, though much of this habit of thought be inapplicable in the case before us, since neither rivals nor fortune can disappoint our exertions, still from inveterate habit we carry it into the consideration of this heavenly reward; which, excellent beyond the utmost power of our estimation, as all readily allow it to be, yet is placed at a far greater distance still than the remotest of earthy prizes, being even beyond the boundaries of this life. We prefer, therefore, though not in speculation, yet certainly in practice, any of the mean and fleeting enjoyments of the world present; and as a small object placed before the eye will cover the largest at a distance, so do the worthless prizes of this life, one succeeding to the other, cover from view the glorious reward of the life to come. It is well for us if we can obtain a steady glimpse or two between the intervals of this succession; and better still if we can retain the impression which has been made. But moreover, those very points which render our mode of contemplating earthly prizes inapplicable here, add to our carelessness. Where the chances of fortune are removed, all seems to be certainty; internal impediments are forgotten, where external do not obtrude on our sight,—where all may obtain, all are slack; and thus the small degree of exertion which is seen around them, comes at last to most men to appear quite adequate to the end, and they bestow indiscriminately on themselves and their friends, the certain expectation of this precious inheritance, when neither they nor themselves have moved perhaps a foot, or lifted so much as a hand, or directed even an eye towards the desire of its attainment.

On the third ground, of the difficulties to be surmounted, men are apt to run into extremes,—the reckless never bestow a thought upon them,—those who for the first time opening their eyes to the prospect of eternity, are too apt to be scared at the awful front which they present: habitual contemplation alone can place them in their proper point of view, and administer a wholesome fear to the carelessness of the one, and supply a cheerful hope to the despondency of the other. If the attainment be indeed so easy, to what purpose were the incredible toils and sufferings of the apostles, and all the martyrs and confessors of the church? If it be so insurmountably difficult, who even of that glorious company can be pronounced among the saved? But however impossible to man, this is possible to God; and his grace preventing and furthering us, will gain us the victory in the end. Without this all human exertion were indeed vain: as well would man attempt to move the earth towards heaven. While we have the assurance of this help from above, who shall despond, who rather shall not be sanguine? But let him be sanguine, and derive the testimony to the possession of this grace, from the consciousness of his own exertions; let him expect grace from God's promise; let him find its possession from his own operations. But the number of the despondents is few indeed, compared with that of the confident. Let, then, these latter open the page of Scripture, and read what is told them there. Are we not there told that our fleshy appetites must be crucified, even as our Lord was crucified; that if we think to enjoy with Christ, we must also suffer with him? that we are soldiers in a warfare, wrestlers in a struggle, runners in a race? that our best human affections may be taken captive, that our faith may suffer shipwreck, that our surest foot may slide or stumble? and thus by a multitude of similar figures scattered throughout, are we not continually called back from that state of the good easy man in which we are so fond of indulging,—awakened from that drowsiness which is so often surprising us? And yet all this while, that we are indifferent to the labours which shall find our only true reward, we will not cease forsooth from those toils which bring the rewards of this life, paltry and fleeting though they be. O no! we will put body and mind on the rack; we will sacrifice peace, yea, even of the mind; surrender all comforts of the body; rising early and taking rest late, looking ever steadfastly and patiently to the end. All this we will do, and yet shrink from the exertions which lead to eternal life. God give us grace and wisdom to estimate the nature of those exertions, as superior in excellence to such as procure an earthly prize, as their reward is. These are often hurtful, even fatal to bodily health: those nourish our spiritual health. These prepare the way of death, those of everlasting life. This struggle brings into play all the uneasy disquieting affections of our corrupt nature,—anger, envy, jealousy, discontent, strife; nay, even heresy, sedition, and murder. While that developes all the Christian graces, unfolds our best affections, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance. This may indeed, at best, serve to keep the mind, by means of occupation, from sundry temptations; but that puts it beyond all possible reach of them. That, is a spirit dispelling the whole train of temptations; this, is often slack and interrupted, because of the uncertainty of the prize. To that the prize is as certain as the word of God, who is truth, is true. This, may be given up through despair, on our encountering more powerful competitors: that, is encouraged, and never can be depressed by rivalry. Here only one can attain, there all may be rewarded. This, we may have an aversion to engage in on good principles; that, we can never relinquish but upon bad. Sad humiliating testimony all this to the corruption of our nature, which will so readily undertake the former; so uniformly and willingly turn from the latter.

And what right have we, restless indefatigable wordlings, to complain of difficulties? do we not consider that the very difficulties which obstruct the road of attainment, enhance the value of an earthly prize; and does not this enhanced value reflect in return upon the difficulties, and lighten their burden? and shall we refuse this cheering solace in seeking a heavenly prize; and shall we who can be so patient in working even against God, and at all events without God, become desponding the moment that we begin to work with him, and he with us?

But some one may here object that we have a clear view of our earthly prizes, and an understanding of them so distinct that we know exactly how to time, to temper, and to direct our exertions; we know when to lie down in security against their loss, when to rise up in the certainty of their attainment, and thus we work our way onward with the cheerful willingness arising from knowing that our exertions are proportionate. But we are to a very great extent ignorant of the nature of our heavenly prize, except that no exertions of man can of themselves be proportionate, and, therefore, we cannot experience that readiness and reasonable confidence. Now, in answer to this we may be content to ask this simple question: Are our notions indeed so clear concerning the nature of the objects of our worldly exertions? What, indeed! do we never find them on attainment vastly inferior to the appearance which they made when in prospect? do we always find them a resting-point upon the past, or but the commencement of fresh and still more wearying toils to come? do we find them all that we expected, or of an entirely contrary nature,—opposed as gall to honey, as war to peace, as life to death,—and telling us that we have sown the wind, and reaped the whirlwind? do we set up there our staff of rest, or on our arrival hear a voice cry out, "On, on," and find at this long-expected stage of bliss, that to stay is imminent hazard, to go on is destruction, to return is an impossibility? If faithful experience informs us thus of our real ignorance of the true nature of our earthly prizes, shall we carp at our everlasting reward, which indeed is not, as they are, contrary to our previous notions, but infinitely surpassing them; while more of its nature has been revealed, there is more than enough to engage us with all confidence to seek to attain. What! do not these objectors take measures for length of life? here is life eternal. Do they not strive for fading earthly crowns? here is an everlasting heavenly crown. Do they not covet peace, rest, joy, gladness? here is peace, rest, joy, gladness, unutterable, inextinguishable. All that is lovely, all that is of good report, all that is truly desirable in the prizes of this world is to be found here, and in a higher state of perfection in the proportion of heaven to earth; nay more, even our sense of enjoyment, exquisite as it may seem, and full of blessing to us, even when most spiritualized,—is but an element, poor and beggarly, of that taste of unutterable bliss, which shall be the joy of the world to come. Independently, therefore, even of God's constant help and encouragement, we work onwards in this case with a more reasonable hope than in the case of the most assured, best understood, and most highly valued of earthly prizes. Again, what right have we to complain of difficulties, if he who hath proposed the prize hath duly forewarned us of them,—hath directed us how to overcome them, and pledged to us his assistance in overcoming them: when he has set both before us, shall we think to take up the one without the other, the wages without the labour? No,—to this latter we must direct our chief attention, as the means to the former; we must weigh well the cost, and instead of resting in easy security on the end, or looking with vain and ambitious curiosity into the nature and degree of the fruition of the glory which God hath not revealed, diligently address ourselves to the duties which he has revealed, which he demands of us as heirs of that glory. Our reward is indeed in heaven, but we and our work are upon earth; there is the bliss, and the life eternal; here is the Cross, and the grave: not that earth and his toils on earth are to have the entire eye of the Christian, and that it shall never be lifted up to take in the ample bright sky of bliss and glory above. For to that glory, even the invisible glory which the Son enjoys with the Father, every face in heaven and in earth, of angels and of men, must be turned in rapt contemplation, crying out in spirit to one another, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Host, heaven and earth are full of thy glory." The contemplation of this is in fact the food of intelligence to every rational being, in all gradations down to man; and exclusion from this is to man that second death, which shuts out from the invisible realms of our Lord and Master, even as the first does from the visible. This according to the degree of intensity with which it is viewed, assigns to every intelligent being his rank in the creation, and its degree of perception distinguishes the spiritual from the natural man. But far different from such a contemplation is the vain and curious anticipation of that glory which shall be imparted to the faithful, in the kingdom of the next world; for this, drawing away the attention from the work set before us, no less than from the real glory before mentioned, is as unsure and unfounded as it is impure and selfish. It is the fabric of worldly lost and ambition, the heaven which we build for ourselves on pride; it is a view so gross and so unworthy, that we cannot but embody it in our human passions and conceptions,—a state into which we admit ourselves by thrusting others out, and therefore, like the disciples whose words have been quoted for the text, we shall be grievously disappointed in the hour of trial. Whenever, therefore, we do contemplate the glory which shall reward the faithful servants of Christ, we must look at it with that comprehensive glance, which shall at the same time include all the difficulties which lie in the way; with a heart set at least as much upon suffering and overcoming the one, as upon attaining and possessing the other. The future bliss will thus be to us in spirit, what the sun is in the body to the man who is intent upon his work before him. For that sun, while it shines over his head, cheers him in his toils, lights him to his labour, enabling him to direct his hand unerringly to its object, and satisfies him with the consciousness of its presence, imprest by its effects; yet will not bear long and direct contemplation, without dazzling his sight, and rendering the idle gazer inefficient for his work. And assuredly the work set before the labourer in Christ's vineyard demands all his clearness of vision, all his steadiness of contemplation; that, unseduced and undismayed by appearances, he may penetrate through them into realities, turning away from unsubstantial good to look with an unaverted eye upon danger and trouble, —upon agony, the cross and the grave; and thence at length to gaze up in unshrinking hope at the glory which shall be revealed in the end.

Having drawn a lesson from the errors of these two disciples, let us derive another from their correction of those errors. If, at the moment of their uttering those despondent words, they were the predecessors of all those unstable Christians, who, offended with the uncalculated and continual struggle to be undergone by spirit against flesh; thrown into despair by the hourly jeopardy in which they are held by surrounding trials and temptations; and tost about by the fluctuation of their own unsettled notions, and by winds of diverse doctrines, and longing for rest and finding none, cry out in their vexation and disappointment, "we thought it had been he who should redeem Israel;"—so also were they, in their after-life, the predecessors of all those Christians, who have persevered unshaken to the end, and have bequeathed to us a glorious example of what the Spirit of God can effect in the heart of man. They were among the captains of that noble host of martyrs and confessors, who fought a long and unwearied fight, in the cause of their Master, against the world and its prince; who struggled daily, and daily triumphed, against pains of body, pangs of mind; who, familiar with sorrow as their most intimate companion in this life, ate their bread amid groans, and mingled their drink with tears; to whom all things came adverse; whom nothing disheartened; to whom loss of fortune, loss of friends, cold, hunger, nakedness, and the sword, came as signals from their blessed leader,—as in the crisis of a desperate battle,—to take up a new and still more perilous post, and engage with redoubled ardour; who quitted the world as conquerors, leaving behind them an enemy, with whom they had made no compromise, to whom they had surrendered no fortress.

DISSERTATION XIII.

THE PROFESSION OF A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF GOD.

Seeing then that we have a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession.—Heb. iv. 14.

The word Profession is used in Scripture in two senses; either properly, for the free acknowledgment of our belief in the promises of God; or improperly, for those promises themselves. Either sense will suit the passage before us, and bring it to the same result in meaning. We will, however, consider it in the former sense, inasmuch as it necessarily implies the latter, and affords more scope for a full examination of the text.

At the moment when man is admitted into covenant with God, or performs any act, as prayer or sacrifice, under that covenant, it is necessary that he bring with him two things; namely, repentance, by which he shall renounce the past, and faith, by which he shall accept the future; meeting with the one, the forgiveness of God,—with the other, his gifts of grace and the life to come. These, which are the subjects of his private acknowledgment before God, are also the grounds of his profession before men. These supply the declarations of his lips, these are the base and support of his practice. By the uninterrupted exhibition of these in word and deed through life, he holds fast his profession.

The nature of that repentance, and of that faith, as held in the different stages of the Church, we have already seen. According as they are more deep and full, the profession will be more strict and firm. There is, moreover, a circumstance accompanying this profession, which requires our notice, and which will be found to vary in the different periods.

In his communications with man, God deposits ever with him some pledge by which to assure him. And thus we find the inspired men of old, as Isaiah and Zachariah, demanding of God a sign, in order to be certified of the reality of the communication. Again,—societies formed amongst men necessarily require some badge by which their members shall be distinguished from the rest of mankind. When God, therefore, establishes his covenant with a portion of mankind, these two reasons will concur to distinguish them by a mark, which, on the part of God, will be some symbol or representation of the benefit conferred; on the part of man, a badge, reminding him of his peculiarity amid the great body of mankind. Such marks are circumcision and baptism.

Where, then, it may be asked, is the mark impressed on the member of the Patriarchal church? In the first place, since this church contained all mankind, none could be necessary on the part of man. Again, on the part of God, on whose covenant with Adam that church was founded, the very existence of man, which had been forfeited, and then restored in Adam,—the very sight of fellow men,—the very breath which each each moment drew, was a symbol most significant indeed; a symbol, too, which, however added to, has never been superseded. As we all, at this very day, bear in our bodies the traces of the offence of Adam, so do we also of his pardon.

It may also be asked, why, since in Christ the church is once more opened to all mankind, is the badge of baptism required? That it was necessary on the part of God, as entering into covenant with man, we have seen. That it is necessary on the part of man is evident, because, though all are actually born of the flesh of the first Adam, all are but potentially born in the spirit of the second Adam, and this distinction will obtain to the end. The Patriarchal church was founded in the hope of the Redeemer to come,—a hope which would be the inheritance of all mankind down from their head and representitive: the Christian church was founded on the accomplishment of the Redeemer come, and men have no general representitive under whom they can be certified of this fact; they must come to the knowledge of it gradually and partially. This farther appears from the connexion of baptism with circumcision. This latter rite exhibited a twofold view,—one a temporal, which it confined to the Jew, conveying to him his right of inheritance to the land of Canaan, and other privileges derived from his father Abraham, and to which the mark in the flesh appertained as the seal: the other a spiritual, admitting to the kingdom of heaven all mankind, in virtue of the original covenant with Adam, through means of his promised seed, which was now restricted to the line of Abraham. To this belonged the circumcision of the heart, without which qualification it was indiscernible; and to this baptism is the successor, administering in substance what this conveyed in hope. But as that spiritual circumcision, though not represented, was conveyed by the circumcision of the flesh, and as this latter is abolished by the abolition of the law, a new seal must be established; and this seal is a lively symbol of the blessing conveyed. It is immersion in water, which represents to us our death to sin and new birth to righteousness, analogous to the death and resurrection of Christ; and also in the washing of our bodies expresses the washing of our souls by the merits of his blood, and their purification by the sanctifying graces of the Holy Spirit. Aptly with its spiritual sense it leaves no mark upon the flesh, but having performed the part of the seal and sign of God's covenant, quits all farther hold of the body, and surrenders the person to all his heavenly privileges.

Our profession, as compared with that of the Patriarch and Jew, will be this. We profess, with them, to repent, and renounce the world and its lusts; to die to sin, and live again unto righteousness. But we do this with such a death and life being made especially imperative upon us, being also actually proposed and represented to us in the death and resurrection of the author of our forgiveness. We also profess our entire faith in the truth of his promises. But the greater part of what were promises to them are gifts to us; and such gifts as still remain in expectance, and not in possession, are rendered distinct, appreciable, and certain from the accomplishment of the others; they have even been exemplified to us: the life after death in the resurrection of the Lord, the bounteous gifts of his spirit in the graces and powers of his saints, from the day of Pentecost until now. Thus our profession is distinctly marked out to us: there is no room for doubt, no excuse for vacillation; it is not shadowy, so as to elude the grasp, it is not indefinite in any point, so as at times to escape from it; it is so substantial, so comprehensible, that if we hold it not fast, the fault lies with our own weakness and wavering. What had Adam, what had Abraham, what had the Prophets for the grounds of their profession, compared with this? Verily, the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than them all.

The most practical part of our profession lies in the renunciation of the world, whose ways, having been far more openly detected, and awfully condemned by the Gospel than by any previous dispensation, we are more peculiarly called upon to reprobate and abandon. What fellow-feeling can a true child of God in Christ have with it? It is bent on the joys and pleasures of this life, therefore the Cross of Christ, with its crucifying afflictions, is a stumbling-block to it. It is wise in its own conceit, and therefore that Cross is foolishness to it; it worships rank and power, and therefore that Cross is contemptible to it. It loves its own will and ways, and therefore that Cross is hateful to it. As the convert in baptism takes a new name to show that he is a new creature, so must he take up new names for the things of the world, in which he moves as a new creature; its joy will be his sorrow, its good his evil,—in all things a new vocabulary will be adopted.

The Jew bore on his body the mark of his calling in Abraham; however, and wherever, he lived, his flesh bore testimony to his being a member of that covenant which gave his nation the inheritance to the land of Canaan. But our mark must be on the spirit, as heirs of a spiritual kingdom, never to be oblitered there. That mark must be a peculiarity of thought, originating a peculiarity of action, by which we may be distinguished from those without; word, and thought, and deed, must all have upon them the stamp of the cross of Christ. Even where we are obliged, from our common nature, to feel and do as other men, yet here we shall discover the mark of our calling. This feeling and doing will go but a short way with the world: if developed into any continued train of reflection, or expanded into any deliberate act, the eye will immediately discover its peculiar form, and acknowledge in it our profession. How should it be otherwise? We see how deeply the characters and conversation of men are imbued with the spirit of their worldly professions. The soldier, the scholar, the merchant, carry each the peculiar stamp of their occupation into their most free and disengaged moments. Their thoughts cannot without some effort be broken up from those clusters into which the due performance of their several duties has a tendency to combine them. And the more strictly they perform those duties, and the more signal their success, the deeper also is the tinge of this mark. Should it, therefore, be otherwise with the Christian, the exercise of whose profession is not, like theirs, limited to certain places and certain seasons; who is not now in full occupation, and then in utter leisure, but is ever engaged, and has before his eyes for his reward, not the honours or wealth of this fleeting world, but the bliss of the world everlasting? Shall not his mouth speak from the fulness of his heart? And if the soldier's heart be in the camp, the merchant's in his freighted vessels, so that the language of the one would sound absurd from the mouth of the other; shall there be no such distinction between the man of this world, and the man of the next? Their heart cannot have the same object, and can therefore the language of the one proceed from the mouth of the other, without an immediate and glaring contradiction to his profession? Shall a clean vessel pour forth what is unclean? Shall a heart overflowing with love, joy, and thankfulness, for the mercies of God shown in our redemption,—shall a mind exalted in the Spirit, far beyond the pitch to which the natural man could attain, supported daily by the daily soaring contemplation of the unravelled mysteries of God,—shall these send forth no language of their own, shall they speak but as worldlings speak? It cannot be. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament telleth his handiwork;" and shall the great work of God's hands, a living spirit, twice-created, regenerated man, shall not his voice be heard among them? Shall not the glory of God be manifested from him, the chief of God's works, and cast in his own image? This is the Christian's profession: thus he must be a shining light amid darkness, telling from his firmament by an inextinguishable brightness of character, and by duly regulated motions of conduct, the glory, and the power, and the dominion, and the majesty of the almighty author of his salvation.

It is true that in no case should we think too highly of ourselves. But in the case of our station and corresponding profession as Christians, we can never think highly enough; and our constant endeavour must be to proceed from a higher to a higher pitch, so that the note and song of our profession may, like the trumpet of God, wax louder and louder. Look at the proud ones of this world, at them who do indeed think of themselves more highly than they ought. What a constant, jealous vigilance is there to maintain their dignity; what a cautious mingling with the general world; what a barrier do they try to throw around their communications, in order to keep off all intrusion of vulgar taint. Shall not then the Christian, whose honour is real and not conventional; inward and essential, not outward and accidental; derived from a heavenly incorruptible fountain, not from an earthly and corruptible; from eternity, not from yesterday; immortal, and not perishing;—shall not he guard this with equal vigilance and scrupulosity, and keep it pure and unspotted from the world? Still more, if earthly rank, which lives on the breath of the world, and which is averse but to its conventional and not real impurities, can draw a line of separation, shall not the follower of the Cross of Christ, which is at enmity with the world, and loathes all its impurities, shall he not trace around him a clear decided mark of distinction?

Having thus viewed the nature of our profession, in reference to our daily practice, let us proceed to apply the argument of the apostle in the passage from whence the text has been taken.

The persons to whom he writes were suffering under severe persecution, under the most trying of all, namely, that which comes from their own countrymen, and the professors of the religion which they had abandoned; and so trying had it already been, that several apostacies seem to have taken place, and more to be about taking place. He shows them, therefore, the ground on which, in this case, they should stand, and hold fast their profession. It is the ground of Jesus Christ having suffered before them, and, after his sufferings, ascended into rest and glory. And that not only thus had they an example in their Master, and a pledge of a similar reward to similar sufferings, but moreover that he is sitting now at the throne of God as High Priest, in intercession for us, in which we can securely repose all confidence, inasmuch as we know, from his sufferings here, that he can sympathise with us. The apostle has here only applied a particular example to meet a particular occasion. But his argument is applicable to every circumstance of life; for there is not one in which the firmness of grasp with which we hold fast our profession, is not more or less put to the proof. Now since life is made up of joy and sorrow, the latter of which has been met by the apostle, let us, with an argument from the same source, meet the former. We have, indeed, only to reverse the order of the argument, and as he argued from Christ's affliction to his joy, so must we from his joy to his affliction. When, through the abundant mercy of God, our hearts are overflowing with joy, amid the bounties of this life, shall we go no further; shall we stay at the limits of the body, and not proceed in spirit, and as we gladly refer our afflictions to his, so also our joys? Shall we not soar on the wings of this, at best, imperfect joy, to that glorious presence where it reigns in its fulness, and join the heavenly choir in the song of triumph to the Redeemer; and then, seeing through what afflictions his joy was perfected, prepare our hearts to meet such interruption, so that when it shall come, we may trample it under foot as conquerors,—having learned to fix our looks, steadfast and unaverted, on the everlasting joys of heaven,—having, through a right use of our allotted season of joy, attained the inseparable fellowship of that joy, which no man can take away from us, from which none of the weapons of this world, be they famine, persecution, or the sword, shall ever have power to divide us? Thus, through all the changes of this mortal life, we shall hold fast our profession, shall stand rooted in the faith of Christ Jesus, who suffered, and now reigneth in glory.

The apostle's expression, "*let us* hold fast our profession;" and a little above, "let us *labour* to enter into that rest,"—implies that this firmness of hold on our profession, has a continual resistance opposed to it. Hence it will be different at different times in the same man, growing as he does from strength to strength; and it will be different in different persons, according to the progress they have made in that faith which overcometh the world. The whole body of Christians, therefore, will present a motley appearance, and may, from the unbeliever,—to whose eye the weak, as most numerous, and more in contact with himself, will be much more obvious than the strong,—draw forth the charge of hypocrisy or superstition. But to the mind of the lowly and charitable Christian, a very different result will arise, and a lesson will be taught him full of warning and instruction. In the Church of God there must be a series of believers of different attainments, stretching from him who has but a moment ago quitted the gross elements of the world, to him who has far advanced into the regions of the spirit,—from the newly born infant, to the full grown man. There will, however, be a clear mark of distinction between the lowest of these beings and the world. They will all have this common character, namely, that they are striving to attain that; however weak their flesh may be, yet their spirit is willing. All are engaged in a race: some, therefore, are foremost, some hindmost; but these last are very distinct from the mere lookers on, which are the sons of this world. And the most backward Christian will be distinguished above the mere man of morals, inasmuch as the latter will be stationary, while the former is pressing on. The latter may, indeed, at a given moment, be standing nearer the goal of moral perfection, while the former may be at some distance; but then the one never leaves his place, the other is continually advancing, and in due time passes beyond. Even at his farthest distance from the goal, he will show that he is a racer, and not a spectator, by the proofs which he gives of his will to proceed; which are, his readiness to acknowledge and repair his offences, his self-rebuke for his failings, his lowliness to ask his neighbour's forgiveness, and charity to impart his own; and a careful record kept in his memory of the places in which he has hitherto stumbled, with a resolution to avoid the like mishap again. Spirit-stirring, indeed, is such a view of the companions of his profession, to the Christian. He will in charity place every neighbour more forward than he really is in the race; in humility he will place himself more backward, and setting himself down, in his own opinion, among the last, will the most earnestly pursue his resolution to be among the first.

We may consider the resistance opposed by the world to our profession, and our gradual triumph over it, in another light. We are thus engaged in a spiritual fight with it, and must have many wounds before we be conquerors. Were it not so, the enemy would yield at the first blow; ever as we advanced, all would flee in rout and dismay, all the strongholds of sin would surrender at the very first summons which we blew with the trump of the Gospel. Our course upon earth would be a glorious uninterrupted triumph, and the gates of heaven would unfold, and receive us unwounded, unfatigued. But be who he will, the Christian has to fight an obstinate, a continual fight; and like those kings, who, fighting for earthly kingdoms, have, by severe defeats, well nigh lost their own, and won, at last, after a long series of doubtful success; so, also, fares this spiritual king,—so fights he for a heavenly kingdom, nor can he cry out victory, but with his dying breath. Then, indeed, and not till then, he may. in a sense as opposite as his thoughts are to those of the apostate king, exclaim, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" And thanks be to him who giveth us the victory, even Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Though the water of baptism hath left no outward mark upon us, to put us in continual remembrance of our profession, yet several of its accompaniments remain, and should produce this effect upon us. Our very name is one of them, and as that of Eve, which she received after the promise of the seed; of Abraham, after the promise of the Christ; of Paul, after his conversion to Christ; forcibly reminded them of their change of circumstances: so should ours carry us back to the moment, when, being admitted into covenant with Christ, our condition was changed, and there was created for us a new earth, and a new heaven: behold! all things were new. But still more should the titles, of which we thenceforward became possessors, declare unto us in most awful terms our profession. "Christian," should proclaim to us that we are followers of Christ, and have placed our will under obedience to his will. "Children of God," should suggest that we were once mere non-enties, but have been born into a world of real spiritual existence, and must be daily growing towards the mature and perfect man. "Inheritor of the kingdom of heaven," should continually preach unto us the high prize for which we are contending; assure the certainty of our reward, if we continue faithful to the end. "Saints in light," should remind us of the holiness of the profession to which we have been called, of the gift of the sanctifying graces of the Holy Spirit; of the light of the Gospel into which we have been brought, from the darkness of the ignorance of the natural man. If the titles indicative of rank, merit, or wealth, accorded by the society of the world, perpetually stimulate their possessors to maintain the substance which they represent,—without which they are a shadow, or even convey a reproach upon their bearer, how much more shall the sound of his titles operate upon the member of the fellowship of the saints, of the society of the Church of God.

Great, indeed, is our happiness, glorious our condition. We have not received the seal of circumcision, to assure us of a Redeemer to come in the latter days,—we have not received the giftless baptism of John, to prepare us for Christ on the point of coming; but we have received the baptism in Jesus Christ our Redeemer, who has come, and has shed upon us an abundance of spiritual gifts. All which God gave to mankind separately and at long intervals from the beginning of the world, hath been poured in one concentrated shower upon us; yea, and not only that, but what they of old received were not only but a part of what we have, but the rude and beggarly elements of the corresponding part which has come to us. Yea, and not only that, but all which they received, even in the perfect and ripe state in which they have been bestowed upon us, form but a part of our bounteous whole. Sacrifice, in all its relations and bearings, has been perfected; all its mystic meanings laid open; prophecy has been accomplished, and our food is certainty instead of hope. The Holy Spirit hath poured forth in profusion all his gifts. Not a doubt remains to perplex us, not a desire is left to be fulfilled. The groans of the creature have ceased. The very terms of our baptism, which was in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, declare the entire plenitude of the heavenly possessions which have been committed to us, and the effulgence and completeness of the revelation which we are enjoying. Bearing these things in mind, let us engage with all fortitude in this warfare below, and manfully fighting under Christ's banner, against the world, the flesh, and the devil, continue his faithful soldiers and servants to our life's end; so that having realized our baptism into the death of Christ, we may become joyful partakers of the bliss of his resurrection.

DISSERTATION XIV.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY IN THE CHURCH OF GOD.

For I desired to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.—1 Cor. ii. 2.

These forcible expressions are supposed to have been directed by St. Paul against the teachers of two systems,—most fruitful sources each of early heresy,—the questions of Greek philosophy, and of Jewish tradition; which were then vexing a church, conspicuous among the primitive seats of the Gospel for its lamentable divisions. Not unacquainted with either system, as we know St. Paul to have been, yet he deprecates most earnestly their being brought to bear in any degree upon the Gospel, to mix their turbid streams in the smallest portion with its purity; and reminds the Corinthians how he himself had preached it among them, with all simplicity and strict adherence with its principles, to an utter abandonment of all foreign knowledge, as if the existence of those systems had been wholly unknown to him.

It had been well if this wholesome example had been more generally followed. But down even to our own day, man has been ever thinking that he can mend God's work, interpolating his own conceits among the fundamental principles of the Gospel; and reason, deeming its province intruded upon by revelation, has been struggling to remove the boundaries which have been set to her previously too loosely defined dominion. This has been peculiarly the case in those questions which concern the duties of life. It was indeed to be expected. Their throng, their hourly occurrence, their ingrossing interest, their worldly complexion,—are all calculated to induce men to refer them to principles much more accommodated to their own carnal notions, to sources much nearer at hand than the spirituality of the Gospel will allow. And thus not only in practice, but in theory too, a mixture has been made of the light of nature and of the illumination of the Gospel, which, while it obscures both, is more particularly injurious to the latter, in proportion to its superior strength and brightness.

It readily follows, from what has been stated in the review of the fundamental articles of the church of God, that the moral conduct of a true member of this church, could never at any period be guided by principles which drew so much from the light of nature, as the reasoners above alluded to are ready to suppose. But as the Christian dispensation is that which they have in view in all their references to religious motives, we will confine the question to this point, and consider the rule of life laid down to the member of the church of Christ. In other words, we will proceed to ascertain how the doctrine of Christ crucified, bears upon those duties which moral philosophers would fain have us derive from principles which themselves have laid down.

It will be necessary to devote a few previous observations upon their different systems, so general, however, that they will be considered as forming only two classes; in one of which the light of nature alone is consulted, in the other the aid of that of revelation is called in.

The first contains the several systems of ancient philosophy. Their deficiency in not supplying a motive of obligation sufficiently obvious, strong and permanent, has been the subject of frequent remark. Nevertheless, they are of inestimable value to the Christian scholar, not only from disclosing to him the peculiar points upon which a revelation was required to bear,—not only from the interest which they excite by the heart-moving comparison of their original light of nature with our acquired illumination from the Gospel; but principally because they have almost exhausted the storehouse of human thought upon their subjects. Hither, therefore, the infidel will appeal, and here the Christian must be prepared to meet him, and make him feel the untenableness of his ground.

The second class is obviously destitute of all these advantages. It remains to see whether their loss has been counterbalanced by the acquisition of any others.

Perceiving the defect above mentioned, of the ancient systems, the authors of these have thought to supply it by calling in from revelation the doctrine of a state of future retribution. To this plan, however, there are insurmountable objections, not only from reason, but also from the revelation itself, whence they have borrowed.

There is an objection in reason, first, because in a system of philosophy all ought to be traceable to one source; and this character forms the great beauty of all the ancient systems. On such a principle, therefore, a future state to which the system attaches the final motive of obligation, ought to be demonstrable, equally with the rule of life, from the light of nature; but every one knows that it is not. Thus the system is deranged, and its logical unity dissolved by the introduction of an entirely foreign and independent principle.

A second objection on the ground of reason is, that our assent to the doctrine of a future retribution implies an adequate notion of the divine justice. But this (as in the case of other of God's attributes) must be derived from our notions of human justice. Thus we are conducted by such a system in a vicious circle. We must have formed an adequate notion of human justice, before we can assent to the position of a future retribution; and we must assent to the position of a future retribution, before we can possess ourselves with an adequate notion of human justice. But the objections from the very revelation itself, to which they profess themselves indebted, are of a still more serious cast.

In borrowing this doctrine from revelation, they have entirely neglected to take with them the foundation upon which it rests,—the Cross of Christ. It has accordingly shared the fate of all facts which are introduced, detached from the natural relation of surrounding circumstances. It droops and dies, as a tree which has been transplanted without its roots; and as far as the planters are concerned, the roots have been left to perish too: for what is now their position as they lay down their transplanted doctrine of a state of future happiness?—however stated, it amounts to this,—that a man may be saved by the law which they have there established. It is difficult to see how this materially differs from an opinion so severely reprobated by our church, (and in that reprobation every Christian church and person will join,) namely, that "every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature." This is indeed removing the offence of the Cross, by removing the Cross itself; for (as our article proceeds to say, Art. 18.) Holy Scripture doth set unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby man must be saved.

Let it, however, be allowed (for argument's sake) that this consequence from their system has been too closely pressed. Let it even be granted that advantage has been taken of unintentional omission, of neglect of fortifying points, of latitude of language. Still the effect cannot be disputed, which is to instil into minds not culpably unwary, the above pernicious opinion, and to lead them to think the grand and essential facts of Christianity,—our Lord's incarnation, death, and burial,—an useless show, a cumbrous machinery, the employment of which seems derogatory to the wisdom of Almighty God. Is it considerate, is it charitable, is it dutiful to our crucified Master, to employ, or allow to be employed, a carelessness of expression pregnant with such dreadful consequences?

Putting, however, the best colour upon all this, still we find another objection behind, which cannot be set aside by any plea of mere looseness of language.

For let us supply what they may assert to be an unintentional omission; then, since of course a system of morality is applicable to all mankind, their position stands thus: that all men, by observing the duties which the system has laid down, will enjoy the future happiness which has been procured by the Cross of Christ. But where is such a position to be found in Scripture? Where has it promised a state of happiness to all mankind, upon living up to their duties? Its promises are confined exclusively within the pale of the Christian covenant, and the salvability of any without can be but the suggestion of a charitable hope; or (granting the very utmost) a fit subject of argument for such as are prepared to engage in an interminable controversy.

Thus, even upon putting the most favourable construction upon the systems of this class, we are obliged to conclude that their foundation rests upon a position, of which they affirm the certainty from revelation, but which in fact is not to be found in any part of its records.

It may, however, still be asserted that such systems, though not applicable to all mankind, may serve to point out a rule of moral conduct to the Christian, supplying directions where the Scriptures are not practically explicit, presuppose natural principles; or perhaps are silent altogether. The state of the question, thus narrowed, brings us back to the point which was proposed to be examined, and will render much assistance to the course of argument, by setting off in more prominent relief the peculiarities with which the doctrine of Christ crucified invests all those duties which are the subjects of moral philosophy.

Let it be borne in mind, that, according to the latter systems just discussed, the motive which obliges the Christian, is the simple one of a certain expectation of future reward or punishment. According to the Gospel, it will appear to be one much more complex, or at least (even granting this to be the final), that it can never be acted upon by him except in association with a number of others of a certain class. Their rule of life also is sought among the principles of nature. In the Gospel it presupposes these, but is not confined to them; so that the Christian, calculating from those principles only, would as certainly fall into error, as he who omits important elements in any deduction of science. They suppose only two persons—man and God. The Gospel interposes a third, the Son of God; and this of course immediately gives a new complexion to the whole question.

God the Father has made the promise of everlasting happiness to man, upon obedience to his will, operating through faith in the merits of his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ; who, by taking our nature upon him, suffered death upon the Cross, in order to procure for man that inestimable blessing. But the Father, notwithstanding this reconciliation, has no immediate communication with man: he will turn away his ear from every note of praise or prayer, he will avert his face from every posture of supplication, which is not addressed to him through the mediation of the Son; through him he bids him look for every blessing now and to come, to this special relation which he has established with mankind to confess himself indebted for all: on this to hang all his hopes; and having his heart impressed with the Cross of Christ, his thoughts fixed in earnest contemplation of what his Saviour has said, done, and undergone, and thus imbued, as it were, with the baptism of his precious blood, to proceed to action.

It is evident, therefore, that the will of God is not to be sought by the Christian, merely among the natural relations of man to man. Those relations indeed still subsist; but they are all drawn by Christ towards himself, and acted upon by his influence. Besides their mutual motions, they have also another and general course assigned them. If they follow not this course, they are not within the system of Christianity. Every act of the Christian must have some reference to an act of Christ's, displayed by him in his sojourn upon earth, and destined to exert its influence upon him, as mystically affecting his spiritual station,—as directly operating by example,—as urgently prompting by command. Thus, is God's will that we should be gratefully disposed, to be sought in the mere shallow elements to which the moral philosopher would direct us? Or shall we not rather carry into our practice that deep and settled feeling to which human language cannot give a name, that which we imbibe through every pore of mind, from the contemplation of the character and office of the Son of God.

It is evident, also, from the above considerations, that, as to motive, the Christian cannot, dare not, look at everlasting happiness, without combining in the same view the Cross of Christ. As consistently may he expunge from his creed every article intervening between God the Father Almighty, and the life everlasting. No! that life he looks forward to, through a long and permanent chain of objects, every link of which has been designed to move both his heart and understanding; through his holy incarnation through his holy nativity and circumcision, through his baptism, fasting, and temptation, through his agony and bloody sweat, through his cross and passion, through his precious death and burial, through his glorious resurrection and ascension, and through the coming of the Holy Ghost. This is his perspective, down this long alley of glorious and heart-stirring facts, he contemplates the life to come; and through this only, as a Christian that hopes for salvation, dares he look forward to everlasting happiness.

On a basis so widely different from that proposed by the moral philosopher, rest the duties of the Christian, even where the former has borrowed the grand doctrine of eternal life!

It may seem necessary to illustrate this bearing of the doctrine of Christ crucified, upon our practice, by a comparison of passages from the philosopher and from Scripture, enforcing the same precept. We are, however, enabled to enter upon a parallel still more convincing and striking.

It is obvious that in the New Testament the rule of life, although throughout essentially the same, yet must differ exceedingly in clearness of object, distinctness of motive, and extent of application: so that it will contain two modes of practice. One of these will be that which guided the true Israelite, and therefore also our Lord's followers, before the Gospel dispensation was completed by the descent of the Holy Ghost, which put the crown to the Redeemer's glorious work in behalf of man. Another will be that by which his followers were influenced afterwards, as members of this new covenant now perfected. Accordingly the former will be found to prevail in the Gospels, the latter in the Epistles. The former, of course (from the generality which its comparative indistinctness induces), will be purely ethical; while the latter (from the individuality impressed by its clearness) will appeal to feelings and to facts. This distinction, obvious as it is, has not been sufficiently attended to, and its neglect has led to much laxity of opinion. For many persons, and more especially the moral philosophers, to whose views upon their subject it was very suitable, have, naturally enough, though very inconsiderately, fixed upon that great concentrated body of moral instruction, contained in our Lord's sermon on the mount; and conceiving that passage, as coming from his own lips, to contain (if any can) the Christian doctrine, have been led to regard the Gospel too much in the light of a system of ethics. So striking is the difference, that some infidels (not caring to ascertain the real state of the case) have not scrupled to assert that Christianity, as it came from its Author's mouth, was a mere moral system, and that this was corrupted immediately after his death by his apostles, more particularly by St. Paul. The comparison of a very few passages will be sufficient for our purpose.

In his sermon on the mount, our Saviour says, "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven," (Luke vi. 37). Here is a moral precept, appealing indeed to the revealed doctrine of God's forgiveness, and deriving its obligation from the promise of this, and from the authority of its deliverer, as being sent from God. But let us seek for this same precept in the Epistles. There St. Paul bids the Colossians to "put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, forgiving one another, if any one have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye." (Coloss. iii. 13). Here all is grounded upon Christ crucified. His cross is the rule, the motive, and the obligation. Again, in the same sermon, our Lord thus lays down the duty of charity: "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." (Matt. v. 42). Here is a moral precept, enforced as before. Let us also again turn to the Epistles. In urging the Corinthians to contribute to the necessities of the saints, St. Paul thus lays down the grounds of their duty: "for ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." (2 Cor. viii. 9). Again we are referred to Christ crucified. Let one more example suffice. Our Lord, enforcing the duty of humility upon his disciples, says, "Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." (Luke xiv. 11). But how does his apostle, he who gloried in nought save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world was crucified unto him, and he unto the world,—how does this his faithful soldier and servant exhort to the same duty? He thus charges the Philippians: "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of man. And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient even unto death, even the death of the Cross. Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow—of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." (Philipp. ii. 7, &c.). Never before was such an appeal made to the heart of man. It stirs it with the thrilling strain of the trumpet. The humble man is raised from the dust, and set amidst angels. To what beggarly elements, to what wretched offscourings do we return, upon resuming the principles of the moralists. We seem hurled down from heaven to earth.

Thus we find in Scripture a moral system, based upon revelation, and not concocted by human reason; confirmed by our Lord himself, addressed to believers in repentance, in a redemption, in a life to come,—we find this in the very same volume (owing to the peculiarity of the circumstances), practically superseded by one, which rests upon the fact and doctrine of Christ crucified. What then shall we think, not only of the pretension, not only of the inutility, but of the mischievous and anti-christian tendency of those systems which we have been discussing? To the logician they are contemptible: to the Christian they are abominable.*

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* I heartily wish that our University, which, according to her solemn prayer, sets so much value on sound learning and religious education, would consider how much she promotes either one or the other, by employing Paley's Moral Philosophy as a book of education.

We have now traced the peculiar bearing of this grand fundamental doctrine upon our moral duties, both as presenting a rule of life, and as supplying a motive of obligation. In effecting these objects, however, it accomplishes a third, in which it is quite singular. It at the same time furnishes an example,—an example, too, of a most peculiar influence. In the case of every thing which admits of degrees, our imagination can always go on to portray something of higher excellence still, until at length we obtain and fix in the mind's eye, an ideal model of perfection. It is the constant contemplation of this model which leads us from one stage of improvement to another, and ever with our advance advances also; always at our head, beyond our grasp, and unattainable. In this lies the source of all excellence: the poet and the painter, for instance, work after a model thus conceived in their own bosoms, but never to be realized by their lips or their hand; and therefore often regard their own production with a sigh, while it excites the admiration of surrounding crowds. In the same way we can form in our minds a model of moral excellence, unattainable by imperfect human nature; and some writers have drawn fictitious characters to embody their notions, and supply to coarser and less tutored minds, that spur to virtuous emulation, which they themselves find within their own bosoms. But, after all, the real effect produced is slight. Men turn away from the impalpable, unpractical model, listless, wearied, and incredulous. Now the system which rests upon Christ crucified, is not only a system of precept and doctrine, but also an aggregate of facts; and we are presented in our Lord, as man, with a real substantial being, the model of all excellence; one which surpasses every thing which our bosoms could have framed in their highest aspirations. Great indeed is the advantage of an example. We are in morals, after all, but little children: we are too careless to enter into long detail,—too ignorant to sum it up, and gather all its bearings. We require, therefore, a sensible picture, which shall present at one glance what must otherwise be conveyed in long and minute description. Thus we can inform ourselves at once upon the very brink of action into which we are so continually hurried, with but a few moments to spend upon preparatory reflection. Still even this is but a limited and most inadequate view of the benefits of Christ's example;—it were thus like the glorious firmament on high, to which, however we may gaze upon it, we can never make any sensible approach. But the facts which gave us this example, gave us also our redemption; they procured for us grace to do, as well as showed what we ought to do; they advanced us to a point whither of ourselves we could never have arrived, and which being unattained, the excellence of that example cannot be understood: vain had been the example of his patience, gentleness, meekness, charity, if the sufferings which called it forth had but operated thus passively, and not actively by God's will affected our souls. Taken in this twofold view, how inestimably precious is his example; how does it try and search our hearts; how does it stir our affections, while at the same time it enlightens our understanding, and chastens and exalts our imagination. But see still farther the wonderful goodness of God. He has not left us to the promise of grace to enable us to follow up this example, but hath poured it out so as to exemplify in men like ourselves its efficacy: besides the great example of our Lord moving like a sun through the region of Scripture, we are presented in the train of his followers with innumerable lesser lights, borrowing from him, and reflecting to us. All these are attainable, and they are manifest proofs to us of the fulfilment of God's gracious promises in the restoration of our fallen nature: there we see the weakness of the flesh converted into the strength of the Spirit; there we see exemplified the conquering might of Christ crucified; thence we can joyfully gather how the perfect new man may hereafter grow out of our sinful nature; these are our ancestors in the church of Christ: to their pictures we may look up; with the memory of their deeds nourish our courage; and, by imitating them, prove ourselves worthy descendants of the spiritual conquerors of the world. One point remains upon which it is necessary to bestow a brief notice, inasmuch as it supplies the ground upon which the authors of the modern moral philosophy have advanced the utility of their systems, and contended that Scripture does not dispense with them.

It has often been remarked, and by some objected, that Scripture, considered as a rule of life, omits some important duties,—as, for example, friendship and love of country. The objection is much more apparent than real, and goes, in effect, no farther than to say, that these abstract terms do not occur there. We may, with nearly as good reason, blame the highly national Greek, or the staunch Roman, because they have no single abstract term perfectly expressing our word patriotism. Scripture, as teaching, not on professed system, but indirectly, by means of facts, and expressions called forth by facts, is, on that account, no great dealer in abstract terms. But let the above terms be resolved into their elements, (and our practice must always so resolve them,) and every part is immediately met by Scripture. Thus, with regard to what is implied in the duty of friendship, is there no command to be kindly affectionate to one another, in honour preferring one another; none to bear with one another; none to rejoice with them that do rejoice, and to weep with them that do weep? has our Saviour left no such act on record, among those which marked his earthly sojourn; does his intercourse with Lazarus supply no example; and are there few elements of this duty to be derived by him who is engaged in the daily contemplation of the Son of God, offering himself upon the Cross for his redemption? The fact is, that Scripture inculcates a far deeper, a much more holy and permanent feeling than such as is implied in friendship, which is included as the less in the greater, and it sums all up in a single term, unknown (in this sense) in moral systems, brotherly-love (Philadelphia.) It has been said also, and truly said, that Scripture sometimes attaches blessings or curses to duties or offences which it has never defined: that covenant-breakers, for instance, are denounced, but the nature of a covenant not explained. This is the very strongest example that could have been chosen; a word of more awful import does not occur in Scripture; it states the most affecting relation in which man stands to God, it raises up immediately before his mind a series of the grandest and most moving events which have occurred upon earth. Scripture, in fact, presupposes a state of society in which such duties are necessary, and such terms current. But since their common acceptation in society may seem too undefined for all cases of application, to what source shall we refer for their strict definition. We must evidently have recourse to the light of nature, which Scripture presupposes; and not, by betaking ourselves to a mixture of the light of nature with that of the Gospel, commit Scripture in the absurdity of presupposing its own revelation.

Practically speaking, there will be little necessity even for this. In practice, men are seldom curious to investigate the bounds of duty except with a lurking notion of transgressing them: when they anxiously discuss the limits of obedience, they are on the borders of rebellion; when of patriotism, on the brink of treason; when of friendship, on the verge of treachery.

Thus it has been endeavoured to show the nature of the doctrine of Christ crucified, as bearing upon those duties, which the moralists assume as their province. In the course of this investigation, there has surely appeared no inclination to undervalue and decry the usefulness of moral philosophy: so far from it, that an acquaintance with the study, as based upon the mere light of nature, has been expressly stated at the outset to be essential to the character of the Christian scholar,—of the well appointed defender of his faith. But to those systems, which, by borrowing a truth, and not the whole truth, from revelation, obscure the light of nature, at the same time that they stain the purity of the Gospel, to them it is freely confessed that an equal deference has not been paid. Nor can he who addresses you sufficiently express, even in the most earnest terms of deprecation, his full sense and dread of their baneful effects. Alas! what they are too well calculated to produce, requires no additional encouragement. By the corrupt infirmities of our nature, we are already but too well disposed to dwell slightly upon the great doctrine of Christ crucified, to have recourse to any other base than this for a rule of life, and, like the wilful leper, to prefer Abanah and Pharphar to all the waters of Israel. From long habit, also, and careless enjoyment, we are disposed to mistake an indulgence for a right, and thus to deem of revealed doctrines,—such as the life everlasting,—as primary inherent principles in our nature. Add to this general tendency, vices, which impel many men on such a forgetfulness of our Saviour's Cross, weaknesses which incline almost all. Our indolence is gratified by thinking to rest upon this one single fact of a future state, without being compelled to go through the long and awakening detail by which Scripture conducts us: our vanity looks complacently at the dignity of future glory, but turns away from the humiliating rebuke of the atonement: our love of the enjoyment gazes with delight on the prospect of the happiness to come, but shrinks from the energy, the self-denial and mortification, held forth from the Cross of Christ. Thus all our corrupt nature tends with the whole of its bias this way; and shall education be called in to confirm it?

O let us not err ourselves, nor lead others into error: to the Christian the life to come is no abstract idea, which can be bandied about in heartless selfish calculation; it is a crowd of ideas, awful and vast, bidding defiance to the management of the puny mind of man. It is no single, detached fact, which *will* happen, against which we are to provide: it is one of a series, the far greater part of which *has* happened, and is affecting us at this moment. It is no simple element which may amuse the head: it combines a throng of emotions to stir the heart. Its contemplation cannot be taken up by any one at his pleasure; habitual earnestness alone has this privilege: and when taken up it requires effort to maintain as we should. For it requires to be maintained by studious reading of God's word; by frequent meditation on the intervention between God and man there detailed; and by continual prayer,—that searcher of the spirit, and opener of the heart.

Nothing is so dangerous as to render this doctrine familiar to the mind, divested of its Gospel accompaniments; and the Christian who has once brought himself to hold it steadily in view without including Christ crucified, has in that moment virtually denied the Lord who bought him, reckoned his blood common blood, crucified Christ afresh. Let the cold calculator be told that it is Christ crucified which alone enables him or gives him any right to look onward to the reward of another life: it is this alone (and not human precept) which can sustain his feet in this world, amid the shock of daily conflict; and to this alone (and to no help of human reason) when wounded by the great adversary, can he look up, as to its brazen type of old, and be healed. Here alone lie all his means of grace; here alone are seated all his hopes of glory. A celebrated father * of the church, in remarking on the accomplishment of these words of the prophet, "and his rest shall be glorious," says, in his fanciful manner, "the very form of his death is more glorious than a diadem. Therefore kings, putting off the diadem, take up the Cross, the symbol of his death: on the purple the Cross, on diadems the Cross, in prayers the Cross, on arms the Cross, on the holy table the Cross, and in every quarter of the world the Cross shines more glorious than the sun." What in his days was fast quitting the heart, and taking its place among the baubles of outside show, degenerating into the sign of a wretched superstition, let us, in accordance with purer times, resume spiritually in our bosoms. When we rise, the Cross: when we lie down, the Cross: in our thoughts, the Cross: in our studies, the Cross: in our conversation, the Cross: everywhere, and at every time, the Cross, shining more glorious than the sun. Yea! Let this, in our warfare below, become our sign, and in this we shall conquer.

DISSERTATION XV.

ON THE COMPARATIVE OPPORTUNITIES OF THE EARLIER AND LATER CHURCH.

See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil.—Ephes. v. 15, 16.

THE literal sense of the phrase "redeeming the time," in this passage, and in one parallel in the parallel Epistle to the Colossians, has been variously interpreted. It is quite sufficient for the present purpose to gather the general import of the text, which appears to be, that the Ephesians should direct their course of life with all wisdom and discernment, full of the knowledge of the will of God, so as to be enabled to distinguish the opportunities which he presents, and to turn them to proper account, accompanied and confused as they are with the numerous impediments to godliness, created by evil times.

That the days are evil, has been the warning cry of every period of the church until now, no less under Christian than under Heathen governments: for to every period has been assigned some peculiar trial of the godliness of its members. It has sometimes been sounded forth in notes of encouragement to resist; sometimes in the voice of most earnest deprecation to forbear; according as it has at one time appeared in the shape of violent persecution, as it did to the Ephesians, and the rest of the primitive church, or, at another, assumed the less repulsive but not less dangerous form of imposing prosperity. This cry may be louder at different times; but yet, as Christ has promised to his church to be with it to the end of the world, as he has promised to every two or three met together to be in the midst of them, as he has promised to each individual a sufficiency of grace, and that he shall not be tempted beyond what he can bear, but that a way to escape shall be made for him; it must be concluded, that any peculiar disadvantage under which this or that period may seem to labour, is balanced also by some peculiar advantage, and that none has occasion for superior boast or complaint. However unequal the ways of man, the ways of God are equal.

It is now proposed to examine this point by taking two extreme periods, the earlier and later times of the Christian church. Such a comparison must, if any thing can, be decisive of the question, since two periods could not be selected, more contrasted. They are as opposite as nearness and distance,—as danger and security,—as wonders and commonplace.

The first thing which strikes the inquirer on approaching this investigation, is the apparently unqualified superiority of the earlier period, shown in its possession of miraculous powers; and at these a wistful eye is often cast by persons who, not having taken due pains to lay a sure ground of faith, are troubled with difficulties and fits of scepticism, and cry out for signs and wonders, that they might believe: and again, by those also who, disheartened at their own want of energy, finding it so far below the point to which they are conscious it should attain, wish for the supernatural spur which operated upon the minds of the early Christians.

A nearer inspection will reduce this superiority to the level of our own times. For with regard to the exhibition of miracles, so much coveted, it ought to be borne in mind that they acted no farther, in the first instance, than as challenges of the attention of the witness to the doctrine promulgated by the worker. That doctrine was still to be investigated, for the miracle may proceed from a good or evil source (Matt. xii. 24), and therefore it was that the Bereans, in the most fruitful period of these extraordinary interpositions of divine power, when the wondrous works of the apostles were sounding in their ears, and displaying before their eyes, tried the spirits whether they were of God; searching the Scriptures daily, to see whether these things were so. The question, therefore, is reduced to this,—1. Is there now an equally importunate challenge? 2. Are there equal means of investigation?

1. The first question is quickly resolved.

When a miracle was exhibited before the eyes of the ancient heathen, it by no means necessarily roused his attention to a proper pitch of curiosity. Prejudice was active, subterfuges had been invented, and he could stifle all tendency to further investigation, by ascribing it to magic, or the powers ordinarily claimed by the wonder-workers of the day. To behold and to proceed in inquiry, demanded sincerity of heart, unconquerable love of truth, a fortitude to abide the consequences of conviction, which were by no means doubtful or desirable. Hence even of the beholders the number of converts was comparatively small, and were of that little band (how little, alas! in every stage of society,) who dared to see with their own eyes, and act upon the dictates of their own breasts.

But it was not to every convert that a miracle was exhibited; and where there was a single link of evidence interposed, the above indisposing causes would operate with tenfold influence. The interval was equivalent to the whole series of evidence interposed between those days and ours; and if he did not follow up immediately the call upon his attention, all trace was soon lost: the Christian was met but here and there, came and went, and was quickly lost sight of amid the predominance of the Pagan world. On the contrary, the unbeliever of these days must divest himself of first-instilled principles, and absolutely make his escape from society, yea, even from the face of inanimate nature, studded as it is with monuments of Christianity, if he would avoid the incessant solicitation of the Gospel of Christ. Assuredly it would be ridiculous for the modern even to hint at any disadvantage here.

2. With regard to the means of research, the modern may murmur at the nearness of source to the ancients,—at its distance from himself: may complain that he has to trace up a long course of evidence, extending through many ages: that

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[*] Chrysostom, Vol. I. p. 569. Ed. Benedict.

while he dips his scoop in the stream, he has not in immediate sight the cleaving arm and the yawning rock to assure him of its miraculous source. How justifiable such a complaint may be, will appear from a very brief parallel of their respective means of evidence, and motives to enter faithfully upon it. To the one is presented the Church of Christ, young, insignificant, and scattered; but concentrated, with surpassing power, upon every point, however detached, by its possession of miraculous powers: to the other, the church established for ages, universally diffused, strong in connexion with the bonds of society, but gifted only with the ordinary powers of the spirit. To the one, the records of faith, not always at hand to peruse, not always perhaps collected into one body, but cotemporary with his own days, or not long prior: to the other, every where at hand, gathered into one volume universally acknowledged, but of a date long prior to his own times. To the one, an acquaintance with a despised people and a barbarous literature: to the other, all that has been in association in his mind with good and admirable from his cradle. To the one a brief examination, with little leisure and much peril: to the other a long review, with ample leisure and unbounded security. With regard to motive, the one had every reason to desist, where the other had every reason to begin. Where the convert looked around for others to keep him in countenance, he saw them sprinkled here and there, the offscourings, scoff, and derision of the world; the food of the axe, the stake and the amphitheatre: while the other beholds all the civilized tribes of earth,—the wise and the good, princes and their people, challenging him to their example, and crying out unto him, in freedom and not in bonds, to be even such as they.

In reply to the more reasonable demand of the other, who covets the moral effect of the miracles of the early church in stirring up the energies to holy action, we may first assert, generally, that the ancient, not having been nursed up from his cradle in the faith, may reasonably expect a more powerful excitement, and that what was lost in time should be made up in intensity: we should also take into the account the overwhelming trials to which he was exposed. If, however, it be answered, as it may, that such trials have occurred in later periods without any corresponding supernatural help, then (to omit the remark, that the extraordinary gifts at that period bestowed, were not so much designed for the assistance of individuals, as necessary to the very existence of the church, and have accordingly been withdrawn, since it has ceased to be a scattered and helpless body,) we may confidently assert, that the desired moral effect still resides with the church, in its documents, the Holy Scriptures; to which, if a person diligently apply, and open his heart, he cannot but imbibe the effect, which is not the less abiding for not being communicated by immediate impulse. In fact, the distance at which he views the wondrous dealings of God in olden times, is compensated by their being presented, not detached, as they must have been to the spectator; but coming before his mind in one harmonious series, converging to one purpose, not to the benefit of this or that individual or particular church,—as they might have appeared when they took place,—but to the support and glory of the universal church; to the comfort and encouragement of its members throughout all lands and all ages, to the end of the world. O yes! even to us at the present day, if we but give our hearts and minds their due exercise in their most glorious province, and draw nigh with them and commune with Him, to whom a thousand years are as a day, and generations but a span long, the effect of those wondrous works comes down through ages undiminished. Even to us the dumb speaks, the withered arm glows with life, the leper drops his polluting scales,—the lame walk, the blind see, the dead arise.

To say nothing of individual experience, we have convincing proof of this from public and well-known facts, for in what instance have the modern martyrs fallen beneath the ancient? Their bodily sufferings could scarcely be less, their spiritual trial certainly more severe, as it was administered by false brethren, and not by avowed unbelievers. Mighty, indeed, is the power of the word of God, when read diligently and earnestly, as if it were the voice of our Saviour speaking to us, searching our thoughts, and rousing our affections; but it comes with incalculable force in the hour of trouble, which shuts out all help and comfort from without, and compels us to the only place of refuge, the throne of God, established in our own bosoms by long and unwearied edification of his Gospel.

Thus far with regard to the most obvious appearance of unequal distribution of advantages to the members of the earlier and later church. A less prominent, but certainly not less important, subject of comparison, is the nature of those daily and ordinary opportunities, which the Christian is to distinguish, and to separate from their accompanying impediments, and turn to the account of godliness.

Christ in his holy church has assigned to every one his proper station. All is ordained of him, even to the very door-keepers of his house, the lowest of his holy priesthood. And as he has openly appointed some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, with their respective spheres of duty; so has he also, not less really, though from the nature of the thing less visibly, determined the place and duties of all those for whose edification they were appointed: and most grievously will the layman mistake, if he thinks that all his thoughts and actions are to be less directed towards the honour and glory of the great head and glorious body to which he belongs, than the lives of those who occupy, as doctors in his church, a more definite place. If his exertions be from his station less conspicuous, they must not be less substantial; from every one God requires the whole of his services, which he must duly render, keeping watch with his eye by day, and his ear by night. From the moment that the Christian awakes each day, to that in which his Master kindly lays him down again, he is encountered by a perpetual throng of circumstances,—in which he must distinguish good from evil, extracting from them the opportunity which God presents, and surmounting the impediments with which it may be clogged. He must not think to despise the slightness of the occasion: were it, in his Lord's own words, but to give a cup of cold water, it must not be passed by. For it comes immediately from his hands, it is afforded as a means of stirring up, and calling out into practice the grace which is in him; of exercising his spiritual strength, of trying his discernment; and is the forerunner of another, which its omission will render more difficult, both of being distinguished and arrested. Unemployed it is irrevocable; misemployed it is pernicious. Such opportunities are too apt to be estimated by the effects which they produce around us; which may often be trifling, and not upon us, which can never be unimportant, oftener than we think, most momentous. Thus at every step and turn, the Christian has some call upon him to separate good from evil; to choose the one and eschew the other, diligently distinguishing the work of the Lord from the business of the world.

Applying these considerations to the case before us, it must be allowed that the state of prosperity and security, by which the present period of the church differs from the earlier, especially from that in which the apostle addressed the Ephesians, makes the discernment of God's opportunities more difficult. We are not mingled with the heathen side by side, the contrast of whose darkness would bring them before us in a stronger light; they are of the colour of all around,—lie hid in the multiplicity of similar shapes. It is Christian society all around us. At the same time, however, we are delivered from the dangerous infection of the heathen's example, which, while it threw some things forward in a stronger light, offered too convenient a shade for others. Again, not to dwell upon the unwillingness of exertion produced by such a state, prosperity mingles evil with good in so subtle an union, throws such an equalizing gloss on the face of things, and renders, also, by the compact condition of society which accompanies it, relations so complicated, that a steady and acute discernment is necessary to distinguish what is wholesome from what is unwholesome. Whereas in times of affliction, where society is broken up, those relations are narrow and simple; the opportunity to be arrested is of greater dimensions, comes in a pronounced and distinct form, set out in all the contrast of light and shade. But then it comes accompanied with circumstances of terror and dismay, sufficient to quell any heart which has not prepared itself to undergo the extreme of suffering. While in the other case, the person raises around him but a ring or two of waves of trouble upon the calm surface of society, and all is still as before. Besides, this latter has had more leisure to form and give an edge to his discernment; he has been all along used to the minute shades by which circumstances around him are distinguished, and the calm and security with which God hath blessed him, will indeed have been abused, if it shall not have been employed in maturing the faculties which he has given him, with a view to their improvement. Steadiness of view, patience of observation, and a quick discernment of minute differences, are the qualities which his state is required to produce. But supposing the opportunity equally discerned by each party, it may now be contended that it is not with us presented in company with those distinct and energetic motives to action, which enforced its application in earlier times. It is true that in our days of peace, society moves but sluggishly in answer to any impression. The effect, therefore, does not so immediately follow; there are certain stages in the operation, and hence also we have often a series of motives to go through, before we arrive at the final which determines. We are, moreover, naturally reluctant to disturb the calm surface around us by any unusual exertion. Whereas in the other case, the effect would more immediately follow, and society was already in derangement. But we have most ample compensation in this, that our declining of such opportunities is not so immediately fatal. There is a train of them, and in the space allowed us between the neglect of the first, and a fall from the faith, we may relieve ourselves by arresting another. But there was presented at once the dreadful final alternative—"Christ or no Christ,"—and the opportunity once passed, gave him over to a reprobate mind, accused him of apostacy, bade him curse God, and die. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, says (vi. 4), "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift; and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come; if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, seeing that they crucify unto themselves the son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame." Any wilful sin was certain, in those days of persecution, to draw that of apostacy with it; the above passage, therefore, would excite no remark upon its uncompromising severity. Yet how alarming is its tone to the reader of the present day; conscious of wilful sin, how dreadful does he find his situation, and how disproportionate does he think the consequences to the offence: but how relieved he feels at once from all his terrors, when he has discovered it is the sin of apostacy which is thus terribly denounced; and how careful modern commentators are to assure him of this. We have in this fact a strong proof of the happiness of our lot in these later days.

We might proceed to a long extent in comparing the circumstances of the two periods; but sufficient perhaps has been already stated, and it may be enough to observe in brief, that then physical courage was rather called into action,—now moral: then danger was rather the object of dread,—now opinion: then man was combated rather face to face,—now he is entrapped by a net for the feet. The tempter then had more recourse to brute force,—now he insinuates. On these and similar points we should still find advantage and disadvantage equally distributed to the two periods, and that God's ways are equal; it is ours that are unequal.

We are not, therefore, in the least behind our predecessors in the church of Christ on this consideration: we have equal means with the Ephesians of redeeming the time, since the days are evil. And having ascertained the peculiar character of our times, let us become sensible to the imposing necessity of turning it to its proper account; of using the leisure and security which we are enjoying to the cultivation of the faculties with which God has blessed us; to bring them, in a time so favourable, to that degree of ripeness, that we may in every case distinguish the occasions presented by our master, of serving him to the honour and glory of his name. There are also not a few errors, peculiar to this our state, against which we have to guard; and one or two of these I shall now proceed to describe.

When alarmed at the uncontemplated result of any action, men are apt to fly for consolation to the consciousness of having done it with the best and purest intentions. Now this would be a reasonable resource for one who, as in the times of ancient persecution, lived from day to day with his life on the edge of the sword; who, in jeopardy every hour, had little time to balance consequences, and therefore trusted in God for supplying his deficiency of foresight, provided the feeling upon which he acted were right. But it will furnish no excuse for us of this our period. The great searcher of all hearts has for us another interrogation to put: "Has due advantage been taken of the leisure and security afforded in my church, to form that conscience aright? The volume containing my will has never been violently plucked out of your hands; so comparatively regular is the train of events, that scarcely one might not have been provided against by a mind zealous of obedience; your meditations have been unbroken from without. What excuse then can you plead for being taken by surprise at any moment, and being obliged to act blindfold upon the crude and hasty dictates of an uninformed conscience?" Let us anticipate in our own hearts this solemn interrogation, and judge ourselves, that we be not judged of the Lord.

If mere conscience (not considering whether it be informed or not, according to the means afforded), be sufficient to sanctify any act, how soon would the will of our master become a dead letter, since he that knows much, and he that knows little, may then do equally good service. How unnecessarily urgent would seem the apostle's injunction "to be vigilant, to be sober, to be understanding what the will of the Lord is." Why need we think of the advice, "to examine our ownselves, prove our ownselves, know our ownselves?" Why should we take heed to the warning of the prophet, who tells us that "the heart is deceitful above all things?" Why to the command "to make the best of the talents committed to our charge," of which the knowledge of God's will is the most precious, for he has not made us mere creatures of impulse? Assuredly the heart which has not been strictly trained up, and informed by diligent comparison with God's holy word and commandments,—which has not had its motives continually and jealously questioned, nor been checked here, spurned there, disciplined every where, will, when suddenly called forth, carry into action some interested motive, some unworthy affection, which the emergency of the moment allows it not leisure to sift and expel. When too late they make their appearance, overwhelm with shame and confusion, and discourage in future from the very best and safest undertakings.

If in this period we are called upon for a higher exertion of our faculties, we have also to guard more against that abuse of them, which, like the weed to the plant, is so apt to spring up with them, and choke or distort their growth. One of these, beyond all others, requires a constant curb from the sober and vigilant Christian; and the more so, perhaps, in proportion to the cultivation of his mind,—and that is the imagination. Beyond number, indeed, and beyond weight, are the evils to which its abuse may give birth: one only, however, concerns the subject now in hand.

In those early days of the church, to which so much reference has been made, the real and deeply contrasted events with which they were engaged, the numerous perils with which they were beset around, the frequent calls to come forward and do or suffer, utterly prevented them from attending to its delusions. But in a period of leisure and security, like ours, it is drawn upon to supply as it may that excitement, and administer to that novelty which is so natural to man. This it is which, above all, blinds the mind's sight to the occasions presented by the hand of God. They are not sufficiently striking, forsooth, they are associated with common-place, and the detail of ordinary life; they are tricked out in none of those brilliant colours with which it has invested the day of proof and trial; they are therefore carelessly passed by,—another comes, and still another, but neither is it yet the time. He reserves himself for a day of his own choosing, and not of God's offering; he looks forward in his carnal mind to some theatrical exhibition of his faith; and the future confessor, amid his lofty speculation, is overthrown and brought to the ground by the slightest and the most despised of daily incidents: for the value of any excitement of mind where this power alone is concerned,—for the reality of his zeal, his love, his faith, and all on which he builds, I would refer him to no unsubstantial vision, but an actual scene which shortly preceded the death of our blessed Lord. Of that immense crowd which, with waving boughs of palm, and loud hosannas, were conducting him through the streets of Jerusalem over their strewn garments, in triumph to his temple, how many, but a few days after, interfered to save him from the Cross? how many did not surround that Cross with mockings and revilings?

Shall the opportunity then set before his eyes, serve at best but as a key note to a strain of idle dreaming, and unprofitable speculation? Yet, to use the words of the lawgiver, it is not hidden from him, neither is it afar off: it is not in heaven nor beyond the sea, but it is nigh unto him that he may do it. O, never let the healthy activity of practice yield to a morbid habit of speculation; hurtful as the effects of such an exchange will be, they will not stop at mere neglect of opportunities, but go on to undermine the foundations of religious faith, which can continue pure in doctrine, and vital in practice, only by resolutely casting off all self-conceived notions; by bringing the imagination in strict subjection to the sober tenor of Scripture, by giving up the heart in all simplicity, and the mind in concentrated attention upon its facts and doctrines, and by seeking diligently every occasion to put the grace of God into practical effect.

When our blessed Saviour was anointed by Mary with a most costly unguent, a murmur was vented against her by the man who was on the point of betraying him, because she had not rather sold it, and distributed the money to the poor. Our Lord approved of Mary's act, he accepted it as the last pious office of a nearest and dearest friend, who had thus anointed his body for burial. By this approval, he has given us indeed a strong admonition how we should employ every occasion of showing towards him our entire devotion and love; for that occasion is offered by himself, in that he is peculiarly present. We are not to turn away, as his betrayer, and the tempter of that betrayer would persuade us, and shut up our heart; substituting for the lively reality a crowd of beings of neither time nor place, who can neither feel nor be felt for. Thus entering into a ruinous barter, by which we may think to make compensation for our neglect of God's work, by the greater good which we imagine ourselves to be pursuing, and proceeding in regular course from sins of omission to those of commission. What indeed were this but a mental idolatry, what but to turn from the face of the living God and address ourselves to the work of our own hands; rather let us pour upon him, now that he is with us, the whole treasure of our exertions, and fill the house of his presence with its perfume. Whatever the future may be, however brilliant, however important, let us remember that, by God's ordinance, the present is the only door to it; and if in our hasty presumption we leap over the wall, we alight without the fold of God, and not within it.

In that fold, in his holy and blessed church, we have been gathered by Christ, having been bought with a price, even with his own precious blood, and are his servants to do his will, and not to seek our own. We are to keep a vigilant look out for the opportunities peculiar to the several stations which he has assigned us; and these, if attended to, are sufficient to crowd our sphere of duty to fulness. In arrogating a wider range, we are assuming a power which he has not accorded us, and with a barren ambition overlooking what he has put legitimately into our grasp. There, in that calling in which he hath called us, is his presence-chamber; there is his holy place, in which only he will accept our offerings; there is the Zion of the living God, where if we be not found, we are bowing before the calves at Bethel. If our own experience happily has not taught us, let us learn from the warning voice of others, that if there be one circumstance which more than another embitters a retrospect, it is the view of unemployed opportunities: they have glided by perhaps with slight impression, and carelessly noticed; but, like those bowmen of old, are terrible when past, dealing behind them wounds of remorse and shame; then their despiser, in amazement, beholds the number which he has permitted to pass by, and sees them blocking up against him that point to which they were tending, and might have conducted him. And that is some blessing from which he now finds himself for ever excluded; some honourable sphere perhaps of usefulness, never now to be gained; some service in his Heavenly Master's house on earth, replete with heart-filling and exalted duties which is now unattainable: and finding that fortune, upon which he has been drawing like a thoughtless spendthrift, entirely empty of its treasures, sits down, bankrupt in hope, and bemoaning his folly in vain.

Can he complain that those opportunities came to him not sufficiently distinct for his apprehension? This is but to admit that he was deficient in vigilance. His Heavenly Master gave him ample notice of their passage, for all were accompanied with some change of body or mind, or the things without; with gain or with loss; with joy or with sorrow; with warning or with invitation, which might have awakened all but the determinedly reckless. And by their proper disposal he might have obtained the gift of still greater, and seen in their giver an unfailing author of good, to whom he could look up with confidence in the hour of need; an object of faithful though imperfect services, whom he could regard with the sure and certain hope of his reward; an indulgent and long-suffering Lord, who would often be content to take the will for the deed. But now, alas, the contrast! He sees in that giver a kind master neglected and disobeyed; a friend who had even given his life for him empty-handed and unrequited; a witness whose testimony shall reach his most secret and perverse ways; and a judge with whom there shall be no favour.

The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away. Oh! as he hath given us the light through his Holy Spirit, may he continue it unto us, nor may we by recklessness of life give him cause to take it away. May we thus be enabled with all discernment to redeem the time, with grace to order all our works to his honour and glory, and offer to him in our souls and our bodies a continual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

DISSERTATION XVI.

ON THE FORTUNES OF THE CHURCH.

And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.—Luke, xxi. 28.

Through all varieties of climes, of tongues, of laws, of customs; through all alternations of barbarism and civilization; through all migrations of people, changes of empire, and confusion of the tribes of mankind; through all these impediments the Church of God has come down to us uninterrupted and triumphant, and uninterrupted and triumphant (our Saviour has informed us) it shall proceed to the end. But as in looking back upon its history we see it often engaged in a desperate conflict, sometimes brought even to death's door, so in looking forward we must expect to find a similar state of things, to see her still militant against the world, and the world still warring upon her; nor are we left to reasonable expectation alone. Our Lord and his apostles have assured us that such will be her condition, and have even shadowed forth in words of prophecy some of the most important trials which she is still destined to undergo.

Perhaps at no period of the world has the face of the Christian Church presented a more interesting appearance than at the present day. A long period of calm and security is past, and a period of most foreboding aspect is coming on. Superstition and infidelity, which combined their powers against her in her infancy, are once again in open league. Wherever we cast our eyes they are met with churches tottering, and creeds insulted. But it was amid the fearful signs which proclaimed and accompanied the overthrow of what had been a portion of God's Church, that our blessed Lord bade his disciples to look up, and lift up their heads, for that their redemption drew nigh. May not then the spiritual man derive a similar comfort from similar signs? Certain it is, that a careful reader of the history of the church will find, that the ruin of any portion of it has led to the extension of its dominion in other quarters, and with a purer creed. A connected series of events is readily traced between the lamentable fall of the eastern church, and the spread of the gospel over the western hemisphere. And, in every case, assured as we are of the duration of the body, we can regard the visitations, which afflict its individual members, as the operations of the master of the vineyard; who is lopping off dead branches, removing choking weeds and overshadowing shrubs, and pruning even his choicest vines; thus baring them to the fostering breath of his spirit, and to the ripening sun of his Gospel. So that here, even where we ourselves are sufferers, still may we look up, and rejoice that our redemption draweth nigh. Yea, even should our own particular vine be shorn to the ground; yet, as long as the root remains, we may comfort ourselves with confidently looking forward to its shortly putting forth its branches with redoubled vigour and fruitfulness. That, in the darkest and most perplexing times, we may quote these words of our Lord with joyful hope, will appear from considering that by a law, resulting from the very nature of the church, a period of affliction will usher in one of triumph.

The church is a society taken out from the slavery of the world, and brought together into the liberty of the Gospel. Did it, therefore, consist but of perfect members, it were removed beyond all influence of this world for good or for evil; the world would not have a single tie or hold upon them, but all being free in the spirit, would be unassailable by any chance or change affecting the flesh. But its members are all in different stages towards perfection, very many far remote from it. They are still liable, therefore, to the chains of the world, and the whole, as a body, subject to temporal accidents. The world reduces men into its slavery either by compulsion or by seduction; that is, by persecution or by temporal prosperity. These two modes we will briefly consider. No son of man can be so disengaged from the world as not severely to feel, however he may withstand, the power of persecution. Every man will join with the holy Zacharias in the expression, that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve our God without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life. For at such a time, not only is his outer man afflicted by constraint put upon his means of worship, by his constancy being every moment put to the proof by the threats of the sword of the magistrate, and sometimes tried almost to exhaustion by incessant watchfulness and resistance; but his inward man is grieved for the honour and glory of God before men. His holy church is shut up in a beleagured city; neither her armies nor ambassadors can go forth; her numbers are daily thinned by apostacy, her provisions are run short by the hindrance given to the word. Help us, he cries with the Psalmist, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name: O deliver us, and be merciful unto our sins, for thy name's sake. Wherefore do the heathen say, where is now their God. But no affliction, however severe, can be superior to the comfort which the church can administer, for that comfort was ordained to quell the very head of all affliction, the loss of bliss and innocence. And the church is then peculiarly in her vocation when her consolation is most needed; then all her treasures are opened and poured forth, and, as worldly sorrows deepen, her spiritual bounties become more prodigal, their measure ever keeping far in advance of the quantity of affliction which called them forth; to hunger, and nakedness, and the sword, she opposes the spiritual banquet of the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ, the robes of righteousness and everlasting glory, the life without end in the world to come. These glorious promises, which seemed afar off amid worldly security and enjoyment, are now brought close to the sufferer's eyes, and amid the most fearful signs he may look up, and lift up his head, for his redemption draweth nigh.

The church of God is too strong for the world; she is ever one and the same; her members are united by an unvarying, undying principle, which is faith in the redemption wrought in Christ Jesus. But worldly society is never in one stay, it has no abiding principle to keep it together, day by day it is changing manners, morals, and institutions. What wonder, then, if, with all its kingdoms, and principalities, and powers, it has been compelled to desist from its fierce attacks; if monarchies in ancient times, and republics in modern, have been unable to maintain the persecution which they had begun: the weakness of God has overcome the strength of man. It is at this moment, when persecution has but lately ceased, that the visible church is seen in all its beauty; the storm, however it might have ruffled her leaves, has refreshed her root, her main trunk shoots its branches anew, and she puts on double beauty for all her former uncomeliness. Her withered leaves, her rotten boughs, have been carried away by the violence of the tempest. Now she is reaping the reward of her sufferings; now is come the redemption to which she looked through the veil of her afflictions. But, after a brief interval, the world renews its attacks, and in a different manner; the high courage which she has shown, the splendid victory which she has gained, the stability which she has disclosed, draw the admiring gaze of men upon her, and gain attention to her doctrines; generous and candid minds are won over to her faith, every day she extends the curtains of her tent. But now that all is peace, now that she and the world are not openly and bodily at issue, the worldlings flock in, and with them the thoughts, the affections, and the passions of the world. The world now seduces her members into its slavery; and much more dangerous is this mode of its attack, inasmuch as the apostates which it makes do not go out from the church, and relieve the labouring vessel of a heavy and useless cargo, as in time of persecution; but remain within, where their false doctrine eateth as doth a canker: hence heresies, seditions, strife, with all their train of evil; society, civil and religious, is disturbed, and at length broken up; calamity regains its turn.

If we look at the state of the church throughout the civilized world, we cannot but be persuaded that it is close upon one of these critical alternations; the calm and smooth water is nearly passed through, and our ears can now distinctly hear the noise of the waves, and our eyes discern the foam of the breakers; distress of nations is coming on with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring: if ever there was a time which called for reflection and humiliation, it is the present. These may, immediately, through God's acceptance and blessing, and mediately through the moral effects, which by the laws of his governance they produce, work a salutary change, and soften, if not avert, the impending chastisement. Let us, therefore, take a brief review of the responsibility under which seasons of prosperity lay both nations and individuals, as component parts of the universal church of God.

One of the most grievous mistakes of the present day, and one which assuredly will reap tenfold retribution, is the supposition that it is unnecessary for a nation which is composed of members calling themselves Christians, to assume a positive Christian character: that, while every individual is bound, as a servant of Christ, to seek in all things the promotion of his honour and glory, yet their joint and concentrated efforts, which are the acts of government of the country, need have no reference whatever to this result: such a supposition either implies a contradiction, or something much worse. The very opposite to it is that which must present itself to a truly Christian mind. A nation of men which profess Christ, must also possess Christ, and with the same distinctness; it must openly show the sign of the cross; and vain are all its counsels which are not directed to the glory of God as their final object: the course of the affairs of this world ever has and ever will be directed by God towards the coming of his kingdom. This way tends the great stream of earthly events, and the counsels of a people, which follow this direction, can have no obstacle: they will be borne steadily along to a successful end. But such as go not with this stream, will shortly be dashed to pieces and overwhelmed by the strength of the current; the former will bring happiness and honour, and the latter will meet with defeat and shame. To seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, is no less the duty and policy of the nation than of each of its citizens; and demoralization, with its certain succession of intestine commotion, and foreign subjugation, is sooner or later the certain reward of every people which neglects this prime commandment of our Saviour.

But if we consider a nation of Christians not only with reference to its internal polity, and external communication with other nations of Christians, but also with reference to the heathen nations with which God's providence, preparing his kingdom, has brought it into contact, great indeed is its responsibility: so much the greater still on account of the very small number to whom he has granted such an opportunity of doing his service: a number so small, that it implies an election to the purpose, an ordination to the office. That nation has been made peculiarly his priesthood, to preach his word to the heathen; and if that nation be at the same time at the very summit of prosperity and civilization, then has God also entrusted to it, as to a preacher of his Gospel, powers of similar efficacy to that of miracles which he shed upon his early preachers; for the gift of working miracles was withdrawn, was in fact superseded, as soon as the church became a compact and influential body, so as to force its principles on the attention of the heathen. And when Christianity became the religion of the civilized world, so effectual a substitute was this civilization, that even the conquering barbarian heathen adopted the religion of the conquered Christian. By such an engine were all the modern nations of Europe converted; shall they then be excused if they neglect any opportunity of doing the same towards their fellow men, who still lie in darkness and the shadow of death? The engine which has been committed to the hands of our nation is more powerful still than this. For we appear among the heathen as conquerors. We have been furnished with the most forcible means of drawing their notice towards the Gospel of Christ. And if we take proper means to show them that to that Gospel we owe our superiority; if the Cross of Christ, every where displayed, inscribed on our banners, waving over our victorious palaces, proclaim that great is the Lord God of England; if our religion be seen marching with our hosts, like the tabernacle of God, among our captains, and not our camp followers, shining like the Urim and Thummim on the breasts of our counsellors and rulers; if it be embodied to their eyes in an organized, publicly acknowledged, and sufficiently numerous ministry, can the effects be calculated? Has God placed such means in the hands of any nation since the world began? The conquering empires, which he has hitherto employed to further his kingdom upon earth, have been brute unconscious agents, which knew no more of him, and of his counsels, than the saw or the axe does of the mind of him that handles and employs them. But our nation has had imparted to it the life of the Gospel,—has had revealed to it his gracious purpose of salvation, his will that the Gospel should be preached to every creature. By the peculiar position in which he has placed it, he has clearly intimated to it that it should "go teach all nations." May it so answer the call, that he may say also, "I am with thee to the end of the world." That this call has not been answered hitherto in any degree corresponding to its pointedness, to its urgency, to the gifts on which it presumes, must be confessed with shame and confusion of face; and in every national humiliation. Hither the heart of the true penitent for national sins will turn, and find the burthen of his song of lamentation: here he will find his chief cause of fearfulness and trembling. For he will reflect that God makes the adversity of nations to minister to his purposes, no less than their prosperity. The temporal loss of Israel was the spiritual gain of the world. He was broken in pieces like a potter's vessel, and his scattered sons were made God's preachers among the heathen, to prepare the way of the Prince of Peace. By a reverse operation God concentrated the barbarians upon the falling Roman empire, and thus brought them within the sound of his Gospel. Surely this is a most awful consideration to a nation so pre-eminently gifted by God for doing him service, as ours has been. Surely it is possible, it is but too probable, that if we have neglected to yield this service out of the abundance of our prosperity, then he will wring it out of the straightness of our adversity: if we have refused to be conscious agents, then he will turn us into unconscious tools of his purposes.

To all this, and anxiety with regard to the sentence which God may pronounce upon his nation, the individual has to add the fearful sense of his own responsibility. A sincere feeling of humiliation, a true knowledge of the principles of the Gospel, will remind the best of men, that, sinner as he is, he must have contributed a share to the national sinfulness, on which fearful visitation seems fast descending. Then, as one who sees his own sin, not only in himself, but confronting him by reflection also from others, he begins the work of examination and self-rebuke. Then it is that a dreary list of sins of omission and commission is presented to the perusal of his mind. He then sees opportunities, which he, in common with his countrymen, had received, and in common with them had neglected. Then he perceives how different might have been the face presented by the Church of Christ, had all employed them. And then it is that the approaching period of darkness and constraint discovers to him, by its appalling contrast, how inadequately he has put to account the hours of calm and leisure, which have hitherto been his blessed portion; how much opportunity he had of preparing his spirit for the conflict, by the study and practice of God's word; of weaning affections, which must now be rudely torn from the breast; of conquering, step by step, the stripling power of the world, which now, grown suddenly to a giant's might, demands of him to decide the struggle, once for all, at one combat. All these reflections rise up before his mind, and accuse him before the throne of God; and mournfully he remembers his Master's warning to "watch, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh." He will prostrate himself with all contrition and confusion of face, and implore forgiveness. There is none that doeth good, no, not one, will be the confession of the true penitent, on a day of national humiliation. But having thus explored his heart, and opened it before God, he will, with God's grace, gird up his loins, put on the whole armour of light, and prepare to meet his trial with a fixed resolution and unperplexed conscience. And then, when the fearful signs begin to take place, when wars and commotions shall be heard, when nations and kingdoms shall be shaken; when there shall be distress of nations, and failing of men's hearts for fear; when the abomination of desolation shall be standing in the holy place,—he will look up and lift up his head, for his redemption is at hand, the kingdom of God draweth nigh. Sorrow may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. The storm is ushering in a glorious day, and between its gusts he can overhear the tinkling of the trowel of the angelic masons rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem. If his body perish in the storm, then hath the kingdom of heaven arrived to him indeed; he has obtained his everlasting rest and citizenship there. If it survive, then are his eyes blessed with the sight of the purified church of God, shining like gold from the furnace. The vineyard of the Lord lies before him, expanded in more than its former loveliness. The unsightly and noxious weeds have been removed, its hedge has been repaired, its wine-press, its lake, and tutelary shed, have been replaced anew. Therefore, whichever lot betide him, he will look up, lift up his head, for his redemption draweth nigh.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

THE MISSIONS OF THE UNITED BRETHREN

FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHEN,

FROM THEIR COMMENCEMENT TO THE YEAR 1817.

BY THE REV. JOHN HOLMES,

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INTRODUCTION.

The declaration of our blessed Saviour, *the kingdom of God cometh not with observation;* may with great propriety be applied to the Missions of the United Brethren. Their attempts to impart to the heathen the knowledge of God and of salvation, commenced in a manner so obscure and unostentatious, as generally to elude the notice of all, but their own immediate connexions and particular friends; and they had exerted themselves, for several years, in this labour of love, before the attention of their fellow-Christians, in other denominations, was attracted to this great object. But while the world at large, either remained totally ignorant of these exertions, or treated the scheme with silent contempt or open ridicule, the Brethren, unappalled by contempt and calumny, and a thousand difficulties, which impeded their progress, pursued with unabating zeal what to them appeared the path of duty. The love of Christ constrained them to obey his command: *Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature*, and the gracious promises of his holy word animated them in their arduous work.

The origin of their missions was attended with circumstances singularly interesting. Count Zinzendorf[*] being gone to Copenhagen, in the year 1731, to be present at the coronation of Christian VI., king of Denmark, some of his domestics became acquainted with a Negro, called Anthony. This man told them much of the miseries endured by the Negro slaves in the island of St. Thomas, and of the ardent desire of many, especially of his sister, to be instructed in the way of salvation. This relation deeply affected the count, and served to revive the hope, expressed by him some years before at a public meeting in Herrnhut, that the Brethren would one day have it in their power to proclaim the gospel to the Laplanders, Negroes, and Greenlanders. On his return, therefore, he took an early opportunity of mentioning this occurrence to the congregation.

Anthony, having soon after obtained leave from his master to visit Herrnhut, repeated his former relation to many of the inhabitants; but added, that the labours of the Negroes were so incessant, that they could find no leisure for religious instruction, unless their teacher himself became a slave, for the purpose of instructing them during their daily employment.

This representation roused the zeal of the Brethren for the conversion of the heathen, and they determined that no obstacle, however apparently insurmountable, should deter them from making the attempt. Two young men, in particular, Leonard Dober and Tobias Leupold, were so deeply impressed with the magnitude of the object, that they publicly avowed their resolution to go to St. Thomas, and even TO SELL THEMSELVES AS SLAVES, in order that they might have an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the Negroes, should they find no other way of accomplishing their purpose. Tobias Leupold repeated his request for permission to go to St. Thomas, in writing, and while his letter was read to the congregation, the brethren, Matthew Stach and Frederic Boenish formed the resolution of offering themselves to go to Greenland.[*]

A sacred impulse to missionary labours was thus imparted to the congregation at Herrnhut by the great Head of his universal church, who, in the unerring counsels of his wisdom and love, designed the

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[*] This pious young nobleman was the instrument employed by God for preserving the small remnant of the ancient church of the Brethren, and renewing its constitution and discipline, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In consequence of dreadful persecutions, stirred up against them by the papists, the Brethren's congregations in Moravia, [upwards of 200 in number,] were totally destroyed, their ministers, together with many noblemen and private individuals of their church, put to death, or exiled, and their bibles and other religious books burnt. Those few who survived the persecution, and faithfully adhered to their principles, were forced to conceal themselves in cellars and other obscure places, in the caves of rocks, and the almost impervious thickets of the forests, where they held their religious meetings in private, and chiefly in the night, for fear of their enemies. Being informed that there was greater liberty of conscience in Saxony and Silesia, many sought an asylum in those countries. Some of these emigrants arrived in 1722 at Bertholsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, an estate belonging to Count Zinzendorf, who, when he had learned the cause of their emigration, received them in the kindest manner, and encouraged and assisted them in forming a colony on a neighbouring hill, called *Hutberg*. This colony afterwards received the name of HERRNHUT, and became the first congregation of the renewed church of the Brethren.—*See Holmes's History of the Brethren's Church*, Vol. I. p. 165, &c.

[*] Hist. of B. Church, Vol. I. p. 215, &c.

Brethren to become the honoured instruments of publishing the saving name of Jesus to many savage tribes, and of sowing the gospel-seed on soils the most barren and unpromising. The impulse, thus granted, operated most powerfully, for though the colony at Herrnhut, at the time of commencing this great work, consisted of only six hundred persons, and these mostly poor exiles; yet neither their external poverty, nor the smallness of their number, could damp their zeal, or relax their ardour. Having given themselves unto the Lord, they were disposed to offer to him also all they possessed, fully persuaded that it is nothing with the Lord, whether to help with many, or with them that have no power, and that with his blessing on their exertions, a little one would become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation.

Supported by this conviction they cheerfully encountered every difficulty, and endured the severest hardships in distant countries and among barbarous tribes, with a spirit of self-denial, patience, and fortitude, which clearly manifested that they were willing even to hazard their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Within the short period of ten years missionaries went to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Greenland, to Surinam, to the Rio de Berbice, to several Indian tribes in North America, to the Negroes in South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to Ceylon: and since that time missionaries have been sent to the islands of St. Jan, Jamaica, Antigua, Barbadoes, St. Kitts, and Tobago, in the West Indies; to Paramaribo, and other places in South America; to Persia, to Egypt, to Labrador, to Tranquebar, and the Nicobar Islands.

In several of these places their attempts have proved unsuccessful. In some instances, the missionaries sent out never reached the place of their destination; in others, the political state of the country to which they went, rendered their immediate return an imperious duty; and in one or two cases they were compelled to relinquish their benevolent design, after years of patient perseverance and heroic fortitude, spent in fruitless endeavours to impress the wretched natives with the importance of the gospel.

These partial failures, however, did not paralize their exertions; for while the want of success, in some cases, had a tendency to humble and preserve them from vain glory in their own strength, the divine blessing, which attended their labours, in other places, quickened their diligence, maintained their confidence in the Lord, and disposed them to ascribe all the glory unto *Him*. And the experience of nearly a hundred years, during which they have been engaged in this noble work, has furnished them with abundant proofs that the cause is the Lord's, and that he is able to carry it on even by the weakest instruments. To *Him* they desire to express their warmest gratitude for the present flourishing state of most of their missions, where the word of God is evidently glorified in *turning the Gentiles from darkness into light, and from the power of Satan unto God.*

HISTORICAL SKETCHES, &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

MISSION IN GREENLAND.

Greenland is the remotest tract of land in the north, lying between Europe and America, and is divided into east and west Greenland. The eastern coast is wholly inaccessible, but the western coast has been known to Europeans for above two hundred years, though no colonies were formed there till within the last century, when the Danes erected several factories for the purpose of carrying on the whale-fishery.

The western coast, as far as it has been explored and occupied by the Danes, extends from the 59th to the 73d degree of north latitude. It is very thinly peopled, the number of inhabitants probably not exceeding seven thousand. The whole coast is surrounded with steep and lofty cliffs, the summits of which are covered with perennial snow and ice, intersected by many bays and defended by innumerable larger and smaller islands. In some of the latter, and also in the valleys on the main land, there is a little vegetation, consisting of grass, a few hardy flowers, various kinds of berry-bearing shrubs and low brush-wood, but in general the soil is barren and unproductive.

The want of large timber is in some measure compensated by the *drift-wood*, which floats in great quantities into the bays and islands, and serves the Europeans for fuel, and the natives for building their houses, tents, and boats.

The climate in this country is intensely cold, sometimes so severe that beer and even brandy freeze in a room heated by a stove; but the air is generally pure and serene, and bracing to European constitutions. The bays and the water between the islands are seldom frozen for any length of time, and in some winters they remain open the whole season. This is of great advantage to the Greenlanders, as their principal subsistence is derived from fishing. In very severe winters, therefore, they mostly experience a famine. The summer seldom lasts above four months, and even then it frequently snows, and the frost never leaves the ground entirely, as the rays of the sun seldom penetrate above a foot below the surface. Yet the heat in summer is as great as in any part of England or Germany. In summer there is scarce any night, as the sun does not remain above two or three hours below the horizon, and from the tops of the mountains his beams are reflected even at midnight, so that a person, seated in a room, may read and write without the aid of a candle. And though the winter nights are proportionally long, yet the darkness is considerably lessened by the stronger light of the moon, the prevalence of the *aurora borealis*, (or northern lights,) and by reflections from the ice and snow.

The natives are of a tawny hue and low stature, with very dark and black eyes, and long flowing hair. They are clad the whole year round in fur dresses, made of the skins of seals and reindeer, very neatly sewed by the women. Their dwellings are of two kinds; first, tents, which are covered with seal-skins, and constitute their summer habitations; secondly, winter houses constructed of large stones, the walls being a yard in thickness, and the crevices filled up with earth and sods. The roof is made with a few uprights, cross-beams, and laths, every opening being stopped up with heath. Over this are spread sods and earth, and the whole covered with old skins. The inside breadth of such a house is generally twelve feet, but its length varies from twenty-four to seventy-two feet, according to the number of its inmates. The ceiling is so low that it barely admits of a man standing upright in it. The entrance is by a long, low passage, through which you must rather creep than walk; but this is well calculated to keep out the cold. Four, or even ten families live together in a house, each having its own apartments, separated from the rest by a screen made of skins. In every apartment a lamp is kept constantly burning, which lights and heats it, and serves the purposes of cooking their victuals. Great cleanliness must not be looked for in their houses; and the constant smell of the train-oil is very disagreeable to Europeans. Yet, the contentment of the Greenlanders, amidst this poverty, and the order and stillness observed among them, where so many dwell together, cannot but excite admiration.

They have two sorts of boats; the one called *woman's* or *skin-boat*, and the other *kajak*. The latter is eighteen feet long, terminating in a point at each end. In the middle it is eighteen inches broad, and but one foot in depth. It is covered on all sides, above and below, with seal-skins, leaving an aperture in the middle, in which the Greenlander seats himself, lacing the skin of the boat so tightly round his waist, that no water can penetrate. Such is their dexterity in managing the kajak, that, if it even upset, they can right it again by a single stroke of the paddle, which they use for rowing. In this manner they scud over the waves, even in tempestuous weather, with astonishing celerity, and not unfrequently make a voyage of twenty leagues in a day. Seated in his kajak, equipped with his bow and arrow, his harpoon and other implements for catching seals, the Greenlander feels not a little proud of his skill, and looks down upon the arts of Europeans with supercilious contempt.

The skin-boat is much larger, being from forty to fifty feet long, and proportionally broad and deep. The skeleton is made of thin laths, tightly fixed together, and covered with soft leather of seal-skins, so that no water can penetrate. It is entirely managed and rowed by women, and capable of containing ten or twelve persons, together with their luggage and provisions. In these boats the natives travel from one place to another, and often perform voyages of several hundred leagues. The skeletons both of the skin-boat and the kajak are constructed by the men, but the covering of them is the work of the women. The women likewise have the management of all domestic concerns, and very early accustom their daughters to industry. The men and boys spend most of their time in acquiring the art of managing the kajak and catching seals, which exposes them to frequent dangers and many perils at sea.

Nothing like a regular government, or organized system of laws, exists among the natives; they, however, adhere to certain traditionary usages, and exhibit more of a moral and peaceable character than most other savage nations. Their notions of God and religion are likewise extremely limited, being confined to some general but very indistinct ideas of two great spirits; the one good and benevolent; the other evil and wicked. In their pagan state, the Greenlanders, except the *angekocs*, or sorcerers, evince but little desire to obtain any knowledge of either the good or the evil spirit. The *angekocs* are a set of deceivers, who pretend to have intercourse with the great spirit, by means of a *torngak*, or inferior spirit; and who, by their tricks, play upon the ignorance and superstition of the credulous.

To a foreigner the acquisition of the Greenland language is not an easy task. For though very regular in its construction, it has no affinity to any other known language. It is very copious in words and phrases, relating to things about which they are conversant, but for religious and scientific subjects it affords scarce any terms, which rendered it exceedingly difficult for the missionaries to discourse with the natives on such topics, till after the conversion of some of them, who soon found appropriate phrases by which to express the new ideas awakened in their minds.

Notwithstanding the rigours of the climate and the sterility of the soil, the missionaries have succeeded in laying out gardens, in which they grow lettuce, cabbages, radishes, turnips, and a few other early vegetables. However, as they cannot be sown before June, and killing frosts commence again in September, they remain small, but have a fine flavour. All their attempts to cultivate oats and barley have hitherto proved ineffectual, for though they spring up very fast, they never come to maturity. The missionaries have also introduced the breeding of sheep and goats, though the procuring of hay for them, for the long winter, is attended with much trouble and labour, as it must be sought for in the valleys. In Lichenau, which till lately was the most southern settlement, they generally keep a flock of ninety or a hundred sheep, as more grass grows there than either in New Herrnhut or Lichtenfels, where they seldom have more than twenty.

The different classes of animated nature furnish both the natives and Europeans with several sorts of wild animals, serviceable either for the table or for traffic: such as reindeer, hares, foxes, white bears, several kinds of winged game, a great variety of fishes, especially herrings, which in the beginning of summer come into the bays in such shoals, that whole boats can be filled with them in a few hours. But of all animals peculiar to this country, none are of greater importance to the Greenlanders than seals, of which there are five kinds. These not only constitute their principal food, but they furnish them also with clothing and bedding, with covering to their boats, tents and houses, with oil for their lamps, and various implements for fishing and hunting, and even serve them as a medium of traffic, instead of money.

Europeans, however, must derive their chief support from Denmark, as not only their health, but their very life, is endangered, if necessitated to live upon the food of the natives for any length of time. Our first missionaries experienced all the horrors of being driven to this necessity, of which the reader will find affecting proofs in the subsequent narration. But their successors have for many years been happily relieved from this distress, as an ample supply of provisions can now be regularly sent out to them, by the ships which annually arrive from Copenhagen; and for more than ninety years they have only met with one serious and alarming disappointment in this respect.

In the year 1732, during a discussion of the Brethren at Herrnhut, respecting the duty of Christians to send missionaries to heathen nations, two young men, Frederick Boenish and Matthew Stach, offered themselves to go to Greenland (as has been mentioned in the Introduction). After minute inquiry into their motives and qualifications, for such an undertaking, their offer was accepted. But nothing could be done that year with regard to the Greenlanders, as the mission to St. Thomas required all the attention and resources of the congregation. The following year, however, it was resolved no longer to defer the commencement of a mission to Greenland.

In order to effect this benevolent purpose, Matthew Stach, and his cousin Christian Stach,* proceeded to Copenhagen early in the spring of 1733, conducted by Christian David.† Nothing can more strikingly exhibit the zeal of these devoted servants of Christ, than the truly apostolic spirit in which they entered upon their arduous labour in his vineyard. They literally obeyed the injunction of Christ to his disciples, when he sent them out to preach the gospel: *Take nothing for your journey, neither staves nor scrip, neither bread, neither money, neither have two coats apiece.* "There was no need of much time," says one of them, "or expense for our equipment." The congregation consisted chiefly of poor exiles, who had not much to give, and we ourselves had nothing but the clothes on our backs. We had been used to make shift with little, and did not trouble our heads how we should get to Greenland, or how we should live there. The day before our departure a friend in Venice sent a donation, and part of this we received for our journey to Copenhagen. Now we considered ourselves richly provided for, and therefore would take nothing of any one on the road, believing, that he, who had procured us something for our journey at the very critical moment, would also supply us with every thing requisite for accomplishing our purpose, whenever it should be needful."‡

On their arrival in Copenhagen they were kindly received by many friends, and met with particular cordiality from Professor Ewald, a member of the Danish Mission-College, and the Rev. Mr. Reuss, one of the king's chaplains. But to many their design appeared romantic and unseasonable; for as the Danish mission in Greenland had been greatly reduced, the government was inclined to withdraw the colony, and relinquish the mission altogether. In this case, though our brethren might proceed to Greenland with the ship, which must be sent out to bring home the colonists, their settling on that inhospitable shore would be rendered extremely unsafe and dangerous, as they would not only be left without a regular supply of provisions from Europe, but be exposed to the cruelty of the savages, who might even murder them.

This unfavourable prospect, however, did not dispirit our missionaries. They committed their cause to *Him* who orders all things according to the counsel of his own will, fully persuaded that if their intentions were pleasing in his sight, *he* could be at no loss for ways and means of bringing them to Greenland, and of supporting and protecting them when landed there. In this confident hope they were not disappointed. Affairs soon took a different turn; the king consented that one more ship should go to the colony at Godhaab, where the Danish missionary, Hans Egede, resided.

The way being thus opened, the missionaries waited on count Pless, first lord of the bed-chamber, entreating his interest in their behalf. At first, their proposal did not meet with much approbation. To a person of his rank and education, who was not ignorant of the little success which had attended the labours of the learned, indefatigable, and zealous Mr. Egede, it must have appeared a wild scheme indeed, for young illiterate persons to engage in so difficult, and seemingly hopeless, an undertaking. He therefore raised many objections, and sent them to some divines to be examined; but being once convinced of the soundness of their faith, and the uprightness of their intentions, he conceived a great regard for them, readily condescended to present their petition to the king, and seconded it to the utmost of his power. Among other arguments, he made use of the following, which deserves to be recorded: "God has in all ages," said he, "employed the meanest, and in the eyes of the world, the most unlikely and even despicable instruments, for accomplishing the grand designs of his kingdom, to show that the honour belongs to *Him*, and to teach mankind not to rely on their own penetration or power, but on *his* benediction."§

His exertions had the effect of inducing the king to resolve on promoting with renewed vigour the improvement of the country, and conversion of its inhabitants, and accordingly he accepted the voluntary overture in the most gracious manner, and desired that other brethren might soon follow those now about to sail. His majesty even condescended to recommend them to Mr. Egede, in a letter written with his own hand.

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* Fr. Boenish, being absent from Herrnhut on a long journey, could not then accompany his friends, but followed them the next spring, and laboured in that mission upwards of twenty-eight years.

† Christian David was a native of Moravia, and the person by whose interposition Count Zinzendorf was induced to receive the Moravian emigrants on his estate. God afterwards employed him as a blessed instrument of leading many of his persecuted countrymen to a saving knowledge of the gospel, and of promoting their emigration to Herrnhut. *Further particulars of him may be read in Hist. of B. Church*, Vol. I. Part 2.

‡ Crantz's Hist. of Greenland, Vol. I. p. 322.

§ Crantz, Vol. I. p. 325.

While the missionaries were preparing for their voyage, they formed a pleasing acquaintance with many worthy characters and persons of distinction in Copenhagen, who not only commended their zeal; but, without their solicitation, provided them with the needful expenses for their voyage, and various necessary articles for their first settlement in Greenland.[*]

They sailed from Copenhagen on the 10th of April, and after a safe and speedy voyage reached the place of their destination on the 20th of May. Immediately on their arrival, they repaired to the Rev. Mr. Egede, who received them with much cordiality, expressed his joy at their undertaking, and promised them all the assistance in his power, especially in their learning the language.

As soon as their first interview with Mr. Egede was over, they went to the sea coast to seek for a habitable spot. Having fixed on a place near Ball's river, to which they afterwards gave the name of New Herrnhut, they kneeled down and invoked the blessing of God on themselves and their undertaking. Their first labour was to erect a small hut, as a shelter against the inclemency of the climate. A few days after they laid the foundation for their proper dwelling, for which they had brought the timber with them from Copenhagen. The season was remarkably in their favour, the ice and snow having melted a month sooner than usual. Besides their own house, they built one after the Greenland manner, for the accommodation of such of the natives as might be induced to come to them for instruction.

This first difficulty surmounted, others of a far heavier kind daily pressed upon them. It became needful to think of some method of maintaining themselves, and this was no easy task in a country like Greenland, and among savages, whose mode of living was filthy and disgusting in the extreme, and with whose language they were unacquainted. Our brethren, however, did not despond: they bought an old boat from the captain who had brought them over; but the very first time they put to sea in her, to search for drift-wood among the islands, they were overtaken by a storm, reached home with much difficulty, and in the night their boat with her whole cargo of wood was carried off by the wind. Some Greenlanders indeed brought her back in a few days, but greatly damaged. They obtained little by fishing and hunting, being unaccustomed to these occupations, and unable to manage their kajak. Considering these adverse circumstances as a warning not to enter too deeply into the cares and pursuits of this life, they came to a resolution, when other work failed them, to earn something by spinning.

The acquisition of the Greenland language was another difficulty they had to encounter. Mr. Egede afforded them all the assistance in his power; but to men like our missionaries, whose education had been confined to that of a common school, it proved no easy task. Unacquainted with the very terms of grammar, the application of them to a barbarous language became doubly difficult, especially as that language contains a variety of declensions and conjugations, diversified by new moods, and perplexed by suffixes, both active and passive. They had besides to commit to memory a large vocabulary of words, as the Greenlanders have often ten different words to express the same thing. And if to this be added, that before they could understand their instructors, they had to learn the Danish language, their patience and perseverance will appear truly great.

As yet they had few opportunities to engage in their proper calling. They wisely resolved not to enter into conversation on religious subjects with the natives for the present, lest their deficiency in the language should lead them to employ phrases which might convey erroneous ideas of divine things. The Greenlanders, indeed, showed but little disposition to hold much intercourse with them, for though nearly two thousand lived at that time on Ball's river, they spent most of the summer among the islands and hills, for the purpose of catching seals, and hunting reindeer; and during the winter, they were accustomed to go sixty and even two hundred leagues to the north or south to visit their acquaintances. Few of them, therefore, called upon the missionaries; and if any did come, it was chiefly to see their buildings, or to beg nails, fish-hooks, knives, and other articles, or even to steal them. If the missionaries visited them, they seldom found any one willing to lodge and entertain them, even though offered a recompense for it; and instead of entering into discourse with them, they were continually asking, whether they would not soon go away again.

A trial, severer than any of these, was permitted to exercise their faith and fortitude, at the very beginning of their labours. A few months after their arrival the small-pox broke out among the natives. As this disease was unusual in the country, it was not understood at first, neither could the savages be prevailed upon to apply proper remedies, or use any kind of precaution to prevent the progress of infection. The contagion, therefore, spread rapidly, and made such ravages as threatened the total depopulation of the country. It continued from September, 1733, to the following June, and spread forty leagues north of the Danish colony, and probably as many south. In the district of Ball's river only eight recovered, and Mr. Egede computed that the number of the natives carried off by this distemper, amounted, probably, to two or three thousand.

The misery endured by the Greenlanders at this period is inconceivable. Tormented by excruciating pain, a raging fever and burning thirst, their patience entirely forsook them; they would neither take medicine, nor use any regimen. The consequence was, few survived the third day. Some stabbed themselves or plunged into the sea to terminate their sufferings, and others fled to desert islands. In one of these the missionaries found only one little girl, with the small-pox upon her, and her three little brothers. The father, having first buried all the people in that place, laid himself and his youngest sick child in a tomb, erected of stones, and ordered his daughter to cover them with skins and stones, that they might not be devoured by foxes and ravens; and then gave her and her brothers two seals and some dried herrings to live upon, till they could get to the Europeans.

During this dreadful period our missionaries faithfully assisted Mr. Egede in visiting and taking care of the sick. The latter lodged all that fled to him, and the former accommodated as many in their house as they had room for. But they were grieved to perceive that this severe affliction, generally speaking, made no salutary impression upon the natives, and excited no concern in them for the future and everlasting state of their souls. In a few instances, however, their kindness touched the savages, as it exceeded what they could have expected from their own countrymen. One man, in particular, who had always derided them in the days of health, made this confession before his end to Mr. Egede: "You have done for us what our own people would not do, for you have fed us when we had nothing to eat; you have buried our dead, who would else have been devoured by the dogs, foxes and ravens; you have also instructed us in the knowledge of God, and have told us of a better life." In some children, also, whom he had baptized, he perceived resignation to death and a comfortable hope of a resurrection to life eternal.

No sooner had the missionaries finished their labour of love to the poor, sick, and dying Greenlanders, than they were themselves attacked by a violent eruptive disorder, which so increased in the winter, that they nearly lost the use of their limbs. Providentially, however, they were not both confined at the same time. Mr. Egede behaved towards them like a father and friend, and his excellent wife never omitted sending them some refreshment or cordial, when she had any herself; indeed so great was her kindness, that they were often scrupulous of accepting her presents.

Amidst such accumulated trials did the Brethren's missionaries commence their career in Greenland; yet, though their ardour might at times be damped, their zeal was not extinguished. This is evident from their own declarations. In letters, addressed to their brethren in Europe, they express themselves to the following effect: "The present circumstances (referring to the contagion) appear mysterious. We know not what to pray for, whether for the life or death of these poor creatures. Perhaps God intends to preserve a holy seed in a few persons as he did at the deluge. May the Lord teach us to believe and venerate the secret purposes of his will. At present we are in the school of faith, and the prospect before us is clouded and almost dark. We perceive no traces of any good work begun among the heathen; no, not so much as a sigh, and the poor creatures find *death* where they should find *life*. As far as respects ourselves, appearances are equally discouraging. We have not the strength and vigour of body requisite for enduring the hardships of this country, and at present we suffer much from sickness; yet we have a persuasion that this may eventually tend to enure our constitutions to the climate, and qualify us for the Lord's service in this country. We are conscious of our total insufficiency in ourselves; every good of mere natural growth, even our alacrity in learning the language, seems to droop, and nothing remains but what grace hath wrought. The Lord best knows why he called to this station the most feeble and inexperienced of his servants. However, we will remain on our post, and vie with each other in the exercise of faith, though the prospect presents us with nothing but apparent impossibilities: yes, here we will stay till Jesus our Lord helps us; and our only concern shall be to please *Him*. We have one unfailing source of hope and comfort, that God often suffers his children to pass through straits to attain the object in view, and that we are remembered in prayer by many children of God in Europe."

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[*] In one of his conversations with them, count Pless asked: "How they intended to maintain themselves in Greenland?" Unacquainted with the situation and climate of the country, the missionaries answered: "By the labour of our hands and God's blessing;" adding, "that they would build a house and cultivate a piece of land, that they might not be burdensome to any." He objected that there was no timber fit for building in that country. "If this is the case," said our brethren, "then we will dig a hole in the earth and lodge there." Astonished at their ardour in the cause in which they had embarked, the count replied: "No; you shall not be driven to that extremity; take timber with you and build a house; accept of these fifty dollars for that purpose."—*Crantz*, I. 326.

Thus passed the first year of their abode in these polar regions, and for the five succeeding years their circumstances, both as to externals and their principal aim in residing in that inhospitable country, were not materially improved. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should at times be ready to lose courage and even consider it more advisable to return to Europe. But when, in the year 1734, two new assistants, Frederic Boenish and John Beck, arrived and brought them the joyful intelligence, that it was the intention of the brethren at Herrnhut, to support the mission to the utmost of their power, their drooping faith was revived, and the flame of holy zeal in their arduous service rekindled.

They now redoubled their diligence in learning the language, and by indefatigable perseverance conquered the principal difficulties; and so far became masters of it, as to understand the natives, and to converse with them on common topics; but when they wished to speak with them on religious subjects, they were greatly embarrassed. Herein they could obtain little assistance from their instructers, who told them that it would not be possible to translate any, but historical, pieces from Scripture; as the Greenlanders had no terms for expressing spiritual and divine subjects, and were unable to form even the least idea of them. In some time, however, by the help of God and frequent intercourse with the natives, they overcame this last and most formidable obstacle to their usefulness.

The missionaries continued to make frequent visits among the natives; and as they were still defective in the language, they read to them some pieces, translated by Mr. Egede, such as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed: reminded them of what he had formerly told them of the creation of the world, and the redemption of man, and tried to rectify what they had misapprehended. They readily gave their assent to these things, but as yet attained no saving knowledge of divine truth. Once, when Matthew Stach read a short prayer to them, they observed that the language indeed was very good and intelligible, but they could not comprehend the meaning of the words, *Jesus Christ*, of *being redeemed by his blood*, and of *knowing, loving, and receiving him*. By these visits, however, they gained one point of no small importance. Their free and affable, but yet prudent and serious deportment, equally removed from unbecoming levity and austere moroseness, won the esteem and confidence of the natives, so that they sought their company, constrained them to come into their houses, requested frequent visits, and promised to call upon them in return. The latter our brethren gladly encouraged, though, as yet, it seemed to be attended with little benefit, and often proved very troublesome.

The number of missionaries having been now increased to five persons, they formed some regulations among themselves, tending to their mutual edification, and the furtherance of the work in which they were engaged. They more especially agreed mutually to weigh, as in the sight of God, whether they felt a divine conviction, that he had called them to labour among the Greenlanders. After some weeks' consideration, they frankly disclosed to each other their sentiments on this important subject. The result was, that Christian David, having only been appointed to conduct the first missionaries to the country, and being already in years and not able to learn the language, considered himself at liberty to return to Europe, but pledged himself to support the mission, wherever he might be, to the utmost of his ability. Christian Stach, though he did not feel himself bound to devote his *whole* life to the service of the heathen, yet was willing to hold out ten years or longer, even if no fruit should arise from his labours. The three remaining missionaries declared, that they would bind themselves in the strictest manner to this work, to believe without seeing, to hope against hope, and even to sacrifice their very lives to the service of the heathen.

Not long after this the faith of these devoted servants of God was put to a new and very severe trial. Owing to some untoward circumstances, the ships which arrived in 1735, brought them no supplies from Europe. The whole stock of provisions they had in store, consisted only of a barrel and a half of oatmeal, part of which they bartered for malt, dried peas, and ship-biscuits, and from this scanty portion they had to provide Christian David with the needful sea-store for his voyage home; and as there was a scarcity of provisions in the Danish colony, they could receive little assistance from that quarter. Add to this, that they obtained far less by hunting and fishing this season, than any preceding year; thus famine stared them in the face. In this extremity of distress, they had no resource left them, but to buy seals of the Greenlanders, as they themselves could not catch them. But these barbarians, observing the want of the missionaries, not only rated their seals very high, but even refused to sell them at all. Frequently, after rowing round among them for two or three days, their utmost entreaties could procure but a scanty portion, and when that was consumed, they were obliged to pacify the cravings of nature with shell-fish and sea-weed. While they could procure a sufficiency of the former, they retained their health and strength, but when obliged to live chiefly upon the latter, they became greatly debilitated.

During their excursions the missionaries were often exposed to the most imminent perils. Dire necessity forced them to venture out to sea in their old leaky boat, sometimes in very unsettled and stormy weather. Once, having almost reached the land, they were driven back two leagues by a sudden squall, drenched by the breakers, and obliged to remain four days on an island without any shelter. Another time, having quite exhausted their strength at the oars, they stopped over night in a desert place, and satisfied the calls of hunger with some seal's-flesh, which they had procured from a Greenlander. Having no tent, they dug a hole in the snow and lay down, but were soon compelled to leave this retreat, as fresh snow drifted and stopped up the entrance; thus no expedient was left them, but to run up and down to keep themselves warm. Even in fair weather these excursions were not without danger. One of their number having embarked in a kajak, to angle for fish, was, by a sudden gust of wind and rolling waves, upset, and must inevitably have perished, if two Greenlanders, who were near at hand, had not come to his assistance, and, after tying him between their kajaks, towed him to land.

God did not forsake his faithful servants in these trying circumstances. He strengthened their faith in his all-sufficient providence, when meditating on the examples recorded in holy writ of his people, who were sustained in famine and dearth, in weakness were made strong, and rescued out of a thousand dangers. They proved that the same gracious God still takes care of his children, and knows how to deliver them from all their fears. Help was often at hand when least expected. Thus when they were brought to the last extremity, He, who sent a raven to feed his prophet, disposed a strange Greenlander, called Ippagan, to come forty leagues from the south, and from time to time to sell them all he could spare. This heathen, till his resources were exhausted, was the instrument in God's hand for preserving the missionaries from actual famine. What rendered this occurrence peculiarly remarkable was, that in one of their summer excursions they accidentally met with this man, who received them with much kindness, took notice of their behaviour and conversation, and entered into serious discourse with them. Yet in their distress they did not recollect him, and would hardly have found him out, if they had even made search for him. He came to them of his own accord, towards the end of the year, and pitying their deplorable condition, invited them to pay him a visit.

They now and then earned a little by writing for the Danish missionaries, till the stock of provision at the colony began to fail. By this time, however, they had not only learned to be satisfied with every mean and scanty fare, but had also enured themselves to the eating of seal's-flesh, mixing up a little oat-meal with train-oil. Those, who know the nature of train-oil, may form some idea of the hardships which they endured. Yet even this was a delicacy, compared to the old tallow candles they were frequently compelled to eat.

Almost worn out with fatigue and hardships, and not without anxious apprehensions as to their future prospects, our missionaries entered into the fourth year of their residence in Greenland. Now, at length, the Lord appeared for their effectual relief, as to their temporal support. In May 1736, they received intelligence from the Captain of a Dutch ship, lying thirty leagues to the south, that he had some goods on board his vessel, consigned to them, and which he was ordered to deliver into their own hands. One of them immediately repaired to the ship, where he was informed that Mr. Lelong in Amsterdam had sent them several articles of provisions, and that he and some generous friends intended, if they duly received the present stores, to furnish them with a fresh supply the following year. This seasonable help was the more welcome as neither they, nor the congregation at Herrnhut, had in any way solicited the aid of their friends in Holland. They gratefully accepted this generous offer, and particularly requested, that in case nothing else could be forwarded, they might be supplied with a strong durable boat, an article they needed more than any thing else for procuring the necessaries of life, and which would render them less dependant upon assistance from Europe.

They now anxiously waited for the arrival of the Danish ships. At length the third of these ships reached their shore on the 7th of July: and though they did not bring them above half the supplies they wanted, they were greatly revived and strengthened by many letters and accounts from their brethren, and by the accession of new assistants. These were, Matthew Stach's mother, a widow of forty-five years of age, with her two daughters, Rosina and Anna,[*] the former twenty-two, and the latter but twelve years old. Their conductor, George Wiesner, returned the next year to Europe. Their family being thus increased to seven persons, they were enabled to make a more regular arrangement in their housekeeping. The management of their domestic concerns was allotted to the sisters, and as it was intended that the two younger should be trained for missionary service among their own sex, they received instruction in the Greenland language, in which they acquired great proficiency.[†]

Their external affairs now began to wear a more pleasing appearance; but with respect to the attainment of the benevolent object they had in view, the Lord in his infinite wisdom saw fit to try their faith and patience a little longer. They had scarce any opportunities for intercourse with the heathen. Few called upon them, except when driven by necessity to obtain victuals, and they showed an utter aversion to religious discourse. If a missionary tarried among them more than one night, they used every diabolical art to entice him to join in their dissolute practices; and when they could not succeed in this, they endeavoured to vex and irritate him by mockeries, and by mimicking his reading, praying and singing, or by interrupting his devotions by their hideous howling and the noise of their drums. When the missionaries told them, that they did not reside in their country for the sake of temporal advantages, but to teach them the will of God, they would tauntingly reply,—"Fine fellows indeed, to be our teachers! we know very well that you yourselves are ignorant, and must learn your lesson of others.[*]"

When the savages found that they could effect nothing in this way, they resorted to other measures. They insulted and maltreated their persons. They pelted them with stones, climbed upon their shoulders, destroyed their goods, and even attempted to spoil their boat, or drive her out to sea, which would have deprived them of their chief means of support, and must have proved fatal to them. Their cruelty did not stop here. One night the missionaries perceived that some person was endeavouring to draw aside the curtains of their tent, which were fastened by a couple of pins. Going out to see who it was, they beheld, to their amazement, a number of Greenlanders with knives in their hands, who obstinately refused to go away, till they threatened them with their fire-arms. The missionaries supposed their only intention was to take away the skins which covered the tent: but some years after they learned that the savages had conspired against their lives, expecting that the other Europeans would not deem it worth their while to revenge the death of such poor despised people. And as it appeared, in the sequel, that they were instigated to this wicked attempt by some malicious persons in the colony, our brethren sent a strong remonstrance to the Danish missionaries and factor, which was duly attended to, and had the desired effect.

Notwithstanding these overwhelming discouragements, they still persevered in the path of duty. They continued their visits to the heathen, though without any visible success. Those that lived at a distance were stupid, ignorant and void of reflection; and those in the vicinity, who had long been instructed, were not grown better, but rather worse, appearing disgusted with religious discourse, and hardened against the truth. Sometimes they urged their want of understanding as an excuse, and would say: "Show us the God you describe, then will we believe in him and serve him. You represent him too sublime and incomprehensible, how shall we come to him? He will not trouble himself about us." At other times they exerted their wit in shocking and profane jests at the most sacred mysteries of religion.

Matthew Stach stayed once a whole month with some of them. He describes their behaviour towards him as very changeable. In the beginning they now and then suffered him to read to them out of the New Testament; but they soon lost their relish for this. One day, while it was raining very hard, they desired him to pray to the Son of God, whom he described as an almighty being, that he would give them good weather, and not let the rain penetrate into their houses. The missionary replied, there was no necessity for prayer in this case, as they need only spread their tent-skins upon the roof, and then the wet could not soak through; they ought rather to pray to God to have mercy on their souls. But for this they had no ears. Their conduct often became almost insufferable. Once they kept up a dance, for two whole nights successively, accompanied with the most hideous howling and drumming.[†] The children, however, showed much fondness for Stach, and used to run after him wherever he went. He conversed familiarly with them, asked them a few questions, and for a while engaged their attention; but this was soon diverted, when any new thing attracted their notice; and thus the little they had learned was speedily forgotten.

In the beginning of 1738 many Greenlanders visited the missionaries. Their chief inducement was to get provisions, with which they were supplied as far as possible. Our brethren did not neglect this opportunity, but endeavoured to excite in them a hunger after that meat which endureth unto life everlasting. Yet, as in former cases, their admonitions still failed of the desired effect.

One solitary instance, however, occurred, which served to revive their drooping spirits. Among their hungry guests, was a young heathen, of the name of Mangek, who offered to take up his residence with them, if they would maintain him, promising that he would deliver to them whatever he caught. Though they did not believe that he would remain longer with them than while the present scarcity lasted, yet they willingly admitted him, looking upon him as an instrument sent them from above, for the purpose of acquiring greater proficiency in the language. They instructed him daily, and endeavoured more particularly to make him attentive to the state of his soul. At first, their instructions seemed unavailing, but by degrees they discovered some relentings of heart, and convictions of sin; and when they prayed with him, tears generally started into his eyes. On this account his countrymen began to persecute him; and when they could not entice him to leave the missionaries, and join in their heathenish practices, they tried by various artifices to induce the brethren to put him away, falsely accusing him of having purloined several articles. Though he left them in the sequel, yet this occurrence animated their hope, and confirmed their resolution to persevere in sowing the seed of the gospel, looking to God for the increase.

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[*] Both of them were in the sequel married: the elder to the missionary John Beck, and the younger to Frederic Boenish.

[†] Having had repeated occasion to speak of Mr. Egede, and of his and his wife's kind attention to our brethren, it may here be mentioned, that having requested his dismission, it was granted him in the most gracious terms, and he returned to Copenhagen this season, after having laboured in this country, with truly apostolical zeal, for fifteen years, without seeing any abiding fruit from his exertions. Towards the close of the preceding year his wife died. Crantz gives her the character of a brave, magnanimous woman, who might with great propriety be called a *Christian heroine*, and adds, "I have never heard her name mentioned by our brethren, but with the most respectful and affectionate expressions, for indeed she treated them on all occasions as if they had been her children." Mr. Egede was succeeded in his office, as Danish missionary, by his eldest son, who brought two assistants with him. Soon after his return to Copenhagen, the father was honoured with an audience of the King, was made superintendent of the mission in Greenland, with a yearly salary of 100*l.*, and ordered to found a seminary for students and orphans to be instructed in the Greenland language, and educated for missionary services in that country. He spent his latter years in retirement, and closed his useful and honourable life on the 5th of November, 1758, in the seventy-third year of his age.

[*] In these remarks they referred to their receiving instructions in the Greenland language.—*Crantz*, Vol. I. p. 368.

[†] The missionary judged the number of those present to fall little short of one hundred and fifty.

Five years had now elapsed since their arrival in Greenland, and except the case just now related, which was but like the first "dawn of the morning spread upon the mountain," they had seen no fruit from their labours. They had tilled a soil apparently unfit for culture, and, in tears, had sown the seed on hearts seemingly as cold and barren as the coast where they had pitched their tents. But now the Lord heard their prayers, and made it appear that their "judgment was with him, and their work with their God."

"June the 2d," write the missionaries, "many Southlanders visited us. Brother Beck was, at the time, copying a translation of a part of St. Matthew's Gospel. The heathen being very curious to know the contents of the book, he read a few sentences, and after some conversation with them, asked, whether they had an immortal soul, and whither that soul would go after death? Some said: 'Up yonder;' and others: 'Down to the abyss.' Having rectified their notions on this point, he inquired, who had made heaven and earth, man, and all other things? They replied, they did not know, nor had they ever heard; but it must certainly be some great and mighty Being. He then gave them an account of the creation of the world, the fall of man, and his recovery by Christ. In speaking on the redemption of man, the Spirit of God enabled him to enlarge with more than usual energy on the sufferings and death of our Saviour, and in the most pathetic manner to exhort his hearers seriously to consider the vast expense at which Jesus had ransomed their souls, and no longer reject the mercy offered them in the gospel. He then read to them, out of the New Testament, the history of our Saviour's agony in the garden. Upon this the Lord opened the heart of one of the company, whose name was Kayarnak; who, stepping up to the table, in an earnest manner, exclaimed, 'How was that? tell me that once more; for I do desire to be saved.' These words, the like of which had never before been uttered by a Greenlander, so penetrated the soul of Brother Beck, that, with great emotion and enlargement of heart, he gave them a general account of the life and death of our Saviour, and of the scheme of salvation through him."

In the mean time the other missionaries, who had been abroad on business, returned, and with delight joined their fellow-labourer in testifying of the grace of God in the blood of Jesus. Some of the pagans laid their hands on their mouths, which is their usual custom when struck with amazement. Others, who did not relish the subject, slunk away secretly; but several requested to be taught to pray, and frequently repeated the expressions used by the missionaries, in order to fix them in their memories. In short, they manifested such an earnest and serious concern for their salvation, as the missionaries had never witnessed before; and at going away, they promised soon to return, and hear more of this subject, and also to tell it to their countrymen.

The impression made on Kayarnak was not transient, for the word had taken deep root in his heart. He frequently visited our brethren, and at length took up his residence with them. He told them, that he often felt a monition in his heart to pray, and "when we speak to him," say they, "he is often so affected, that the tears roll down his cheeks." Considering the general stupidity of the Greenlanders, the missionaries were not a little surprised at the quickness with which he comprehended every thing which they told him, and at the retention of his memory. He manifested very strong attachment to them, and a constant desire for further instruction.

By means of his conversation, those who lived in the same tent with him, were brought under conviction. Thus, before the end of the month, three large families came with all their property, and pitched their tents near the dwelling of the missionaries, "in order," as they said, "to hear the joyful news of man's redemption." They all appeared much affected, and even some, who had formerly opposed the word, declared that they would now believe, and winter with the missionaries. Most of them, however, soon went away to hunt reindeer; but Kayarnak refused to accompany them, fearing he should thereby suffer harm in his soul. He was hereby brought into great straits, as he had no tent of his own. This was the third time he had been abandoned by his friends, who had now taken the skin-boat and the tent, which, in part at least, were his property. Our brethren were not without fear lest his friends should entice him away, by exaggerating the difficulties of his new mode of life, and the restrictions he would be under, compared with the unbounded liberty, or rather licentiousness, in which the heathen live. But he remained firm to his purpose, and, instead of long vindications, used to reply to their mockeries and remonstrances by a short remark like this: "Yes, I will stay with my teachers, and hear the word of God, which I have once found sweet to my taste." If they were disposed to hear him, he discoursed with them; if they railed at him, he held his peace, after he had borne his testimony to the truth in a few serious words. At length he prevailed so far with some of his nearest relatives, that they resolved to return; and even some other families desired leave to settle near the missionaries.

Thus in the beginning of October, 1738, when the Greenlanders leave their tents and move into their winter houses, above twenty persons took up their abode near the brethren. This induced them to commence regular morning and evening devotions with the two families of Kayarnak and his relation, Simek, besides the reading and expounding of the holy Scriptures on the Lord's day. Five of these persons, who appeared most serious, they selected as suitable candidates for baptism, and gave them more frequent instruction in the truths of salvation. They also began a school with the children; but this they found a most difficult and troublesome undertaking, for their scholars were so entirely unaccustomed to any kind of discipline, that it was nearly impossible to keep them to their lessons, and the parents themselves did not comprehend the use of reading and writing. They, however, succeeded so far, that some of them were able to read easy passages.

Among other evidences of a real work of grace having been begun in the hearts of some of the inhabitants in their little settlement, our missionaries notice particularly their desire to be instructed in prayer, and the remarkable change wrought in them in the prospect of death. Many of them fell sick during this period, but manifested comparatively little of that horror which generally seizes the natives when dangerously ill. Kayarnak, in a severe fit of sickness, declared, that he felt no freedom nor inclination to pray for his recovery, but was resigned to the will of God.

The year 1739 was distinguished in the mission by the baptism of the first Greenland converts. This interesting and solemn transaction was performed on Easter-Sunday, March 29th. The candidates having, before the whole assembly, given a full account of the ground of their hope, and promised to renounce all heathenish customs and superstitions, to remain with their teachers, and walk worthily of the gospel, were, in fervent prayer, with imposition of hands, commended to the grace of God, and baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The presence of the great Head of his church was felt in the most powerful manner during this transaction; the tears flowed in streams from the eyes of those just baptized, and the spectators were so overcome, that they earnestly desired to be made partakers of the same grace. The first fruits of the Greenland nation, who by this sacred rite were publicly ingrafted into the Christian church, consisted of Kayarnak, his wife, his son, and his daughter.

A month had scarce elapsed before the hope, excited by this propitious event, received a very severe shock. A banditti of murderers, coming from the north, killed Kayarnak's brother-in-law, who also lived with the missionaries, under the pretence that he had by sorcery caused the death of the ringleader's son. They decoyed him out to sea, and most perfidiously thrust a harpoon into his body; and though he drew it out and fled on shore, they pursued him, stabbed him in thirteen places, and threw him over the rocks, where, after diligent search, his body was found in a pit, and buried. This occurrence spread a dreadful panic through the whole little settlement, especially, as the murderers had threatened to kill Kayarnak's other brother-in-law. The missionaries did all in their power to allay the fears of the Greenlanders; and the gentlemen of the Danish colony, likewise, interested themselves in the affair, and so far succeeded, as to take the ringleader and several of the gang prisoners, in the presence of above a hundred of their countrymen. On his examination he confessed, that besides Kayarnaek's brother-in-law, he had killed three persons with his own hands, and had been accessary in committing three other murders. But as he was subject to no human judicature, and ignorant of the divine law, they only read to him the ten commandments, threatened him severely, and let him go. This did not dispel the fears of Kayarnak, but rather increased them; and after spending some time in great disquietude, he declared that he considered himself bound to conduct the brother of the deceased, whose life the ruffians chiefly sought, to a place of safety in the south. All the exhortations, remonstrances, and entreaties of the missionaries proved ineffectual to dissuade him from his purpose; for though he wept bitterly at leaving them, his fears prevailed, and he went to the south. Thus in the course of two weeks they beheld, with deep sorrow, their territory forsaken by most of its inhabitants, and had to endure the additional reproach that they could indeed *baptize* heathen, but were not able to *make them real Christians*, and wean them from their roving manner of life. They were little aware that this occurrence, which appeared so destructive to their hopes, would, by the over-ruling hand of God, become the means of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel in distant places, and increase the number of believing Greenlanders beyond their most sanguine expectations.

It was not long before they experienced some alleviation of the sorrow which these disastrous events had occasioned. Twenty-one boats of Southlanders passed by their settlement, and brought them the pleasing intelligence, that they had met the fugitives, who had told them many wonderful things about God, of which they wished to be better informed. After some time Simek and his family, who had accompanied Kayarnak on his flight, returned, and before winter nine families resided with them. Thus they had again full scope for their exertions; and though in their labours among these people they met with much to exercise their faith and patience, yet they had upon the whole more cause to rejoice than to mourn, as their instructions were evidently not without a blessing. The young people, in particular, six of whom attended the school, afforded them the most pleasing hopes.

Various circumstances concurred to render the year 1740 memorable in the annals of the Greenland mission.

A great change took place in the mode adopted by our brethren in their endeavours to instruct the natives. The method, hitherto pursued by them, consisted principally in speaking to the heathen of the existence, the attributes and perfection of God, and enforcing obedience to the divine law, hoping by these means gradually to prepare their minds for the reception of the sublimer and more mysterious truths of the gospel: and it must be allowed that, abstractedly considered, this method appears the most rational; but, when reduced to practice, it was found wholly ineffectual. For five years our missionaries had laboured in this way, and could scarce obtain a patient hearing from the savages. Now, therefore, they determined, in the literal sense of the words, to preach Christ and him crucified, without first "laying the foundation of repentance from dead works, and faith towards God." No sooner did they declare unto the Greenlanders "the word of reconciliation," in its native simplicity, than they beheld its converting and saving power. This reached the hearts of their audience and produced the most astonishing effects. An impression was made, which opened a way to their consciences, and illuminated their understandings. They no longer remained the stupid and brutish creatures, they had once been; they felt they were sinners, and trembled at their danger; they rejoiced in the offer of a Saviour, and were rendered capable of relishing sublimer pleasures than plenty of seals and the low gratification of sensual appetites. A sure foundation being thus laid in the knowledge of a crucified Redeemer, the missionaries soon found that this supplied their young converts with a powerful motive to the abhorrence of sin and the performance of every moral duty towards God and their neighbour; taught them to live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in this present world; animated them with the glorious hope of life and immortality, and gave them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, as the Creator, Preserver and moral Governor of the world, in a manner far more correct and influential than they could ever have attained, had they persevered in their first mode of instruction. The missionaries, themselves, derived benefit from this new method of preaching. The doctrines of the cross of Christ warmed and enlivened their own souls in so powerful a manner, that they could address the heathen with uncommon liberty and fervour; and were often astonished at each other's powers of utterance. In short, the happiest results have attended this practice, not only on this occasion, and in Greenland, but in every other country where our missionaries have since laboured for the conversion of the heathen.

In this year their external circumstances also took a more favourable turn. Their supplies of provisions from Europe became more regular, and they were in the sequel, subject to but few disappointments; and some restrictions, under which the mission had hitherto laboured, were abrogated by a royal rescript.

The bright prospect of our missionaries, consequent on Kayarnack's conversion, had been very much clouded by his sudden flight, and by the very slender hopes they entertained of his return. But these clouds were quickly dispersed. In about a year Kayarnak returned, bringing his brother and his family along with him, whose instruction had been one principal object of his journey. The missionaries perceived, with inexpressible joy, that he had not lost ground in the knowledge and experience of the gospel, and that, during his residence among the heathen, he had diligently declared to them the way of salvation, and had daily engaged in religious exercises with his own family.

Several other Greenlanders settled at New Herrnhut about this time, and evinced a serious concern for their salvation, which drew upon them opposition from some of their neighbours. This however did not deter them from extolling the grace of God, and their exhortations, joined to a consistent conduct, had very considerable influence on their countrymen, who often expressed their astonishment at what they heard. Sometimes the missionaries took the young converts with them on their visits to the heathen, which proved of material benefit. In their absence, Kayarnak held meetings for prayer with those Greenlanders who remained at home; and a young woman, who had been baptized about this time and called Sarah, was very useful among her own sex.

Their new converts were likewise of use to them in acquiring greater proficiency in the language. In hearing the natives pray, they became familiar with expressions which they would not so readily have attained in any other way; and thus they learned from their converts to *speak*, after these had been taught by them to *think*. Therefore they now began to translate the Harmony of the four Evangelists.

It was not long, however, before a new trial befel them. In February, 1741, the first fruit of their labour, Kayarnak, was seized with a pleurisy, which terminated his earthly pilgrimage. During his illness he bore his sufferings with true Christian patience and fortitude, being filled with the hope of glory and immortality. When any of his friends began to talk with him about worldly affairs, he begged them not to encumber him with such things now, for his thoughts and affections were wholly engaged with our Saviour. Seeing some of them weep, he said, "Don't be grieved for me; have you not often heard that believers, when they die, go to our Saviour and partake of eternal joy? You know I was the first of our nation who was converted to the Saviour, and now it is his will that I should be the first to go to him. If you remain faithful to the end, we shall meet again before the throne of God and the Lamb, and rejoice for ever at the grace conferred upon us. He will know how to provide food for you, and especially for my wife." Contrary to the custom of the Greenlanders, both his wife and his brother showed much resignation at his death, and requested our brethren to bury his corpse according to the manner of believers. The gentlemen and other persons belonging to the colony of God-haab, attended the funeral. After singing some verses, one of the missionaries delivered a short discourse in the house. Four Greenland youths then carried the coffin to the place of interment. At the grave one of the Danish missionaries gave a short exhortation; and the whole was concluded with prayer. This solemn scene made a wonderful impression on those natives who were present. His death was a severe stroke to our brethren: they lost in him a bright example of the efficacy of divine grace in renovating the heart, a lively and active witness of Christ among his countrymen, and a very useful assistant in translating the New Testament.

Our missionaries still proceeded with their usual activity in visiting and instructing the heathen, in which they were faithfully assisted by their converts. Wherever these went in quest of food, they diffused the knowledge of the gospel, both by their words and by their conduct, which the pagans themselves acknowledged to be consistent with their profession. Thus, when our brethren followed them to these places, they generally found the way prepared, which greatly facilitated their labours among the savages. Indeed it appeared that a general inquiry about the way of truth had been excited among the natives inhabiting this part of the coast, which brought many visitors to New Herrnhut, and annually increased the congregation of believing Greenlanders. The missionaries, however, observed the utmost caution before they admitted any to the sacred rite of baptism, not only because the impressions, made on the Greenlanders by the gospel, often proved transitory and evanescent, but because they were ever ready to grow proud and self-conceited when they had attained the least knowledge of divine things.

As a proof that the natives had been stirred up to inquire into the truths of the gospel, the following may suffice. In 1744, when the believing Greenlanders returned from the islands, they reported that they found many heathen who gladly listened to them, when speaking of the Saviour, and desired to hear more; and those who were disposed to mock, were generally silenced by the more sober-minded. One of the baptized found a number sitting together and conversing with much earnestness about the concerns of their souls. They constrained him to bear them company, and join in their discourse. The awakening extended to a greater distance than the missionaries could conveniently visit. Of this they were informed by one of their baptized Greenlanders, who had found the savages, living many leagues to the north, very eager to be instructed. A company of them urged him to sit down and talk with them for a whole night; and when he stole away the second night, to get some rest, they followed and compelled him to gratify their desire of further conversation. Even a noted *angekock*, or necromancer, in that place, was much impressed. He wept two whole days, and told the people he had dreamed that he was in hell, where he saw and heard things not possible to utter, adding, that he would no longer deceive them by his diabolical delusions.

In process of time this general stir among the heathen subsided; but the believing Greenlanders increased both in number and grace. At the close of 1748, no less than two hundred and thirty resided at New Herrnhut, thirty-five of whom had been baptized during that year. And though they were not without their imperfections, yet it was evident, that they progressively attained to greater stability. In their intercourse with one another, which became more and more characterized by brotherly love, in their faithful improvement of all the means of grace, and in the composure, and not unfrequently the triumphant hope, with which they met death and looked forward to a glorious immortality, they gave many pleasing proofs of the influence of the gospel on their hearts. Impediments of one kind or other were indeed often thrown in the way by Satan and his emissaries, the *angekocks*, who, fearing they should entirely lose their reputation and profits, invented all sorts of stories to deter their countrymen from believing the gospel; but their efforts were feeble and could not withstand the power of divine truth.

In 1747 the missionaries erected their first church, a wooden building, the frame work and boards of which had been sent from Europe. This proved a very great convenience, as the auditory frequently amounted to three hundred persons. Store-houses were at the same time built, both for the missionaries and their converts, which, to the latter, were peculiarly useful, as they could now keep their dried meat, fish, capelins and other articles for winter consumption, in a place of safety, where they were neither injured by the cold, nor devoured by beasts of prey. In consequence of this and the good regulations introduced among them, above three hundred persons could be maintained at New Herrnhut, a place where it was formerly deemed impossible for two families to subsist. They had it even in their power to assist their poor neighbours in times of scarcity; and they were never deficient in this act of charity.

The year 1752, and the two following, were marked by circumstances of a most calamitous nature. The winters of 1752 and 1753 exceeded in severity any in the memory of the natives. The cold was perfectly horrible, and all the inlets were frozen over and blocked up with ice, so that no kajak could stir for many days; and even when any of the Greenlanders went abroad they were not sure of their lives, and returned with their hands and faces frozen, and mostly without having caught as much as a single bird. Notwithstanding the many perils to which they were exposed, when going out in quest of food, only one of the inhabitants of New Herrnhut perished at sea. Tempests, resembling hurricanes, were not unfrequent. On one occasion the storm nearly threw down the mission-house and chapel; and the violence of the waves completely shattered their new and largest boat, although drawn on shore. Famine succeeded this intense cold, and plunged the savages into the utmost distress, many being starved to death. Great as were the sufferings of the Christian Greenlanders, they were considerably mitigated by the solicitude of the missionaries for their welfare, and the more provident habits which they had acquired. A dreadful contagion followed in the train of these calamities, which carried off great multitudes, both natives and Europeans; our missionaries, however, escaped. It raged with great fury at New Herrnhut for three months. Besides those members of the congregation who died in other places, thirty-five finished their earthly race in the settlement. Many of these evidenced, in the most striking manner, the powerful and elevating influence of religion on the soul, not only leaving this world without regret, but even rejoicing at the bright prospect beyond the grave; which is the more remarkable as the Greenlanders have naturally an excessive horror of death.

During these disasters our brethren had almost daily proofs of the astonishing power of true religion in meliorating the condition of men even in this life, when comparing the situation of the Christian Greenlanders with that of their pagan neighbours. In an account of one of their visits to the heathen in 1757, they write, "We passed on to a house which, for want of blubber, the people had long since forsaken.[*] Near it we found fifteen persons half starved, lying in so small and low a provision-house that we could not stand upright, but were forced to creep in on our hands and knees. They lay one upon another, in order to keep themselves warm. They had no fire, nor the least morsel to eat, and were so emaciated, that they did not even care to raise themselves and speak to us. At length a man brought a couple of fishes. A girl took one, raw as it was, tore it in pieces with her teeth and devoured it with avidity. She looked as pale as death, and her whole countenance was truly ghastly. Four children had already perished with hunger. We distributed among them a portion of our own scanty pittance, and advised them to go to our land, which, however, they seemed rather reluctant to do, as they had never showed any inclination to hear the gospel, and had very carefully avoided all intercourse with our Greenlanders." Indeed so little did these external distresses lead the heathen to a due sense of their spiritual need, and the benefits arising from religion, that though many of them came to the settlement, and were hospitably entertained, and even acknowledged the superior excellence of the way of life of their believing countrymen, yet they manifested no real desire to become Christians, and most of them went away again as soon as the famine subsided.

The great mortality at New Herrnhut deprived the congregation of some of its best providers, and increased the number of widows and orphans. This rendered it necessary for the missionaries to make proper arrangements for the support of the destitute. In those families, where there was still a son left, the maintenance of the survivors was assigned to him. When there was no provider, the children were distributed among the rest of the families, to be trained to such kinds of manual labour as are required in Greenland. Orphans of a still younger age were confided to the care of some of the sisters; and infants at the breast were committed to those mothers who were still nursing.[†] It was pleasing to observe that the Christian Greenlanders yielded the most cheerful obedience to these regulations, and that many, who were less able, put to shame their richer neighbours. Our missionaries did not lighten the burden to themselves. They clothed several destitute children, and provided boats and other necessary implements for many of the boys, that they might be able to support themselves and their poorer relatives. For it was their constant aim to educate their young people in habits of industry, and not to collect together a company of idle and poor people, who must be burthensome to their friends in Europe.

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[*] When the Greenlanders have burnt all their oil, or, as their phrase is, when the lamps must go out, they move into a close hole, which requires fewer lamps to warm it.

[†] There is nothing from which the Greenland women are more averse than to nurse the child of a stranger, lest it should become a rival in their affections to the prejudice of their own children. In this case the Greenlanders are totally devoid of feeling and compassion, and there is no alternative left for the unfortunate father, who cannot bear to witness the lingering death of his motherless infant, but to bury it *alive* with its mother. It affords, therefore, no small proof of the influence of divine grace, when a Greenland woman, professing Christianity, conquers this savage disposition, and becomes a kind foster-parent to an orphan child.

In their endeavours to bring the heathen to a saving knowledge of the gospel, our brethren met with many instances of its transforming and ennobling influence. Among several instances of this kind, related by Crantz in his History of the Greenland Mission, the following two, which occurred about this time, are remarkable.

"One of their earliest acquaintances was a South Greenlander, of the name of Kainack, whose intercourse with them commenced in the year 1739, and their conversation seemed even then to make some impression upon his mind. This he endeavoured to shake off; for being of a good family,* and making a great figure, he was regarded as a prince by his countrymen, and feared to lose his fancied dignity and reputation, by joining himself to the believers; for in Greenland, as well as elsewhere, decided adherence to the Lord and his people, is connected with reproach from worldly men. His conscience, however, was disquieted; and with a view to get rid of this uneasiness of mind, he led a roving life. In this state he committed several outrages. One man he beat so severely that he crippled him; at another time he lay in wait for some of the Christian Greenlanders, and threatened to set the house of the missionaries on fire, because they took a woman under their protection whom he wished to marry against her will. In the sequel, indeed, he accomplished his purpose, and this very woman proved the means of his genuine conversion. She brought him more frequently under the sound of the gospel, and thus his early impressions, which, like a smothered spark, had lain dormant in his breast, were rekindled. Having given sufficient evidence of his sincerity, he was baptized, together with his wife, at New Herrnhut, in 1753. As soon as they could leave their winter-houses, his whole household, upwards of twenty in number, removed to the settlement, and the greater part of them were, in the sequel, likewise baptized. As his conversion excited a good deal of observation in the country, our missionaries had for a while a large number of hearers, many of whom prepared to follow him. As for Kainack himself, he became as quiet and peaceable after his baptism, as he had been wild and ungovernable before. He died rather suddenly three years after, while he was among the islands, with his family, who lost in him an industrious and faithful father, and the congregation a respectable member and sincere follower of Christ."

While this instance beautifully illustrates the care of the good Shepherd, in going after his sheep which was lost, until he found and brought it to his fold; the one which follows presents us with an example of true Christian charity.

"An account being read to the congregation at New Herrnhut, of the destruction of the Brethren's settlement among the Indians at Gnadenhutten, in North America, the Greenlanders were so affected, that they burst into loud weeping, and spontaneously made a proposal to raise some contributions among themselves for their poor brethren. 'I have a fine reindeer skin, which I will give,' said one; and another, 'I have a new pair of reindeer boots, which I will send.' A third added: 'I will send them a seal that they may have something to eat and to burn.' Now, although their contributions, when turned into money, were of no great value, yet our missionaries did not choose to reject them, but ordered the amount of the whole to be remitted to the sufferers in America, as an evidence of the benevolent influence of the gospel in Greenland."

Though near two hundred Greenlanders, baptized by our missionaries, had finished their earthly career, their congregation consisted now of four hundred persons. Since the year 1742, when the first general awakening of the natives commenced, the increase had been considerable, at least in proportion to the population of the country. The same rapid increase was no longer to be expected; for as several new colonies had been established by the Danes, and provided with missionaries from the royal Mission College in Copenhagen, most of the heathen, living in the North, and near Ball's river, attended the preaching at Godhaab. Our brethren had had regular stations for preaching the gospel in the islands of Kook and Kangek, to which the Greenlanders from the South generally resorted, and where they sometimes, on their journeys to and from the North, took up their abode for a year or two, and it was chiefly from these people they had received their converts. By them, also, our missionaries had been often invited to establish a settlement somewhere in the South, as many in that part of the country were disposed to receive the gospel, but did not incline to move to New Herrnhut, being apprehensive that they would not be able to support themselves there. For though the country about Ball's river is one of the finest districts in Greenland, the natives cannot easily resolve to leave the place of their nativity and settle elsewhere, since the mode of procuring a livelihood differs more or less in every place, and a year or two are generally spent in acquiring the necessary new habits and practices, during which time they mostly suffer great want of provisions. Indeed, the missionaries themselves did not wish the settlement at New Herrnhut to become too numerous; for though the experience of subsequent years has shown, that the place is capable of supporting a considerable number of inhabitants, yet they found it difficult to maintain proper regularity and discipline in a congregation, whose number rendered attention to the individual members almost impossible, a circumstance peculiarly necessary in the care of converts from among the heathen.

For these reasons, and in the hope of extending their usefulness, they had for some years frequently deliberated on the practicability of forming a second settlement, and several places had been under consideration in this view, but none of them appeared eligible. Meanwhile the Danes established a factory at Fisher's bay, about one hundred miles to the south of New Herrnhut. This induced our brethren to transmit a memorial to the President of the Greenland Trading Company in Copenhagen, offering to form a settlement in that neighbourhood. Their offer was readily accepted; but its execution was for some time impeded.

Every needful arrangement being at length made, Matthew Stach* and two other brethren, set sail for Greenland in 1758. Having rested a few weeks at New Herrnhut, and concerted the needful measures with the missionaries there, they proceeded to Fisher's bay, on the 19th July, accompanied by four Greenland families, consisting in all of thirty-two persons, destined to make the beginning of the new congregation. It was the wish of the Trading Company that they should settle as near to the colony as they deemed most convenient for the mission. After diligently exploring that part of the country, they fixed on Akonamick, where an old Greenland house was still standing, as the most eligible spot. It is situate on an island, about three miles from the main ocean, and nearly at an equal distance from the factory, and though it affords no prospect to the sun, which is peculiarly desirable in Greenland, and his beams are entirely intercepted by a high mountain for three months in the year; yet they chose this spot, as it possessed the following three advantages: fresh water, which is never entirely frozen; a secure harbour for their boats; and a strand which remains open the whole year, and is not at too great a distance from the ocean.

In erecting their house they had to encounter various difficulties, as they had not been able to bring the necessary materials for building with them, and the place itself supplied them with very few; they could not even derive much assistance from the Greenlanders, as they had to build their own houses. They were obliged to roll the stones to the spot, carry the earth in bags, and fetch the sods by water from another place.

At first the Greenlanders found it difficult to maintain themselves at Lichtenfels, which was the name given to the new settlement: but discovering at no great distance a strait, through which the seals ran into a narrow bay, they found it practicable to prevent their escape, and thus they could often kill several at a time. This not only afforded them a providential supply, but was the more remarkable, as the natives declared they had never before seen seals in that inlet. Yet, though it alleviated the difficulty, it did not entirely remove it. A scarcity, little short of famine, prevailed in that district, for two or three years, and many of the heathen died of absolute want. The inhabitants of Lichtenfels, indeed, suffered less, yet they were often driven to great shifts, frequently having nothing to eat but a few crow-berries, left on the ground during winter, and some small meagre fishes. At other times they lived upon muscles and sea-weeds, which they gathered on the strand at low water. Yet amidst all their poverty they were content, and never complained, but helped each other as far as they could, and when one caught a seal, all the inmates of the house received a share. The missionaries could not relieve them to the extent of their wishes, being themselves reduced to great straits, especially as they had not yet been able to erect a store-house, in which to secure their provisions during the bad weather. Till this defect was removed, the Greenlanders did not reap the full benefit of their industry during the summer months. Yet, by means of their diligence they were even then able to dispose of a greater quantity of blubber to the factor at the colony, than he received from the whole district besides.

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* In Greenland a man is reckoned of noble family, if he is descended from a father, grandfather, and great grandfather, who were renowned seal-catchers.

* He was one of the first missionaries who went to Greenland, but had retired to Germany to spend his latter years among his friends there. He, however, still felt the most lively interest in the mission. No sooner was it proposed to him to undertake this new expedition, than he was ready to go, especially as he had always felt a strong inclination to carry the gospel farther to the south, though he was well aware that new dangers and toils awaited him.

During the frequent voyages, which our missionaries, as well as their converts, were obliged to make, they often encountered most imminent perils, but likewise experienced the most wonderful preservation of their lives. The following instances may serve as examples.

In March 1759, four of the missionaries of Lichtenfels, in one of their voyages, were overtaken by a dreadful snow-storm, and obstructed by the drift-ice, so that they could neither proceed nor return. After long and severe toiling, however, they reached the shore, but the sea ran so high, that they were afraid to land, lest they should be dashed to pieces against the rocks. The only wish left them seemed to be that one of them might escape, to tell what was become of the rest. At length the tide made a sufficient opening between the masses of floating ice, and thus they could proceed and land with safety.

Two Greenlanders, being despatched with letters to Frederic's-haab, were obliged to sit two whole nights in their kajaks upon the ice, which at first constantly broke in with them. It was the third night before they came to a house. Had they not then been so fortunate, they would in all probability have perished, as their thirst was intolerable, having had no water for forty-eight hours. Their sweat, occasioned by severe and incessant labour, oozed through their clothes, and by the intense cold was instantly congealed to ice. One of them had his hands frozen. Both their kajaks were also much damaged.

In November the weather was uncommonly tempestuous. At one time the storm shook the mission-house as violently as if there had been an earthquake. Many Greenland houses and boats were damaged, and eight persons were lost at sea. Such was the violence of the wind, that it even split and tore open the ice, but the holes were immediately filled by drifted snow. Before and after the storm, balls of fire were observed in the air in different places. One of them fell near a house, and began to burn it. A similar phenomenon was seen about Christmas, at mid-day, while the sun was shining in its usual splendour.

Our brethren had not been long settled at Lichtenfels, before many of the natives visited them, especially those who lived near the factory, and on the other side of the island, though the way by land to both places is at least six miles through rugged valleys and over steep cliffs. Besides some widows and their children and some single women, two families took up their abode with them, and diligently attended the preaching of the gospel. Considerable impression was also made on the minds of the neighbouring heathen, who by degrees obtained a general knowledge of the truths of religion, but as yet could not resolve to relinquish their pagan customs and embrace the gospel. When the necessity of conversion was urged upon them, they always had some excuse or other to make for deferring it to a more convenient season.

However, the seed of the word sown by the missionaries, though it lay for a while buried in the earth, did not remain unfruitful. Those who resided near the factory, were for the most part very desirous to hear the gospel, and when the missionary had preached in one house, they followed him into another, in order to hear something more. One of the sailors once remarked, that these Greenlanders acted much more like Christians than the Europeans, since some of them joined together every evening, with great devotion, in praying and singing hymns. The visits to the heathen, living on the east side of the island in particular, seemed to promise a rich harvest. In January, 1760, the first heathen family was baptized at Lichtenfels. There was some resemblance between it and that of Kayarnak, the first fruits of the mission at New Herrnhut. Like the latter it consisted of father, mother, son, and daughter, they all came from the south, and had but lately settled with the brethren. The increase of this new congregation was such, that in a few years two hundred and ninety persons resided at Lichtenfels.

To return to New Herrnhut. The work of the Lord prospered. Many heathen, especially Southlanders, visited the place. Some were quite savage and indisposed to listen to the gospel.* Others were not quite insensible to its importance, yet were unwilling to make a profession. They even forbade their relations to hear the gospel, alleging, that they had seen too many examples of people, especially of young persons, who, after paying serious attention to the doctrine of Christ's suffering and death only once or twice, were so captivated, that they could never rest till they lived with the believers, and that often to the great grief of their nearest relatives. If any one, therefore, resolved to live with the believers, he might be considered as gained over to the faith, and instances of leaving the brethren, after residing with them, became more and more rare. In general they had weighed the subject for years together; their final determination in favour of Christianity might, therefore, in most cases, be considered as the effect of the operation of the Holy Ghost on their hearts. Pleasing instances of this kind were not unfrequent. The number annually added to the church by baptism was between thirty and forty, and some years it exceeded fifty. The inhabitants of this settlement, in 1769, amounted to five hundred and forty.

About this time our missionaries lost their most useful native assistant, Daniel. He received his first impressions of divine truth under a sermon of the Danish missionary, Mr. Drachart, in the year 1745, and proving by his walk, that he had sincerely embraced the gospel, he was baptized by that gentleman in 1747, at God-haab, and the following year moved to New Herrnhut. Our missionaries soon discovered that he was possessed of talents far superior to the generality of his countrymen, and as his conduct was consistent with his profession, they appointed him to assist them in preaching the gospel and instructing the natives. In this he was indefatigable, and, when any heathen visited the settlement, he never neglected speaking to them, and explaining all the regulations of the place. Yet his zeal was tempered with prudence, and when he met with people who were disinclined to hear, or turned the subject into ridicule, he did not obtrude the gospel upon them, but left them, after giving them a gentle, yet serious, reproof. In general, however, the heathen heard him gladly. His manner, when addressing *them*, was lively, engaging, and intrepid, but when speaking to his fellow believers, his discourses were simple, affectionate and impressive. He made frequent use of striking similes, and knew how to apply them with good effect to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. He felt truly interested in the salvation of his countrymen, and spared no pains to promote it; and for this purpose, besides his constant labours near home, he once undertook a journey of eight weeks to a considerable distance to the north, the immediate fruit of which was, that all his relations, then living, followed him to New Herrnhut, and became worthy members of that congregation. He left the world in sure prospect of a better inheritance. He was much respected at the Danish colony, and the agents of the trade used to call him *the man of God*, and listened to his discourses with astonishment.

Hitherto both the health and the lives of our missionaries had been remarkably preserved. Even those who came first to this country were still in full activity. Notwithstanding the many privations they had suffered, the incessant toils and hardships they had encountered, and the repeated dangers to which they had been exposed, none of them had been afflicted with any serious or alarming sickness. Now, however, a breach was made among them by the departure of brother Frederic Boenisch, who entered into the joy of his Lord on July 29th, 1763, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, twenty-eight of which he had spent in the service of this mission.

A singular circumstance occurred in the year 1768. An angekok, or sorcerer, who had often heard the gospel, but seemingly without effect, was so terrified by a dream, that from that time he altered his manner of life, preached repentance and conversion to his former adherents, and despatched messengers to New Herrnhut with the request, that a missionary would come and instruct them in the doctrines of salvation; which request was gladly complied with. It is not easy to determine how far this occurrence might tend to rouse the attention of the natives, and thus pave the way for their reception of the gospel; so much, however, is certain, that a new awakening arose in those parts, and extended as far as Lichtenfels, and even farther, and many were in the following year added to the church by baptism.[*]

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* "It shocked me," says Crantz, who was then on a visit in Greenland, "to see many of them pierced to the heart, so that they trembled, snuffed, and blew like frighted deer, and sometimes, like a man in strong convulsions, tugged their coat, or boots, in order to stifle their convictions, and as soon as the preaching was over, they ran off in haste, lest the subject should be more closely applied to them."

In 1773, brother Christopher Michael Koenigseer arrived in Greenland, having been appointed to have the superintendency of the whole mission. Besides the faithful discharge of the various and important duties of his office, he rendered essential service to the mission, by the correct knowledge he acquired of the language, though already far advanced in years. Being the first missionary in that country who had had the advantage of a learned education, he was qualified to correct the translations of his predecessors, and to add several new versions. Among these were, a Greenland Hymn-book, a translation of the summary of Christian Doctrine (a kind of catechism) and some smaller pieces.

Desirous still further to extend their benevolent labours, our brethren in 1774 began a new settlement, to the south of Lichtenfels, not far from Cape Farewell, to which they gave the name of Lichtenau.[†] The first missionaries, labouring on this station were John Soerenson and his wife, and the single brother Gotfried Grillich. Four families of Christian Greenlanders had come with them to begin the new settlement. From the very first many heathen attended the preaching of the gospel, so that they frequently had above one hundred and fifty hearers, which obliged them to perform divine service in the open air, till they could erect a house for that purpose. During the winter of 1775, nearly two hundred persons resided at Lichtenau; and in a few years the number of baptized Greenlanders, belonging to that congregation, amounted to two hundred and five.

Some new regulations which were made by the Directors of the Greenland Trading Company in 1776, proved advantageous to the natives in a temporal point of view, but were in other respects detrimental to the mission. An order was issued at the same time, directing that fewer Greenlanders should reside together in one place, which, it was supposed, would promote the trade. In consequence of this, the Christian Greenlanders were in part dispersed, and obliged to take up their residence in different places, at the distance of ten or twelve miles from the settlements. This greatly increased the labour of our brethren, as they considered it their duty, besides sending a native assistant with each company, to visit them occasionally themselves. But these journeys were often rendered extremely difficult, and at times even impossible; and the converts received spiritual injury, by being deprived of the regular instructions of the missionaries.[‡]

In 1782 the country was again visited by a dreadful contagion, which occasioned great distress, both at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels. In the former place the number of deaths from April till August amounted to one hundred and twenty-five, among whom were several native assistants, and some of the most expert and diligent providers. Many families were in consequence reduced to great straits; and sometimes there was scarce a sufficient number of healthy persons to bury the dead. In Lichtenfels the disease broke out a little later, but proved equally fatal. Under these afflicting circumstances the missionaries had this great consolation, that the patients looked forward to their dissolution in assured hope of happiness beyond the grave.

The period now under review passed without any striking incidents. The settlements at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels received but little increase from heathen embracing the gospel, as few resided in those parts. Lichtenau, on the contrary, still remained a gathering-place, where many pagans attended the preaching, and by degrees were embodied with the church of Christ. Some of these came from a considerable distance. Thus two men visited that settlement in October, 1785, who had come from the east coast, probably a distance of at least five hundred miles, having spent the whole summer on their journey. At other times several hundred savages resided some months in their vicinity, for the purpose of procuring provisions. These occurrences were zealously improved by the missionaries, and they had the pleasure to find, that their testimony of the truth as it is in Jesus, in several instances, evinced its saving power.

As various baneful effects were observed to arise from the dispersion of the Christian Greenlanders, they resolved that a missionary and his wife should winter with them in each of their principal provision-places, in order that the regular ministry of the word and the ordinances, and the schools, might not be interrupted. They made a trial of this measure in 1786, and found it of evident utility; but in the sequel insurmountable difficulties prevented its continuance. By degrees, however, the converts themselves became sensible that they suffered much harm in their souls by their long absence from their teachers. Many therefore refused to leave the settlements in future, and most, who had removed, gradually returned.

In 1786, brother Koenigseer fell asleep in Jesus, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, the last thirteen of which he had spent in the service of this mission, being intrusted with the general superintendency of all its concerns. He was succeeded in his office by brother Jesper Broderson, a student of theology, who had arrived about two years before.

Brother Brodersen resided alternately at New Herrnhut, Lichtenfels, and Lichtenau,[*] devoting all the energies of his mind to the service of the Lord in this country. Besides his regular avocations in the work of the ministry, and the superintendency of the whole mission, he paid particular attention to the instruction of the native children and young people. He employed his leisure hours in translating several historical pieces of the Old Testament,[†] and select portions of the prophecies of Isaiah; and in compiling a selection of hymns in the Greenland language. Having brought a small printing press from Europe, he struck off a number of copies for immediate circulation, till the whole work could be printed in Germany. The mission, however, did not long enjoy his useful services. A severe fit of illness, in April, 1792, so weakened his constitution, that he could indulge no hopes of recovery in this rigorous climate, and therefore found himself necessitated to return to Europe in 1794. He had been preceded in his return to Europe by John Soerensen, being then in his eightieth year, forty-nine of which he had spent in the service of this mission.

Amidst many imperfections among their converts, the missionaries found constant cause to acknowledge, with unfeigned gratitude to God, the blessing which attended their labours for the conversion of the Greenlanders, and this they considered an ample recompence for the many difficulties and dangers which they had to encounter in the discharge of their various duties. But the dispersion of the Greenlanders continued, as in former years, to excite painful apprehensions, lest their separation from their teachers, and their being deprived of the usual means of grace in the settlement, should have an injurious influence on their spiritual course, and impede their progress in Christian knowledge and practice. In order, as far as possible, to prevent this, one of the native assistants always accompanied each party, and stayed with them during their absence from the settlement, keeping daily morning and evening devotions with them. One or other of the missionaries also visited them as often as circumstances would permit. These visits were frequently attended with much danger; for, as they must be made by water, their progress was sometimes unexpectedly obstructed by large pieces of floating ice, which damaged their boat, and left them no means of safety but by leaping on the ice, dragging the boat after them, and seeking the nearest shore.

The missionaries were exposed to great hazards in the prosecution of their temporal calling, of which the following is an instance. In June, 1791, two of our brethren, having gone to a neighbouring island to fetch drift-wood,[‡] were so completely surrounded with ice, that for many days their return remained impracticable. Their fellow-missionaries in New Herrnhut, being apprehensive for their safety, repeatedly sent Greenlanders in search of them; but these found the ice impenetrable to their kajaks. The two brethren, however, were fortunate in catching a sufficient quantity of fish to support life, and at length succeeded in finding a passage through the ice, but at a great distance from the settlement. After a most fatiguing walk over high mountains, and across extensive plains, they safely arrived at New Herrnhut, having been absent a whole month.

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[*] Here ends the history of Crantz.

[†] Ten years before this period, brother Matthew Stach had visited this part of the country, which was then but little known, though most of the inhabitants in the two other settlements had come from it. He spent the winter in these parts, and the immediate fruit of his zealous exertions in preaching the gospel, was that a family of six persons moved to New Herrnhut.

[‡] This regulation, being continued in the sequel, led to the establishment of several Greenland villages, or *out-places*, in the vicinity of each of the settlements.

[*] New Herrnhut is the most northern, and Lichenau the most southern settlement. The distance from New Herrnhut to Lichtenfels is one hundred miles, and from there to Lichtenau four hundred miles.

[†] The Harmony of the four Gospels had been previously translated.

[‡] A great quantity of various kinds of wood annually floats down, mostly along with the ice, to the bays and islands on this coast. (See *Crantz*, Vol. I. p. 57.) This wood is a great benefit to this barren country, and besides answering other purposes, is used by the missionaries for fuel. If, therefore, the severity of the weather, or other

Though the natives are far more enured to the rigors of the climate, and much better able to encounter the perils connected with their mode of life, than Europeans, yet even many of them perish in consequence of these dangers; but they also often experienced the most striking preservation and deliverance. A few instances of this kind, which occurred during this period, will doubtless be interesting to the reader.

Two Greenlanders from Lichtenau, returning in their kajaks from catching seals, were so jammed in by the fresh ice, which was accumulating around them, that their destruction appeared inevitable. Their perilous situation was observed from the shore, but it was impossible to come to their assistance. Soon after the wind drove them along with the ice out to sea, and their friends, completely losing sight of them, were thrown into the utmost anxiety. In the meantime, however, they had reached a large piece of the old ice, (the only one remaining in the bay,) upon which they climbed, drawing their kajaks after them. On this piece of ice, barely large enough to afford room for them and their kajaks, they spent the night, which was piercingly cold. The next morning the new ice had attained sufficient firmness to bear their weight, and they walked home on it in safety.

A company of four Europeans and three Greenland women, travelling by land from Nappartok to Godhaab, a distance of only eight or ten miles, were so overcome by cold and hunger, that three of the Europeans, and one of the natives, belonging to the Danish factory, fell down by the way, one after the other, and were frozen to death.

But the hardships and dangers, unavoidably connected with their situation in these frozen regions, are not the only difficulties that must be encountered by a missionary. His very voyage to this country, or back again to Europe, is replete with perils. Of this brother Grillich made a most painful experience on a voyage which he made to Copenhagen on business of the mission. He left Greenland in October, 1798, with a ship belonging to Julianenhaab; but, after beating about five weeks, the vessel was so much damaged by drift-ice, that she was obliged to return to the colony. In February, 1799, he again set sail in the same ship, but the quantity of drift-ice at sea was greater than before, and they were closely hemmed in by it from the 18th to the 25th of that month. At length, finding the ship so clogged and injured by it, that she could not be saved, the captain was under the necessity of quitting her, with all the property on board. On the last mentioned day, therefore, the whole ship's company began their march over the ice, dragging a boat after them. They spent two nights in the open air, and had no means of quenching their thirst but the melted snow. On the third morning they came to open water, put in their boat, and sailed five leagues, when they again reached the barren coast of Greenland. They had scarce landed, before a tremendous storm arose with snow and sleet, so that had they been still at sea, they must have all perished. But now they were in a disastrous situation, without any food or covering for the night. On the following day, however, it pleased God to send them a favourable wind, with which they sailed five leagues, and reached the colony at Frederic's-haab in safety, where brother Grillich was detained till April, and could not reach Lichtenfels till May. He at length arrived safe at Copenhagen, October 29th, with the ship from Godhaab.

After the return of brother Grillich to Greenland, our three settlements were again visited by a dangerous epidemic, in consequence of which many of the converts departed this life, among whom were some of the most active and useful native assistants. The sorrow felt by the missionaries on account of the loss thus sustained by the whole congregation, was more than balanced by the happy frame of mind, with which the patients bore their bodily sufferings, viewing death and the grave as the avenues to immortality and eternal life.

But it was not only when visiting the sick, or attending the death-beds of their converts, that they had the pleasure to observe the gracious influence of the gospel on their minds. They frequently beheld this influence in the secret operations of the Spirit of God, convincing their hearers of sin, and leading them to our Saviour, as the only true source of happiness. Among many instances of this kind, which came to the knowledge of our brethren, they relate the following in their diary of 1804:

"One of our people called upon us, in order, as he said, to confess his abominable intention. He informed us, that on account of many quarrels which lately occurred in his family, (which he now acknowledged to have been mostly provoked by his own inconsiderate language,) he had formed a resolution to seclude himself from all society, by retiring into the wilderness. 'With this intention,' said he, 'I left home and spent some nights in a lonely place. But as I was about to proceed to a still greater distance, I thought, O how happy are those people whom the Lord himself reproveth and chasteneth when they are going astray; O that I were one of them! As I was rowing along, the sea seemed to assume a most dreadful appearance, and with all my exertions I could not get forward; my kajak appeared fixed to the bottom, though I was in the deepest part of the bay. I was frightened, and immediately tried to regain the shore. Here I spent the night in the greatest distress, and as soon as it was day returned to my family with shame and repentance. Now I most fervently thank our Saviour that he delivered me from the ways of destruction. Never more will I follow the impulse of my own heart, but *He* shall be my only Lord and Master.'"

In the year 1804, the missionary Rudolph and his wife experienced an almost miraculous preservation of their lives, in attempting to return to Europe, after a service of twenty-six years in the Greenland mission. They left Lichtenau on June 18th, and in the evening of that day went on board the ship, which was lying off the Danish factory at Julianenhaab; but were detained by the drift-ice, which blocked up the bay, till the 14th of July, when they weighed anchor. Having with great difficulty entered Dutch-haven, about two miles from the colony, they were again detained for several weeks by the ice and the continuance of southerly winds.

The captain being informed by some Greenlanders, that the sea, at no great distance, was free from ice, once more weighed anchor on August 22d, resolved a least to make an attempt to get into clear water. The wind was contrary and very high, and there was still much ice within sight. They sailed between huge masses of ice, which made a roaring noise, and caused a most uneasy motion in the ship. To secure her, as far as possible, from damage, several large pieces of ice were fastened to her sides with grappling-irons. Thus they cut their way through immense fields of ice, which sometimes rose mountain-high. In this manner they proceeded for three days, encountering many fears and dangers, but happily unconscious of the still more dreadful calamities which awaited them.

"Early on August 25th," writes brother Rudolph,* "a storm arose from the south-west, which drove the ice-mountains close to our ship. The scene was awful and horrible; and we expected that the ship would have been crushed to pieces. Once she struck upon a small rock, but was got off without receiving any damage. But soon after she struck her bows with such a force against a large field of ice, that several planks started at once, and the water rushed in. The captain immediately jumped into a small boat, with part of the crew; and having landed them on a large field of ice, he returned for another party. The rest were employed in loosing the large boat in order to save themselves, for the ship was rapidly filling with water, and perceptibly going down on her starboard side, so that by the time the boat was let down, only the larboard gunwale appeared above water. The captain and all the sailors having left the ship, my wife and I were alone, standing above our knees in water, and holding fast

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circumstances, prevent their collecting a sufficient quantity of this wood in the proper season, they are exposed to great hardships. This happened in the year 1793, when the long continuance of severe weather rendered it impracticable to procure their usual stock of drift-wood. They were consequently reduced to the unpleasant necessity of heating their rooms, during intense cold, for three months, after the Greenland manner, by burning train-oil in lamps, reserving the little wood they had for the purpose of cooking.

* See his Journal, which contains a detailed account of this perilous voyage, in Per Acct. Vol. IV. page 341—360.

by the shrouds. At last, Captain Kiar* came to our assistance, saying, 'I cannot possibly forsake these good people.' By his help we got into the boat, and likewise had our hammock and bed secured.

"We left the wreck, being about a league from the land, and about seventy-eight miles distant from Lichtenau. Our boat being heavily laden, and having already taken in much water, we feared she would sink, and were therefore obliged to steer for the nearest island. It proved to be a rough, pointed and naked rock; at a considerable height, however, we found a small spot covered with short grass. We now endeavoured to land the provisions saved from the wreck, but the waves beat frightfully against the rock, and tossed the boat up and down with such violence that the rope broke, and she was driven out to sea. In order to bring her back, eight men immediately leaped into the small boat; but though they came up with the large boat, the fury of the tempest baffled all their efforts to regain the landing-place; they were driven to the other side among the ice, by which both our boats were crushed to pieces; nor did we entertain the smallest doubt that the sailors had perished, as it seemed impossible for them to get over the ice to the shore, the waves rising so exceedingly.† All our hopes of being saved now vanished, and the whole company gave vent to their feelings in general and loud cries and lamentations. In the evening we lay down to rest, close together, without tent or covering. As it continued to rain heavily the whole of this and the following day and night, the water rushed down upon us in torrents from the summit of the rock. We were completely soaked in wet, and lay in a pool of water. But this was in reality a benefit to us, as we were thus supplied with fresh water.

"August 27th, the two captains and most of the sailors got ready to try to gain the shore by walking across the ice; and with great difficulty succeeded in their attempt. We would willingly have gone with them, but having now been two days without tasting any food, we felt ourselves too much enfeebled for such an enterprise. Thus we were left alone on the rock, with the ship's cook, who likewise was unable to follow his comrades. In this dreadful situation we had no hope but what we derived from the Lord our Almighty Saviour. We now saw no other prospect before us, than that of ending our days on this barren rock. The thoughts of lying here unburied, as food for ravens and other birds of prey, which were always hovering around us, troubled us for a short time, but the consolations of our Saviour preponderated, and we soon felt entirely resigned to *his* will."

The captains and sailors, having meanwhile reached the land, immediately despatched some Greenlanders in search of brother Rudolph and his wife. These Greenlanders, after rowing about the whole day of September the 2d, without seeing any person on the rock, were on the point of returning, concluding that they had perished. Fortunately, however, sister Rudolph, happening to raise herself, discovered the Greenlanders. From them our missionaries got a little seal's fat and a few herrings, having been without food for nine days. As they came in their kajaks, and had no other boat with them, brother Rudolph and his wife were obliged to spend another night on the rock, and wait till the evening of the next day, when a skin-boat arrived. In her they embarked; and after enduring several hardships, reached the colony of Julianenhaab in the evening of the 8th, and proceeded to Lichtenau on the 11th, where they were affectionately welcomed by their fellow-missionaries and the whole congregation, who joined them in grateful praises to God for this wonderful preservation of their lives.

Here they remained till the following May, when they again prepared for their voyage to Europe. After a very tedious and difficult passage in a Greenland boat, from Lichtenau to Lichtenfels, they left the latter place on the 13th of September in one of the Danish ships; and being favoured with a very expeditious and pleasant voyage, arrived in Copenhagen on the 3d of October.

Little did our brethren in Greenland imagine that the war, which during this period was raging with such violence on the continent of Europe, would extend its ravages to the remote corner of the earth which they inhabited. But, though they were happily out of the reach of contending armies, yet they experienced some of the fatal effects of the contest. The rupture between Great Britain and Denmark occasioned a temporary suspension of the accustomed intercourse between the latter country and her colonies, which are wholly dependant upon Europe for support. This awakened many gloomy apprehensions, both among our brethren and the other colonists; and this fear was considerably increased, as one of the two ships sent out by the English government in 1808 was lost in the ice, and the provisions prepared for them in London in 1809 could not be sent, as it was found inconvenient to fit out ships from Great Britain to Greenland. Another misfortune they experienced was the capture of a Danish provision-ship by the British, and thus only one small vessel arrived that year; the cargo of which was by no means sufficient to supply the many factories on the coast. Our missionaries in New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels thus express themselves on the occasion: "Though we have not yet felt absolute want of the necessaries of life, yet we are obliged to measure (as it were) every mouthful we eat, to make our provisions last as long as possible." Their stock of wine was so reduced, that they could but very seldom celebrate the Lord's Supper, which was a great grief to their converts. Another very serious inconvenience was the want of sufficient change of clothing, especially linen, and of tobacco, which is the principal medium of traffic in this country.

This distress was felt most severely at Lichtenau, as appears from the following extract of a letter, written by the missionary Beck in 1813:

"In 1807 we received the last regular supplies, which were sufficient, in addition to what we had spared in former years, to maintain us for a considerable time; and as we hoped that the interruption occasioned by the war would not last long, we felt no anxiety; but when both the colonists and our brethren at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels began to suffer want, we even helped them out of our store to various necessary articles; of which, however, we ourselves afterwards felt the want. In the north there was yet some trade, by which partial relief was obtained, but here nothing could be had from that source. Yet we thanked God that there still existed the means of supporting life, though we suffered many privations, such as of beer, coffee, sugar and wine, and afterwards of butter and salt; we made the latter last as long as possible, by boiling fish in salt water; and though whatever was sent to us in 1810 did not arrive here till 1812, we have to thank our heavenly Father for having given us our daily bread. At last we were the only people that had any tobacco. By this we were enabled to purchase birds and fishes from the Greenlanders, as also furs for our boats and clothing. We had likewise some seed left, and got a small supply of garden-stuff. The Greenlanders brought us scurvy-grass in barter for tobacco. The latter article, however, became at last so scarce that a pound was worth 7s. 6d."*

In this distressful situation the colonies continued till the year 1811, when the British government generously afforded every facility to the Danes to supply their Greenland factories, by permitting Danish provision-ships, furnished with a proper license, to sail thither. By this humane measure, on the part of England, they were relieved from immediate distress and all anxiety respecting the future.

While this regulation continued in force, one of our missionaries, John Conrad Kleinschmidt, whose wife had entered into the joy of her Lord, after a residence of nearly nineteen years in Greenland, resolved to bring his five children to Europe, and for this purpose set sail in the ship Freden, bound for Leith in Scotland. They left New Herrnhut on September 2d, 1812; but owing to unfavourable weather, did not lose sight of the coast till the 25th. The wind was fair, and they had the prospect of a speedy and pleasant voyage, when suddenly there arose from the north-west a tremendous storm, which raged with unabating fury for about three days and two nights. In the evening of the 29th, when it was at its height, accompanied with thunder and lightning, a flash struck the ship. Two sailors were thrown down, one of whom instantly expired. The captain and all on board were filled with the utmost consternation, and the former exclaimed, "We are all lost, and there is no other ship near to save us." Fortunately, however, it was soon discovered that the ship had not taken fire, nor sustained any very serious damage. In the sequel they encountered several severe gales and contrary winds, which so prolonged the voyage that they were put on short allowance of water, which was peculiarly trying to the children. This privation, however, lasted only five days, as they came in sight of the Scottish coast on the 8th of October, and two days after cast anchor in Leith Roads. During their stay there, one of brother Kleinschmidt's daughters, a child only three years old, died after a short illness. On this, as well as on every other occasion, he and his company experienced the most affectionate attention from many worthy gentlemen at Leith and Edinburgh, who proved themselves sincere and generous friends to our missions.*

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* Captain K. was not the master of the ship in which the missionaries sailed, but belonged to one which had been stranded near Statenhuck, and was now returning to Europe.

† Their fears were fortunately unfounded, as all the sailors, excepting one, succeeded in their efforts to get to land.

* Per. Acct. Vol. VI. p. 196. In some of the colonies the distress was still greater. The colonists were reduced to the necessity of eating small herrings, muscles, and even sea-weeds; many of them, therefore, left the country.—Per. Acct. Vol. V. p. 195.

During his absence a most tragical event occurred in the congregation which he had hitherto served in the gospel. A party of Christian Greenlanders having celebrated Christmas at the settlement, were returning to one of the out-places, where they resided by an order of government, intended to promote the interests of trade. They set out in their skin-boat in January, 1813, when the cold was so intense that the thermometer stood twelve degrees below Reaumur's freezing point. They had soon to encounter the floating ice, by which their boat was crushed to pieces. They, however, escaped upon a large field of ice, and drove about for twenty-four hours, when during the night a violent storm arose from the north, which carried them out to sea. Here they must all have perished, as nothing more was heard of them. They were seventeen in number, old and young, and all baptized members of the congregation at Lichtenau.

After spending the winter at Fulnek, in Yorkshire, and having again married, brother Kleinschmidt and his wife, in company of the missionary Gorke† and his wife and their infant daughter, and of brother Mueller and sister Goll, sailed from Leith in the Danish ship Hualfisken for Greenland. They left Scotland on May 24th, 1813; and, after a safe and expeditious voyage of five weeks, arrived at Godhaven, in Diskobay; the captain, contrary to his engagement, refusing to land them near any of the mission settlements. This ungenerous conduct on his part was the more reprehensible, as there was every facility of landing them either at Lichtenfels or New Herrnhut. Even the mate and sailors remonstrated with him on the cruelty of his behaviour, but to no purpose, for he continued his course day and night, and the only reply he made was, "Never mind, they have the summer before them." The consequence was, that they had to travel back in a boat, coasting it all the way, six hundred miles to New Herrnhut, and ninety more to Lichtenfels; and brother Kleinschmidt and his wife, after reaching New Herrnhut, had still to perform a voyage of five hundred miles before they arrived at Lichtenau, their place of residence. But, through the Lord's mercy, they all got home before winter set in, though brother Kleinschmidt's party were four months in completing their voyage along this rocky and dangerous coast. All the toils and perils of their journey were quickly forgotten, when they found themselves again in the midst of their brethren and sisters, and beheld the grace of God which prevailed in the Greenland congregation.

The affairs of the mission were now again brought into their regular course. Each of the three settlements was provided with the requisite number of missionaries, and every anxious apprehension respecting their support was removed, in consequence of the regular intercourse re-opened with Europe. Hereby our brethren were animated to renewed exertions in promoting the cause of God, and the best interests of their fellow-men, in these dreary regions.

Their time and attention were particularly occupied in devising means for enlarging the acquaintance of the natives with the doctrines of the Bible. A version of the Harmony of the Four Gospels, together with select portions of the prophecies of Isaiah, had been in use among them for several years. To add to their sources of information on scripture truths, brother Gork, about this time, translated a small work, entitled *Jesus, the Friend of Children*, being a short compendium of the Bible, and recommended by a society of pious ministers in Denmark, for distribution among the Greenlanders. But their chief concern was to furnish them with a good and correct translation of the New Testament; to which they were greatly encouraged by the kind offer of both the British and Foreign, and the Edinburgh Bible Societies, to get the work printed for them. The execution of this important undertaking was committed to brother Kleinschmidt, who had obtained great proficiency in the language by his long residence in the country. His many other avocations, however, and his desire that the manuscript should be previously revised by the other missionaries who possessed a competent knowledge of the language, in some measure retarded its progress; but this temporary delay eventually proved a real benefit, as it tended to render the version more correct.

According to the latest intelligence received from Greenland, and which brings down the history of this mission to the spring of 1817, it appears, that amidst the imperfections and occasional deviations of individual members of the congregation, the work of God was prospering in all the three settlements, and the word of the cross displaying its converting and transforming power in old and young. The peace of God, unity of spirit, and a determination to spend their lives for the Lord Jesus Christ, prevailed among our missionaries; and they lived in habits of cordial love and friendship with the gentlemen of the Danish factories, and all the colonists.

In November, 1816, they had the joy to baptize an adult heathen at New Herrnhut, a circumstance which had not occurred in that settlement for sixteen years, and on this account made a deeper and more solemn impression on all who witnessed this sacred transaction. In the same place the missionary, Henry Menzel, entered into the joy of his Lord on the 21st of October, 1816. He had laboured thirty-three years with zeal and faithfulness in the Greenland mission.

Since the commencement of this mission a very remarkable difference has taken place in the state of the country, in a moral point of view. In the neighbourhood of New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels scarce any heathen reside, most of the inhabitants having been baptized either by the Danish missionaries or our brethren, and acquired a general knowledge of the truths of Christianity. These settlements, therefore, may be considered as forming two Christian congregations, the children and youths of which are baptized in infancy, and from their earliest years instructed in the doctrines of the gospel; and upon giving sufficient evidence of the sincerity of their profession, admitted to all the ordinances and privileges of the church. And our missionaries have had the pleasure of finding that hardly any of their young people have entirely forsaken the fellowship of the faithful; for, though they might for a season remain spiritually dead, they have sooner or later been awakened by the Spirit of God, to a sense of their lost condition by nature, and their need of a Saviour, and by his grace been taught to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world. Thus has God's promise to his church been verified also in this country: "*Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children.*"

In Lichtenau the case is in some degree different. Here there is still a large field for missionary labours, as a very considerable number of heathen still reside in that neighbourhood. To them our brethren are daily proclaiming the unsearchable riches of Christ. Many pagans also visit them and behave with civility. For the most part indeed they come only to be supplied with the necessaries of life; now and then, however, a desire is excited for the bread of life, and the seed of the gospel falls on good ground, where it produces the fruits of "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus some heathen are annually added to the church by baptism.

The long intercourse of the natives with Europeans, added to the more potent influence of the gospel, has effected the most pleasing and striking change in their manners and general deportment. Along the whole extent of the western coast the barbarities of savage life, and the enormities ever attending paganism, where it is dominant, are now rarely to be met with; and the state of this country, compared with what it was eighty, or but fifty years ago, may be called civilized. The nature and climate of this dreary region, no less than the methods by which the natives must procure their subsistence, necessarily preclude the introduction of most of the useful arts of civilized society. They can neither till the land nor engage in manufactures. The former is denied them by the sterility of the rocks they inhabit, and the rigors of a polar sky; and the latter, with very few exceptions, are for the same reasons rendered useless. A

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* For a circumstantial account of this voyage, see Per. Acct. Vol. V. p. 334—341.

† Brother Gorke had lived in Greenland before, but left it seven years ago to pay a visit to Europe, where he had been thus long detained in consequence of the war. The rest were new missionaries.

Greenlander can neither live in the European manner, nor wear European clothing. But it may be said with truth, that the converted Greenlanders, by the habits of industry which they have acquired since the introduction of the gospel among them, by their contentment amidst many privations and hardships, and by the charity of the more affluent of their needy brethren, strikingly exemplify the doctrine of the great apostle of the Gentiles, that in every circumstance of life and in every nation, *godliness is great gain, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

CHAPTER II.

MISSION IN LABRADOR.

Labrador lies on the east side of Hudson's bay, extending from latitude 57° to 60° north. Although this latitude is not as high by several degrees as that of Greenland, yet the cold here is far more intense.* During the winter Fahrenheit's thermometer often falls thirty or more degrees below the O; and though the houses of the missionaries are heated by large cast-iron stoves, the windows and walls are all the winter covered with ice, and the bed-clothes freeze to the walls. Rum freezes in the air like water, and rectified spirits soon become thick like oil. From December to June the sea is so completely frozen over, that no open water is to be seen. Some of the missionaries venturing once, during the month of February, to make a journey from Nain to some Esquimaux, living at the distance of forty miles, endured extreme hardships from the cold. Though wrapped in furs, yet their eyelids froze together in such a manner that they were continually obliged to pull them asunder, and by constant rubbing prevent them from closing. One of them returned with a pain in his side; another with his hands frozen and swelled like a bladder; and it was only through God's mercy that their lives were preserved. It is no uncommon case in winter for some of the natives to be found frozen to death. The few summer months, on the other hand, are so much the hotter, the thermometer sometimes rising to the eighty-sixth degree of Fahrenheit. Swarms of musquitoes infest the air, whose sting frequently causes painful swellings.

The coast is but thinly inhabited; and the Esquimaux differ little in their general manners and mode of living from the Greenlanders, of whose language theirs is only a dialect. In summer they live in tents constructed like those in Greenland, but their winter habitations are built in a very different manner. For this purpose they chose a large drift of snow, dig an oval hole in it, in size corresponding with the dimensions of the intended house. They then cut pieces of snow, three feet long, two in breadth, and one foot thick. These they place in the form of an arch over the hole. Instead of a window, they cut an aperture in the arch, in which they fix a slab of ice, and which admits sufficient light. The entrance into the dwelling is long, winding, and very low, and a slab of frozen snow answers the purpose of a door. In the middle of the house they leave an elevation of about twenty inches high, which they cover with skins, and this serves them for a place to rest and to sleep on. Since our missionaries have settled in the country the natives have by degrees built winter-houses for themselves, constructed after the manner of those in Greenland, described in page 192.

For the purposes of travelling they make use of a sledge drawn by a species of dogs, in shape resembling a wolf. They never bark, but howl very disagreeably. They are kept by the Esquimaux, in greater or smaller packs, according to the wealth of the proprietor. They quietly submit to be harnessed, and are treated with no great mercy by the heathen, who make them do hard duty for but a scanty allowance of food. This consists chiefly of offals, old skins, entrails, &c.; or should their owner not be provided with these articles, they must provide for themselves, by seeking muscles or dead fishes. When pinched with hunger they devour almost any thing; and on a journey it is necessary to secure the harness during the night, for otherwise the dogs would eat it, and thus render it impossible to proceed. In the evening, after being unharnessed, they are left to burrow in the snow wherever they please. They are sure of returning at the call of the driver in the morning, as they then receive some food. In putting them to the sledge they are never suffered to go abreast, but are tied by separate thongs of unequal lengths to a horizontal bar on the forepart of the sledge; an old dog leads the way, running ten or twenty paces a-head, directed by the driver's whip, which is often twenty-four feet long, and can be well managed only by an expert Esquimaux. The other dogs follow like a flock of sheep; if one of them receives a lash, he generally bites his neighbour, and the bite goes round. Their strength and speed, even without food, are astonishing. The Esquimaux, however, find it more convenient to go from place to place in their boats, when the sea is open, being then much less exposed to the cold than when crossing the ice in their sledges. Their journeys, therefore, are more frequent in summer than in winter.

In their pagan state the Esquimaux appear rather more depraved than the Greenlanders. Their ideas relative to God, and religious and moral subjects, are as confined as those of the latter; and in their superstitious notions and practices there is no discernible difference between the two nations.

Their kajaks, skin-boats and other implements are of the same construction with those of the Greenlanders.

The missionary settlements lie on the eastern coast.

The disposition, on the part of the Brethren to attempt the conversion of the Esquimaux, originated with our missionaries in Greenland, who were led to conjecture, that the Esquimaux were a branch of the Greenland nation. Matthew Stach, in particular, entered with great ardour into this scheme, and for that purpose applied, in the year 1752, to the Hudson's-bay Company for permission to preach the gospel to the Indians belonging to their factories: but no attention was at that time paid to his application. In consequence of this failure some of our brethren in London, joined by several well-disposed merchants, fitted out a vessel to trade on the coast of Labrador, four brethren having declared themselves willing to settle there, for the purpose of learning the language and preaching the gospel to the natives. One Christian Erhard offered to go with the vessel. In the capacity of mate on board a Dutch ship, he had been several voyages to Davies' Straits on the whale fishery, and had visited at New Herrnhut, where he had learned a little Greenlandic, and was now residing in the Brethren's settlement at Zeist, in Holland.

This company sailed from London on the 17th of May, 1752, and on the last day of July entered a fine bay on the coast of Labrador, which, in honour to one of the owners of the ship, is still called Nisbet's Haven. Here they resolved to settle, and for this purpose erected a house, the frame and materials of which they brought with them. They called the place Hopedale. A few weeks after Erhard sailed farther to the north, for the purpose of trade. He could make himself tolerably understood by the Esquimaux; and as they were afraid to come on board, on account of the guns, he and five of the crew went, in an unarmed boat, into a bay between the islands. Here they were probably all murdered by the savages. As the captain had not another boat, no search could be made for them at that time; but on the return of the ship the next season, some of their remains were found, with evident marks of their having been murdered. This melancholy event obliged the captain to represent to those four brethren, who had come out as missionaries, that having lost six of his men, he could not return to Europe, unless they would consent to go with him, and assist in working the ship. Though they deeply regretted the necessity, yet, under existing circumstances, they could not refuse his request. The ship sailed again to the coast the following year; and the house was found still standing, but it was not deemed expedient to renew the mission at that time.

The undertaking, however, though relinquished for a few years, was never lost sight of. Jens Haven, a missionary in Greenland, and acquainted with the language of that country, who, before he went thither in 1758, had cherished an ardent desire for the conversion of the Esquimaux, was induced again to offer his services for this enterprize. His offer being accepted by the directors of the missions, he came to England in 1764. After many fruitless attempts to attain his object, he was at length recommended to the governor of Newfoundland, Sir Hugh Palliser, who received him with great kindness, and offered him a passage on board his own ship. This, however, was declined by Haven, who only requested a letter of recommendation to the governor of St. John's. This being readily complied with, he went with the first ship sailing for that colony. The governor immediately on his arrival issued a proclamation in his favour, stating the object of his voyage to Labrador, and ordering that every assistance should be given him.* After various delays and vexations, he at length landed on the coast of Labrador, at Quirpont, where he arrived just in time to prevent a murderous plot. Some people had collected there, and were holding a council for the purpose of destroying the Esquimaux. He went boldly up to them, showed the governor's proclamation, and, though not without difficulty, succeeded in diverting them from their barbarous design.

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* The reason assigned for this is, that the north-west wind, which is the severest, comes over an arm of the sea to our settlements in Greenland, by which means the cold is lessened: on the contrary, this severe wind, which prevails the greater part of winter in Labrador, comes to that coast over an immense frozen continent.—*Brief Account of Mission among Esquimaux Indians.*

His first interview with the natives afforded him the liveliest joy, as appears from his own narrative. "September 4th, 1761," saith he, "was the welcome day when I saw an Esquimaux arrive in the harbour. I ran to meet him, addressed him in the most friendly manner in the Greenlandic language, and to my inexpressible joy found he understood me. I desired him to return, and bring four of the chiefs of his tribe with him, to which he readily consented. Meanwhile I put on my Greenlandic dress, and met them on the beach, inviting them to come on shore. They cried, 'Here is an *Innuit* (a countryman of ours.') I answered, 'I am your countryman and friend.' They seemed astonished, behaved very quietly, and I continued the conversation for a long time. At length they desired me to accompany them to an island, about an hour's row from the shore, adding, that there I should find their wives and children, who would receive me as a friend. This appeared rather a hazardous undertaking, but conceiving it to be of essential service to the missionary cause that I should venture my life amongst them, and endeavour to become better acquainted with their nation, I confidently turned to the Lord in prayer, and thought within myself, 'I will go with them in *thy* name; if they kill me, my work on earth will be done, and I shall live with *thee*, but if they spare my life, I shall firmly believe it to be *thy* will that they should hear and embrace the gospel.' I accordingly went, and as soon as we arrived there, all set up a shout, *our friend is come*. They carried me on shore and beset me so closely on all sides, that I could neither stir nor turn. Having prevailed on them to place themselves in rows before me, I explained to them my object in coming to visit them, promising, that if they were willing to be taught, I would return next spring with more of my brethren, build a house on their land, and daily discourse with them of the way to life and happiness."

Having had much agreeable conversation with them, Haven returned to Quirpont, where he stayed about a fortnight, and several times preached to the crew of the vessel. On his arrival at Newfoundland, Sir H. Palliser and the Board of Trade expressed their entire approbation of his proceedings, and their wish soon to see a mission established there. Haven, therefore, made a second voyage to that country the ensuing year, accompanied by Christian Laurence Drachart, formerly one of the Danish missionaries in Greenland, and two other brethren. They penetrated farther into the interior; and on their return to the English ships, met with several hundred Esquimaux, to whom they preached the gospel, not without apparent impression. Greatly, however, as the formation of a mission in this country was desired, not only by the Brethren, but also by several persons of rank in England, various difficulties for some years impeded its establishment.

During this season of suspense some Esquimaux came, in 1768, to Chateau bay and renewed their practices of robbing and murdering. They were attacked by a party of English; some were killed, others made prisoners and carried to Newfoundland. Three of the latter, a woman and her two sons, the one about thirteen and the other six years of age, were brought to England. The elder of these two boys, whose name was Karpik, was presented by Sir H. Palliser to the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen. He possessed great vivacity, quickness of apprehension and docility, and, though he was at times rather sullen and obstinate, showed in general many good qualities. Being placed in the Brethren's school at Fulneck in Yorkshire, he was taught reading and writing, in which he attained considerable proficiency. The instructions he received on religious subjects likewise made a salutary impression on his mind; he was often greatly affected, and would ask many pertinent questions. Here he was taken ill with the small-pox. During this sickness he was, according to his earnest request, made partaker of holy baptism. The ceremony was performed in the Esquimaux language by one of the missionaries, then waiting to proceed to Labrador. Soon after, in the year 1769, he departed this life, calling on the name of the Lord. Our brethren greatly regretted this event, because it disappointed their hopes of seeing this youth become a useful servant of Jesus among his countrymen.

His mother, Mikak, was treated with great kindness in England, and received many favours from some of the royal family and other persons of distinction. Her joy was great at meeting with the missionary Haven, as he could converse with her in her native tongue. She importuned him to return and help her poor countrymen, whom she described as being in the most ruinous condition. Her repeated applications to those persons in power, by whom she was noticed, had considerable influence in forwarding the projected mission. The consequence was, that, on the report of the Board of Trade to the Privy Council, a resolution was taken in favour of the establishment of a mission in Labrador; and on the eighth of May, 1769, an order in council was issued to this effect: "That the land in Esquimaux bay, desired by the Unitas Fratrum should be granted to them and their Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen; and they be protected in their laudable undertaking."

Every facility being thus afforded by government for establishing a mission on this coast, some of our brethren in London and other places formed a company, in order to fit out a ship to convey the missionaries to Labrador, and make an annual voyage thither for the purpose of supplying them with provisions, and carrying on a trade with the natives. They purchased a brig of about a hundred and twenty tons burden. In her the three missionaries, Jens Haven, Lawrence Drachart and Stephen Jensen sailed to Labrador in 1770, merely for the purpose of exploring the coast, and fixing on a proper spot where to build. They landed on an island, where they met with a number of Esquimaux, who behaved with great insolence, till awed by the report of the ship's guns. A couple of days after, they again ventured to go on shore, met the natives in a friendly manner, and preached the gospel to them. In sailing from the island to the main land, though but a distance of a few miles, having to pass between a number of islets and concealed rocks along an unknown coast, without chart or pilot, they were exposed to great danger; but were mercifully preserved, and safely reached a harbour on the eastern extremity of the continent, to which they gave the name of Unity Harbour. Having discovered a piece of land near this harbour, suitable for a missionary settlement, they found the Esquimaux not only willing to sell it to them, but very desirous that a company of brethren might come and take possession of it. Filled with gratitude to the Lord, who had so graciously prospered their enterprize, they returned to England, to spend the winter in making the needful preparations for carrying their design into full effect. During this interval, brother Haven married, and the offer of several other brethren, besides those mentioned above, to join the mission, was accepted with humble thanks to the Lord for inclining so many of his people to sacrifice all the comforts of civilized society, and venture themselves among savages, where, besides a thousand other hardships, they might be hourly exposed to perish in their very attempts to humanize these wretched barbarians, and teach them the knowledge of God our Saviour. The whole company consisted of three married couples, a widower and seven single brethren, in all fourteen persons; some of whom went out as assistants to the mission for managing its external concerns. In this company was also a physician. Having in a solemn meeting in the Brethren's chapel in Fetter-lane been commended to the grace of God, they left London on the 8th of May, 1771, and sailed in the brig Amity, for Labrador, touching at St. John's in Newfoundland. Their voyage was tedious, and the latter part of it rendered hazardous, as frequent storms obliged them to run into unknown bays, where they were often environed with large fields and mountains of ice. They however reached the coast in safety on the 9th of August.

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* This proclamation contains the following sentence, "Hitherto the Esquimaux have been considered in no other light than as thieves and murderers, but as Mr. Haven has formed the laudable plan of not only uniting these people with the English nation, but also of instructing them in the Christian religion; I require, by virtue of the power delegated to me, that all men, whomsoever it may concern, lend him all the assistance in their power."—*Brief Account of Mission among Esquimaux Indians.*

The next day they went on shore at the place chosen by Haven the preceding year, and immediately commenced erecting their house, the entire frame of which, together with bricks and every other requisite, they had brought with them from England; and towards the end of September the building was so far completed, that they could inhabit two rooms. They surrounded it with pallisades; for as one of them writes, "their situation was critical, it was as if each *with one of his hands wrought in the work and with the other held a weapon;*" for they found it needful to be constantly upon their guard against a nation to whom robbery and murder had become habitual. These apprehensions were, however, at this time needless, for they soon discovered a striking difference in the disposition of the natives now, and at their first visit to them. Formerly they were bold and impudent, looked upon the Europeans as dogs, and called them *barbarians*, while they styled themselves *men;* but now they were quiet and modest, expressed their desire to hear the *good news*, and of their own accord showed that they had no deadly weapons secreted either in their clothes or kajaks.

The place our missionaries chose for their habitation, and to which they gave the name of Nain, is so situated, that both the Nuenguak tribe, who reside in the islands, and the other Esquimaux, who usually travel from the south to the north, can pass through the settlement.

The missionaries improved every opportunity for preaching to the natives, especially brother Drachart. who was the greatest proficient in the language, and devoted himself wholly to this work. The Esquimaux generally listened to it with silence and expressed their astonishment. And though a few treated it with contempt, yet in some instances there was good reason to hope that the seed of the word would not remain wholly unproductive. Notwithstanding the excessive cold in winter, some of them ventured to cross the ice and snow in order to visit the heathen, who entertained them very hospitably, and they. in their turn, in great numbers visited at the mission settlement.

This friendly intercourse between the missionaries and the natives was attended at least with this good effect, that the latter gained such confidence towards our brethren, that they asked their advice in all difficult cases, and even chose them as arbitrators in their disputes, forming a resolution among themselves, in future, to refer all their differences to the missionaries, and submit to their decision. The fame of the settlement and its inhabitants spread far into the country, as the following occurrence will serve to show. The Rev. P. E. Layritz, agreeably to the wish of the directors of the mission, undertook a visitation to this new establishment in 1773. As the sloop in which he and his company were was approaching the southern side of the coast, near Camp island, several of the inhabitants met them in their boats in the most friendly and peaceable manner, though the tribe, occupying this part of the country, was formerly considered the most savage, thievish and murderous. They invited brother Layritz and his company to come on shore, listened with eager attention to his discourse, which was interpreted by the missionary Beck, and promised to visit Nain. in order to hear more of these good words. Some of them had been there last winter, and they now declared that brother Drachart had told them the very same words.

During this visitation Lieutenant Curtis was sent by the governor of Newfoundland to survey the coast, and to inquire into the situation of our brethren. At his desire the heads of families, about thirty in number, were convened, and informed that the governor had given orders, that all who were guilty of murdering or stealing, should in future be punished with death, and that none of them should go to the south without acquainting the missionaries with it, and obtaining a certificate from them. To these orders they promised willing obedience, and added: "It is right that a murderer, or thief, be punished with death, for he deserves it; but since we have heard the gospel of Jesus, we have neither murdered nor stolen, and we will not do it any more in future."

The missionaries observed with pleasure, that the confidence and attachment of the Esquimaux to them increased more and more. When they undertook a journey they committed their most valuable commodities to their care, and even left their wives and children under their guardianship. This induced our brethren to build a store-house for them, where they might lay up provisions against the winter, and thus be able to reside with them during that season, and daily hear the word of God.

Although at the close of the second year of their residence among them they could not discover clear evidences of real conversion in any of them, so as to render them proper subjects for baptism, yet appearances even then encouraged pleasing hopes for the future. Many of those dwelling near Nain were much affected during the sermon, and expressed profound awe and reverence for the name of Jesus; but it was difficult to convince them of the evil of sin, and the innate depravity of the heart. Their moral habits, however, were considerably ameliorated. Formerly no European would have ventured to be alone with the Esquimaux, or spend a night with them on any consideration; but now the missionaries often passed several days and nights successively with them, preached the gospel, boldly reproved them, and even silenced the angekoks, or sorcerers, while performing their superstitious rites and incantations. These of course employed all their diabolical arts to prevent their countrymen from receiving the gospel.

This rendered the following occurrence the more remarkable. A man, whose name was Anauke, departed this life, calling on the name of Jesus. The first time the missionaries saw him at Chateau-bay, four years before, he had all the appearance of a thief and murderer; but, after hearing the gospel several times, so striking a change took place in him, that his very features lost their ferocity. In 1772 he pitched his tent at Nain, and stayed there till November, when he removed to his winter house; but some time after returned on foot,* with no other view than to hear the gospel. As it is impossible to travel during the first months of winter, they heard nothing of Anauke till his wife came to the settlement in February, and related, "that when her husband fell sick in December, he prayed earnestly to the Saviour, and not only showed no fear of death, but even declared, that he had no wish to live any longer in this world, but would rather go to his Saviour." When his wife, observing his end to be approaching, began to howl and cry, according to the custom of the heathen, exclaiming, "O my dear husband, wilt thou leave me and thy two children?" he calmly replied, "Weep not, I go to the Saviour who loves men so much." He would not suffer an angekock† to come near him during his sickness. This is the more striking, as he had no Christian friend at hand to instruct him, and none were present whom he might wish to please by speaking of Jesus. The angekock himself related it to the missionary with considerable displeasure. The deceased was ever after known among the natives by the appellation of *the man whom the Saviour took to himself.*

This occurrence encouraged the missionaries to select from among their hearers such as appeared the most seriously impressed with divine truths, and to form them into a class of Catechumens, in order to give them more particular instructions, and to prepare them for holy baptism. They also resolved to erect a proper chapel, as the room in their house, hitherto used for their meetings of worship, was not sufficiently large to accommodate their hearers, which occasionally amounted to some hundreds.

They likewise began to build boats, and make various implements and utensils for the Esquimaux, hoping thereby to introduce a degree of civilization among them, to prevent their going to the south to steal boats, and also to lessen the expenses of the mission, by bartering these articles to the natives for whalebone and blubber.

In the year 1774 four of the missionaries undertook a voyage for the purpose of exploring the coast to the north of Naim. This expedition was attended with most melancholy consequences. After enduring incredible disasters and escaping many imminent dangers, they suffered shipwreck on their return, the vessel being driven on a rock, where she remained fixed, and finally broke to pieces. After a most anxious night, they early the next morning betook themselves to the boat. This was likewise dashed against the rocks. Two of them, the brethren Brasen and Lehman lost their lives; the other two, Haven and Lister, together with the sailors, saved themselves by swimming, and reached a barren rock. Here they suffered incredibly from hunger and excessive cold, and must inevitably have perished, had they not found it practicable to draw the boat on the rock, and so far repair the damage she had sustained as, on the fourth day after their shipwreck, to venture again into her. The wind was in their favour; and they were providentially observed by an Esquimaux in his kajak, who towed them into the harbour of Nain.

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* This is strong evidence of his eagerness to hear the gospel, as the Esquimaux are not accustomed to travel on foot; in summer they go in their boats, and in winter on sledges.

† These sorcerers are also the physicians of the Esquimaux, and make use of certain spells and incantations for the recovery of their patients.

Unappalled by this calamity, Haven and Lister, accompanied by brother Beck, the following spring ventured on another reconnoitering voyage along the south coast, penetrating as far as Old Hopedale; and after some search, found a place near Avertok, more eligible for a missionary settlement than any yet discovered.

But, before the directors of our missions could consider the expediency of occupying this station, they had commissioned brother Haven to begin a new settlement at Okkak, about one hundred and fifty miles to the north of Nain. Accompanied by brother Stephen Jensen, he proceeded thither in the summer of 1775. They purchased the land from the Esquimaux, fixed the boundaries of it, and the following year established themselves in this place. They immediately began to preach the gospel to the heathen in the neighbourhood; and though the progress of conversion here, as well as at Nain, was but slow, yet it was sufficient to preserve the zeal and animate the hope of the missionaries. In 1781 there belonged to the congregation at Okkak, thirty-eight baptized Esquimaux, and about ten catechumens.

In the year 1782, two of the missionaries experienced a very striking preservation of their lives.

Early on March the 11th, the brethren Liebisch and Turner left Nain to go to Okkak, a journey of one hundred and fifty miles. They travelled in a sledge drawn by dogs, and another sledge with Esquimaux joined them; the whole party consisting of five men, one woman and a child. Every thing seemed to favour the undertaking; the weather was fine and remarkably serene, and the track over the frozen sea was in the best order, so that they travelled at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. All, therefore, were in good spirits, hoping to reach Okkak in two or three days. Having passed the islands in the bay, they kept at a considerable distance from the shore, both to gain the smoothest part of the ice, and to avoid the high and rocky promontory of Kiglapeit. About eight o'clock, they met a sledge with Esquimaux driving towards the land, who obscurely intimated that it might be well not to proceed. But as our missionaries saw no reason for it, they paid no regard to these hints, and went on. In a while, however, their own Esquimaux remarked that there was a swell under the ice. It was then hardly perceptible, except on applying the ear close to the ice, when a hollow, grating and roaring noise was heard, as if ascending from the abyss. The weather remained clear, except towards the east, where a bank of light clouds, interspersed with some dark streaks, appeared. But as the wind blew hard from the northwest, no sudden change of weather was expected. The sun had now reached his height, and there was as yet little or no alteration in the appearance of the sky. But the motion of the sea under the ice had grown so perceptible as rather to alarm the travellers, and they began to think it prudent to keep closer to the shore. The ice in many places had fissures and cracks, some of which formed chasms of one or two feet wide; but as they are not uncommon even in the best state, and the dogs easily leap over them, the sledge following without danger, they are terrible only to new-comers.

As soon as the sun declined, the wind increased and rose to a storm, the bank of clouds from the east began to ascend, and the dark streaks put themselves in motion against the wind. The snow was driven about by partial whirlwinds, both on the ice and from off the peaks of the high mountains, and filled the air. At the same time the swell had increased so much, that its effects upon the ice became very extraordinary and alarming. The sledges, instead of gliding along smoothly upon an even surface, sometimes ran with violence after the dogs, and shortly after seemed with difficulty to ascend the rising hill, as the elasticity of the vast body of ice, of many leagues square, and in some places three or four yards in thickness, supported by a troubled sea, occasioned an undulatory motion, not unlike that of a sheet of paper accommodating itself to the surface of a rippling stream. Noises caused by the bursting of the ice at a distance, and resembling the report of cannon, were now likewise heard in many directions.

The Esquimaux, therefore, drove with all haste towards the shore, intending to take up their night-quarters on the south side of the Nirak. But, as it plainly appeared the ice would break and disperse in the open sea, Mark, (who drove the sledge of the missionaries,) advised to push forward to the north of the Nirak, from whence he hoped the track to Okkak might still remain entire. To this proposal the company agreed; but when the sledges approached the coast, the prospect before them was truly terrific. The ice having broken loose from the rocks, was forced up and down, grinding and breaking into a thousand pieces against the precipices, with a tremendous noise, which, added to the raging of the wind, and the snow driving about in the air, nearly deprived the travellers of the power of hearing or seeing any thing distinctly.

To make the land at any risk was now the only hope left; but it was with the utmost difficulty the affrighted dogs could be forced forward, the whole body of the ice sinking frequently below the rocks, then rising above them. As the only moment to land was that when the ice gained the level of the coast, the attempt was extremely nice and hazardous. However, by God's mercy, it succeeded; both sledges gained the shore, and were drawn up the beach, though with much difficulty.

The travellers had hardly time to reflect with gratitude to God on their safety, when that part of the ice from which they had just now made good their landing, burst asunder, and the water, forcing itself from below, covered and precipitated it into the sea. In an instant, as if by a signal given, the whole mass of ice, extending for several miles from the coast, and as far as the eye could reach, burst, and was overwhelmed by the rolling waves. The sight was tremendous and awfully grand; the large fields of ice, raising themselves out of the water, striking against each other, and plunging into the deep, with a violence not to be described, and a noise like the discharge of innumerable batteries of heavy guns. The darkness of the night, the roaring of the wind and sea, and the dashing of the waves and ice against the rocks, filled the travellers with sensations of awe and horror, and almost deprived them of the power of utterance. They stood overwhelmed with astonishment at their miraculous escape, and even the heathen Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God for their deliverance.

The Esquimaux now began to build a snow-house, about thirty paces from the beach; but before they had finished their work, the waves reached the place where the sledges were secured, and they were with difficulty saved from being washed into the sea.

About nine o'clock all of them crept into the snow-house, thanking God for this place of refuge; for the wind was piercingly cold, and so violent, that it required great strength to stand against it.

Before they entered this habitation they could not help once more turning their eyes to the sea, which was now free from ice. They beheld with horror, mingled with gratitude for their safety, the enormous waves driving furiously before the wind, like huge castles, and approaching the shore, where, with dreadful noise, they dashed against the rocks, foaming and filling the air with spray. The whole company now got their supper; and having sung an evening hymn in the Esquimaux language, about ten o'clock lay down to rest. The Esquimaux were soon fast asleep, but brother Liebisch could not get any rest, partly on account of the dreadful roaring of the wind, and partly owing to a sore throat, which gave him much pain.

The wakefulness of the missionary proved the deliverance of the whole party from sudden destruction. About two o'clock in the morning, brother Liebisch perceived some salt water dropping from the roof of the snow-house upon his lips. On a sudden, a tremendous surf broke close to the house, discharging a quantity of water into it; a second soon followed, and carried away the slab of snow placed as a door before the entrance. The missionaries having roused the sleeping Esquimaux, they instantly set to work. One of them with a knife cut a passage through the side of the house; and each seizing some part of the baggage, threw it out on a higher part of the beach; brother Turner assisting them. Brother Liebisch and the woman and child fled to a neighbouring eminence. The latter were wrapped up by the Esquimaux in a large skin, and the former took shelter behind a rock, for it was impossible to stand against the wind, snow and sleet. Scarcely had the company retreated, when an enormous wave carried away their now forsaken habitation.

They thus found themselves a second time delivered from the most imminent danger of death; but the remaining part of the night, before the Esquimaux could seek and find another and safer place for a snow-house, were hours of great distress. Before the day dawned, the Esquimaux cut a hole in a large drift of snow, to serve as a shelter to the woman and child and the two missionaries. Brother Liebisch, however, owing to the pain in his throat, could not bear the closeness of the air, and was obliged to sit down at the entrance, being covered with skins to guard him against the cold.

As soon as it was light they built another snow-house; and, miserable as such an accommodation must be, they were glad and thankful to creep into it.

The missionaries had taken but a small stock of provisions with them, merely sufficient for the short journey to Okkak. Joel, his wife and child, and Kassigiak, the sorcerer, had nothing. They were obliged, therefore, to divide the small stock into daily portions, especially as there appeared no hopes of soon quitting this place or reaching any dwellings. Only two days were left for this purpose, either to attempt the land passage across the wild and unfrequented mountain of Kiglapeit, or wait for a new ice-track over the sea, which it might require much time to form. They therefore resolved to serve out no more than a biscuit and a half per day to each. The missionaries remained in the snow-house, and every day endeavoured to boil so much water over their lamps as might supply them with two cups of coffee a-piece. Through mercy they were preserved in good health, and quite unexpectedly brother Liebisch recovered of his sore throat on the first day. The Esquimaux also kept up their spirits, and even Kassigiak, though a wild heathen, declared that it was proper to be thankful that they were still alive; adding, that if they had remained a little longer on the ice yesterday, all their bones would have been broken in a short time.

Towards noon of the 13th, the weather cleared up, and the sea was seen, as far as the eye could reach, quite clear and free from ice. Mark and Joel went up the hill to reconnoitre, and returned with the disagreeable news, that not a single piece of ice was to be seen in any direction, and that it had been forced away even from the coast at Nuasornak. They were, therefore, of opinion, that they could do nothing but force their way across the mountain of Kiglapeit.

Towards evening, some flakes of ice were observed driving towards the coast; and on the 14th, in the morning, the sea was covered with them. But the weather being very stormy, the Esquimaux could not quit the snow-house, which made them very low-spirited and melancholy. Kassigiak suggested, that it would be well to attempt to make good weather, by which he meant to practise his art as a sorcerer. This the missionaries opposed, telling him that his heathenish practices were of no use, but that the weather would become favourable as soon as it should please God. The weather continuing extremely boisterous, the Esquimaux were ready to sink under their disappointment. They, however, possess one advantage, namely, the power of going to sleep when they please; and, if need be, they sleep for days and nights together.

In the evening of the 15th the sky became clear, and their hopes revived. Mark and Joel went out to reconnoitre, and reported that the ice had acquired a considerable degree of solidity, and might soon afford a safe passage. The poor dogs had now fasted nearly four days; but in the prospect of a speedy release, the missionaries allowed to each a few morsels of food. The temperature of the air having been rather mild, it occasioned a new source of distress; for by the warm exhalations of the inhabitants, the roof of the snow-house began to melt, which occasioned a continual dropping, and by degrees made every thing soaking wet. The missionaries considered this the greatest hardship they had to endure, for they had not a dry thread about them, nor a dry place to lie in.

On the 16th, early, the sky cleared, but the fine particles of snow were driven about like clouds. Joel and Kassigiak resolved to pursue their journey to Okkak, by the way of Nuasornak, and set out with the wind and snow full in their faces. Mark could not resolve to proceed further north, because in his opinion the violence of the wind must have driven the ice off the coast at Tikkerarsuk, so as to render it impossible to land; but thought he might find a track to the south, and get round Kiglapeit. The missionaries endeavoured to persuade him to follow the above-mentioned company to Okkak, but it was in vain; and they did not feel at liberty to insist upon it, not being sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances. Their present distress dictated the necessity of venturing something to reach the habitations of men, and yet they were rather afraid of passing over the newly frozen sea, under Kiglapeit, and could not determine what to do. Brother Turner went again with Mark to examine the ice, and both seemed satisfied that it had acquired sufficient strength. They therefore came to a final resolution to return to Nain, committing themselves to the protection of the Lord.

Notwithstanding the wind had considerably increased, accompanied with heavy showers of snow and sleet, they ventured to set off at half-past ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 17th. Mark ran all the way round Kiglapeit before the sledge to find a good track; and about one o'clock, through God's mercy, they were out of danger, and reached the bay. Here they found a good track upon smooth ice, and made a meal upon the remnant of their provisions. Thus refreshed, they resolved to proceed without stopping till they reached Nain, where they arrived at twelve o'clock at night.

It may be easily conceived with what gratitude to God the whole family at Nain bade them welcome. During the storm, they had with some dread considered what might be the fate of their brethren, though its violence was not felt as much there as on a coast unprotected by any islands. Added to this, the hints of the Esquimaux had considerably increased their apprehensions for their safety, and their fears began to get the better of their hopes. All, therefore, joined most fervently in praise and thanksgiving to God, for this signal deliverance.

The ensuing summer the Brethren began a third missionary establishment on the coast to the south of Nain, which they called Hopedale. For this purpose they purchased from the Esquimaux that tract of land which had been formerly reconnoitered and deemed peculiarly eligible for a settlement. They were encouraged to this extension of their labours in consequence of the eagerness then manifested by the heathen in that vicinity to hear the gospel, and in the fond hope, that by this means a communication might be opened between them and the so-called Red Indians, who live in the interior, and now and then approach the coast in small parties. This latter object, however, has hitherto remained unattainable. And even with respect to the Esquimaux themselves, our missionaries had several years to deplore their rejection of the gospel, so that in 1790 it even appeared as if they had entirely withdrawn from these parts. This unpromising state of things led both the missionaries and the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the heathen, to consider the expediency of relinquishing this settlement altogether. The Lord, however, directed otherwise; and in the sequel, Hopedale was the very place where the new awakening among the Esquimaux commenced, and from thence spread to the other two settlements.

In 1790 many horrid murders were committed in the north. The natives fell upon each other in their tents by night, and numbers were massacred in the most barbarous manner. Amidst the alarm which this event spread through the country, our missionaries were not a little encouraged by the remarks made by the Esquimaux who resided on their land. They expressed their gratitude that the Brethren had settled in the country, adding, "As many murders would certainly have been committed here if you had not come and brought us the good news of our Creator and Redeemer, of his love to us, and our duty to love him and our neighbour."

About six years after, our brethren had a very trying period. An epidemical disease broke out among the natives, and raged through the whole country for some months. All the settlements were visited by it, and it attacked not only the Esquimaux, but also the Europeans; in their case, however, its violence was considerably mitigated. They were obliged for several weeks almost totally to suspend their usual meetings for worship, as the Esquimaux could not leave their dwellings. It proved a source of great grief to them, to find that some of their people, when the medicine administered did not immediately produce the desired effect, had recourse to their old heathenish and superstitious practices for recovery. With few exceptions, however, they afterwards confessed their sinful deviations, and, with every mark of true penitency, begged to be reconciled to the congregation. In the settlements the disorder was not generally fatal, only three or four dying in consequence of it; but among the heathen its violence was greater and the deaths more frequent. Notwithstanding their excessive dread of death, the gospel as yet found no entrance among them. They indeed acknowledged the necessity of conversion, if they would have any solid hope of happiness beyond the grave; but the impression was soon effaced, and they seldom came near the missionaries.

During this period the Esquimaux, William Tuglavina, and his wife, Mikak, died at Nain; the latter in 1795, and the former in 1799. They had been noted characters, both among their countrymen and at the mission. Mikak, who, during her visit in London, was instrumental in promoting the establishment of the mission, continued to render essential services to the missionaries on their arrival in Labrador in 1771, and for some time was an attentive hearer of the gospel. Expressing an apparently sincere desire to obtain true conversion of heart, she was admitted to the class of candidates for baptism. But removing soon after to the south, she lost her good impressions, relapsed into heathenism, and seldom came near our brethren. The last ten days of her life she spent in Nain, where she was faithfully attended by one of the missionaries. Her declaration and conduct were such as to encourage the hope that she had found mercy with God our Saviour.

Of her husband, the missionaries give the following account: "Tuglavina, now called William, was from the beginning well acquainted with the missionaries. He was a man of great note among the Esquimaux, and acquired extraordinary influence and power, not only by his activity, dexterity and success in hunting, his courage, bodily strength and hardiness, which are considered the most essential qualifications of a great man among the Indians, but also by remarkable strength of mind, and quickness of understanding, far superior to that of most of his countrymen. He took advantage of their credulity and general mental inferiority, to gain an astonishing ascendancy over them; and his word was absolute law. As a sorcerer, he was believed to have extraordinary powers given him by the Torngak, or familiar spirit, whom he pretended to consult on all occasions; and so little did the poor deluded savages mistrust his inspirations, that it has often happened, that if he declared, on the word of his Torngak, that such an one ought not to live, the wretched object of his vengeance was instantly murdered by the company. Thus he not only became guilty of the murder of several persons by his own hands, but of many more through his influence and insinuations. The missionaries would have fallen an easy prey to his murderous disposition, had God permitted him to disapprove of their settling in the country. But, though a tyrant among his own nation, and in various ways a great disturber of the peace of the mission, and the seducer of many converts, he always respected and even loved the missionaries. He would submit and even tremble in their presence, whenever reproved for his bad conduct; always confessing that he ought to be converted, and to forsake the ways of sin.

"As an instance of his submission to the missionaries, brother Haven mentions in one of his reports, that when Tuglavina, at the head of a party of Esquimaux, returned the first time from Chateau Bay, having furnished himself with a sloop of two masts, European arms, and many other accoutrements, he stepped unexpectedly into the Mission-House, and into brother Haven's room, dressed in an old officer's uniform, with a bob-wig and a huge laced hat, a sword to his side, and altogether in the habit of an European officer, uttering several threats, and boasting of his valiant deeds in the south. Brother Haven looking sternly at him, exclaimed, 'What, are you Tuglavina? depart this minute; I have nothing to say to you in this dress; put on your old Esquimaux furs, and then return; behave like a sober Esquimaux, and I'll answer your speech.' Tuglavina instantly left the room, as if thunderstruck; and without reflecting on the degrading appearance he must make before his countrymen, in putting off his boasted ornaments, returned to the missionaries, dressed in the plain Esquimaux fashion, who then very seriously reproved him for the wicked practices and the murders of which he had been guilty, and for inveigling so many of the baptized to follow him to the south, where he had seduced them into all manner of heathenish abominations. During this address, Tuglavina grew pale, trembled exceedingly, confessed himself an abominable sinner; but said that he *must* sin, for the devil forced him to it, and he could not help himself. This gave the missionary a desirable opportunity of preaching unto him Jesus as an Almighty Saviour. Such opportunities became more frequent in the following years; and he often shed tears when confessing his wicked deeds, which, contrary to the general practice of the Equimaux, he never denied. In the sequel he became more attentive to the gospel, did every thing in his power to serve the missionaries, and though often hurried into the commission of sin, and by his great reputation among his countrymen, beguiled into conceit, and prevented from humbling himself under the mighty hand of God, yet it was apparent that the Lord followed him, to make him a monument of infinite mercy. At length he gave such proofs of his sincerity and firm resolution to turn with his whole heart unto the Lord, and forsake the ways and even the conversation of the heathen, that our brethren could not but consider this sinner, though so heavily laden with the most enormous crimes, an object of God's mercy and pardon, and a candidate for eternal life. After the usual time of trial as an inhabitant of the settlement, and many serious conversations, and much previous instruction, he was received into the fellowship of the believers, on Christmas day 1793; renouncing the devil and all his works, and promising, with heart and hand, to devote himself unto that God, who made and bought him with his precious blood. He had already during a dangerous illness been baptized in Chateau Bay by a Presbyterian minister.

"After his admission to the Lord's Supper his conduct and expressions of gratitude for all the mercies bestowed upon him, proved very pleasing and encouraging to the missionaries. He evinced a cordial interest in the conversion of his countrymen, and frequently addressed them on the concerns of their souls with such earnestness as no Esquimaux had ever done before. The following year, however, he relapsed, and his conduct was so grossly offensive, that it became necessary to exclude him from the Lord's table for some time, till he showed, not only by his words, but by his whole behaviour, that he sincerely repented of his deviation. In his last illness, he declared, 'that he was ready to go to Jesus, and hoped that the Saviour would not reject him.' He repeatedly testified, 'that he was happy, and put his trust in God our Saviour alone.' As his bodily pain increased, he frequently called on the Lord to release him and take him to himself. He was about sixty years of age when he died."

Towards the close of 1800 an event occurred at Hopedale of the most melancholy nature. The missionary J. W. Reiman, having gone out on the 2d of December to procure some fresh provisions by shooting, returned no more, and as no one was with him, his brethren could only conjecture, that he must have lost his life by the ice breaking under him. This conjecture received additional probability from the account given by four Esquimaux, who, when he did not return in the evening, went in search of him, and continued the search the whole night. They reported that by the light of the moon, they could discern the marks of his feet in several places, but lost them again when they came to the ice. As soon as it was light the next morning the missionaries, accompanied by all the Esquimaux, set off to make a general search, and were favoured with the continuance of fine weather; but their search was as fruitless as that of the preceding night. They keenly felt the loss of him; nor could any thing assuage their grief but the divine consolations with which they were graciously favoured.

In the diary of Hopedale, of 1803, a pleasing instance is related of the mild and forgiving spirit of the gospel. In a conversation which took place among some of the converts, in the presence of a missionary, many disputes were amicably settled, and quarrels prevented. They showed a readiness to confess their grievances and faults to each other, and a sincere disposition mutually to forgive and forget them, and begin anew to bear with each other in the spirit of true brotherly love. "This circumstance was the more striking," say the missionaries, "as the custom of the Esquimaux is, to suppress their displeasure, and even to feign indifference on receiving injuries; but to watch an opportunity for revenge, which, if no earlier opportunity presents itself, breaks out in the most diabolical and murderous retaliation, perhaps ten or twelve years after the offence has been given."

The following horrible incident forms a melancholy contrast to the benign influence of religion just mentioned. Intelligence was brought to our missionaries at Okkak, in January 1806, from Kivalek, that the old sorcerer, Uiverunna, had spent the winter there, he and his family being the only residents. Here his wife died, upon which the old monster seized a poor orphan child, whom he had formerly adopted. Having murdered it, he cut it across all the joints of the fingers and toes, ripped open the belly and threw the body naked into the sea. "Though we are not acquainted with his motives for so atrocious an act," write the missionaries, "yet we know that it belongs to that system of diabolical incantations, by which he expects to appease the devil, by whom he pretends to do great wonders, but who now, according to his notions, required a greater sacrifice than usual, as he had not saved the life of his wife." He did not long escape the punishment he so amply deserved. Having of late endeavoured to render himself formidable among the heathen, by making them believe he had power to kill whomsover he pleased, as he never failed, when any died, to have it reported, that *he* had sent them out of the world by his torngak, or familiar spirit; and being also known as an old murderer, many had resolved to kill him as soon as a fit opportunity should offer. Among other lies he some time ago pretended, that by his sorceries he had killed Kugalek's two wives, who died on one day. Ever since Kugalek sought for revenge; and being joined by another man, they succeeded in dispatching the old sorcerer, shortly after the above act of infanticide.

Hitherto the conversion of the heathen in Labrador had not only proceeded very slowly, but had been attended with many discouraging circumstances. The missionaries had patiently persevered in preaching to the natives, and watching every opportunity to make them attentive to the best interests of their souls; but had reaped little fruit from their labours. Visits were frequent, and there was in general no want of hearers to address, but they showed no disposition to be instructed. If even a salutary impression was occasionally made on their minds, it was not abiding. Some families were indeed collected in the different settlements, but after staying there during the winter, they mostly moved away again in summer, and apparently forgot all they had heard. A few had been baptized and admitted to the Lord's table, yet even these caused the missionaries more grief than pleasure. They had no power to resist the temptations placed in their way, when associating with the heathen during their summer excursions. This often obliged the missionaries to exclude them from the fellowship of the believers. In case of sickness, they were but too ready to have recourse to the superstitious tricks of sorcerers. Even those who refrained from superstitious practices, and were moral in their general deportment, had no true life of God in their souls. They might in some degree observe the form of godliness, but were destitute of its power.

One principal impediment to the progress of the mission was the practice of the Esquimaux, especially those at Hopedale, to go to the south to purchase fire-arms and other articles from the Europeans. Here they associated with the heathen and soon relapsed into their former impious practices. However, as a scarcity began to prevail in that quarter, in consequence of which many perished of hunger, a stop was at length put to these rovings.

This was the state of the mission at the beginning of 1801; but before the close of that year a new period commenced. A fire from the Lord was kindled among the Esquimaux, accompanied with the clearest evidence of being the effect of divine operations on their hearts. It commenced at Hopedale, the very place which presented the most discouraging prospect.

When the Esquimaux of that place returned from their summer excursions, the missionaries were delighted to find that they not only had been preserved from sinful practices, but had greatly increased in the knowledge of divine truth. They had obtained an humbling insight into the corruption and deceitfulness of their hearts, and the wretched state of a person void of faith in Christ. This constrained them to cry for mercy, and gladly to accept salvation on the terms of the gospel: and some afforded encouraging hopes, that they had found forgiveness of sins in the blood of Christ, by which their souls were filled with peace in believing. Out of the abundance of the heart their mouths spake of the love and power of Jesus. Their artless, but energetic, declarations impressed the rest of the inhabitants. They began to feel the necessity of true conversion; and in a short time all the adults appeared earnestly to seek peace with God. Even several of the children were awakened. Our missionaries were daily visited by people, who either inquired, "what they must do to be saved?" or testified of the grace of God manifested to their souls.

The work of conversion, thus begun at Hopedale, soon spread to Nain, and was promoted by rather a singular occurrence. Two young men, Siksigak and Kapik, whose parents were members of this congregation, went to Hopedale, where the mother-in-law of the former resided. His intention was to convey his wife back to his mother, and marry another, who promised to second him in every heathenish abomination, and to forsake the Christian Esquimaux altogether. This man, on entering his own mother's house at Hopedale, found the family engaged in their evening devotion. They did not suffer themselves to be disturbed by his arrival; he sat down, quite astonished at what he saw and heard, being ignorant of what they were doing. The whole company earnestly entreated him not to part from his wife, but pray for true conversion of heart. To these entreaties the missionaries added their exhortations; but all to no purpose; he persisted in his determination. His relations, finding that advice and persuasions had no effect, resorted to prayer. The following day they all assembled in his mother's house, and, in his presence, joined in fervent supplications for his conversion. His mother, among the rest, uttered this petition: "O Lord Jesus! behold this my child; I now give him up to Thee; O, accept him, and suffer him not to be lost forever!" A scene, so unprecedented and unexpected, had an instantaneous effect on the young man; he evidenced a real concern for his salvation, and his whole heart appeared changed: he desisted from his wicked purpose, and took his wife back, and became an humble inquirer after divine truth; to whom the Lord afterwards showed great mercy. His companion, Kapik, also was powerfully awakened, by the instrumentality of his relations.

On their return to Nain, these two men, with energy and boldness, preached Jesus to their countrymen. Some of their friends heard them with astonishment, others mocked and hated them; but the impression made on the inhabitants of the settlement was pleasing and permanent. "We saw several of our people," say the missionaries, "by degrees yielding to conviction, and beginning to doubt whether their Christianity were of the right kind, and whether they had not been deceiving themselves and others. They came voluntarily and confessed their sins, some with many tears, and in a manner of which we had had no instances before. The more seriously they reflected on their former life, the more deeply were they convinced of the treachery of their hearts; they wept on account of the deceit they had so often practised, and confessed to us things of which we could have formed no conception. Though we could not but feel pain on account of their former hypocrisy, our grief was counterbalanced by the joy we felt at the amazing power of our Saviour's grace, by which their hearts were thus broken and softened. Our faith, which in some cases, was indeed very weak, revived, and we saw clearly that with God nothing is impossible."

The news of these pleasing events at Hopedale and Nain soon spread to Okkak, followed by similar effects. The work of conviction and conversion here was greatly promoted by visits of the Christian Esquimaux from Nain. These visitors showed such an ardent desire to describe to their countrymen the love and mercy of God, which they had so savingly experienced themselves, that they went from tent to tent, testifying of the love of Jesus to sinners in so impressive and affecting a manner, that their hearers could resist no longer, but came to the missionaries and confessed the dangerous state of their souls, earnestly inquiring what they must do to be saved. Even the heathen visitors from the north, who passed through the settlement, were struck. They frequently called on the missionaries, and of their own accord came to the chapel and listened to the gospel with silence and much apparent devotion. They expressed their regret that they lived at such a great distance, and could not conveniently remove from their native country, but said, if the missionaries could come to them, they would gladly receive instruction. Many of the heathen also, living in the neighbourhood of our brethren, were so astonished at the occurrences among their believing countrymen, that they resolved to move to one or other of the settlements.

The progress of the mission in the sequel supplies sufficient proof, that this effect of the gospel was not a wild fire, or the mere consequence of a momentary impression, but a divine work, wrought in the hearts of the natives by the Spirit of God himself. The missionaries frequently mention the attention and diligence shown in the schools, both by adults and children, and the delight and fervour with which they engage in their family devotions and in conversations with each other respecting the influence of the gospel on their own souls. Their behaviour at public worship likewise very strikingly differed from that of former years, with regard to the eagerness with which they now attended the house of God, and their deportment during the performance of divine service. On one occasion the missionaries remark, "We no longer see bold, undaunted heathen sitting before us, with defiance or ridicule in their looks; but people expecting a blessing, desirous of experiencing the power of the word of life, shedding tears of repentance, and their whole appearance evincing devotion and earnest inquiry."

Whenever any heathen Esquimaux obtained permission to live on the land belonging to our brethren, their Christian countrymen manifested the purest joy. The following occurrence, related in the report from Hopedale of 1805, will serve to confirm this assertion. "As soon as it was known that some heathen had obtained leave to stay, there arose among our Esquimaux such a spirit of joy and gladness, that it was truly affecting to witness it. Since their arrival here, our people had not failed to speak of the mercy which the Lord had shown in their own conversion, and to preach Jesus to them as the only Saviour, who alone could make them happy both here and hereafter; and now, on being informed that they were to be inhabitants of the place, they hardly knew how to contain themselves for joy. Young and old ran to help them with their baggage, and to settle their little affairs. It happened also, that early in the morning, a party of heathen Esquimaux, who had declared that they would not live with the believers, on departing, had left a man with his wife and child behind, who refused to follow the heathen any longer, and begged to be permitted to live here. He had pitched his tent at some distance, but our people, filled with love and ardour to serve all those who manifested a sincere desire of being converted, went immediately, took it down, and set it up in the midst of their own dwellings. The new comers were quite humbled and amazed by such proofs of love and attention on the part of their Christian countrymen, and declared, that for the first time in their lives they had found people who loved them with disinterested sincerity."

A proof, no less striking, of the transforming influence of the gospel, appeared in the readiness of the believing Esquimaux to abandon those superstitious habits and practices, to which they are apt to cling to the very last. A woman, who had been called Magdalene at her baptism, resisted many temptations put in her way by her husband. Having formerly been very ailing, the heathen used to give her a variety of charms and amulets which she wore about her clothes, whenever she went to sea. In the summer of 1806, being ready to set out on a voyage with her husband, she threw them into the water, saying to the whole company: "Now we shall see whether there is a Jesus who can save and preserve us in health without this trumpery." She enjoyed remarkably good health during the whole voyage; which greatly confirmed her previous convictions of the sinfulness of her past life, and her resolution to devote herself entirely to the Lord. Nor was this a solitary instance; the cases were now becoming less frequent every year, in which, in consequence of their having been seduced to heathen superstitions during their summer residence at a distance from the settlement, the missionaries found themselves compelled to exclude any of the converts from church-fellowship; a circumstance which in the early period of the mission caused them so much sorrow and perplexity.

In 1811 the settlement at Hopedale suffered considerable diminution. A very unusual disorder broke out among the natives, of which the missionaries give the following account: "Our Esquimaux had been for a long time preserved from any particular illnesses, except being subject to a kind of eruption and boils, which, however, though painful and unpleasant, were rather beneficial to their general health. But on the 24th of July, as a boat filled with our people was leaving Tikkerarsuk, one of their provision-places, to return to Hopedale, several of them, one after the other, were seized with a nervous paralytic disorder of a most dangerous and deadly nature, insomuch that, during the next eight days, thirteen of them departed this life, of whom seven were communicants. Three of them were fishing in perfect health in the morning, and in the evening lay as corpses in the boat. Above thirty were taken ill, and some brought nigh unto death, but now, thank God, the greater number have recovered, though a few are still very weak. As late as the 12th of September, we buried an old communicant, called Luke. Terror and dismay seized the people, but we confidently believe, that those who departed this life are now in the presence of *Him* whom they had known here as their Saviour, and to whose holy will they expressed full resignation at the approach of death. By this afflicting dispensation we have now got a considerable number of widows and orphans, depending entirely upon charity, and we cannot withhold from them occasional assistance. We often commend them in prayer to the Father of the fatherless, who will in mercy regard and supply their wants."

The missionaries had not been long settled in Labrador, before they discovered that the coast was very thinly inhabited. They consequently conceived that the aim of the mission would be better attained, if access could be had to the main body of the nation, from which the roving Esquimaux on the coast appear to be mere stragglers. In this opinion they were confirmed by those heathen who annually visited the settlements, and who reported that the body of the Esquimaux nation lived near, and beyond, Cape Chudleigh. These visiters conceived much friendship for the missionaries, never failed to request that some of them would come to their country, and even urged the formation of a new settlement, considerably to the north of Okkak.

In order to determine the practicability of thus extending the labours of our brethren in Labrador, the directors of the missions, after nature deliberation, recommended them to undertake a voyage for the purpose of exploring the northern coast, which had hitherto remained unknown to European navigators.

The missionaries Kohlmeister and Kmoch cheerfully engaged in this difficult and perilous enterprise, for which they were well qualified. The latter, to other essential qualifications, joined great cheerfulness and intrepidity. The former, having resided seventeen years in Ladrador, was complete master of the language, and deservedly beloved both by the Christain and heathen Esquimaux; and his kind and affable manner was eminently calculated to conciliate the affections of unknown pagans, while his invincible zeal to promote their temporal and spiritual welfare sustained his mind in every difficulty and danger. He had besides acquired some knowledge of mineralogy, botany, the use of the quadrant and other sciences, which might be of advantage on such an expedition.

They engaged the Christian Esquimaux, Jonathan, of Hopedale, who possessed a two-masted shallop, for a liberal recompense, to conduct them on their voyage. He was a man of superior understanding and skill, and of uncommon presence of mind in difficulties and dangers. At Hopedale he was considered the principal person, or chief, of his nation. On his part it was no small sacrifice to accompany the missionaries, for though an Esquimaux roves a good deal during the summer in quest of food, yet in winter he always, if possible, settles in his native place, where he is esteemed and beloved. But Jonathan was willing to relinquish all these comforts, to reside among strangers where he would have no preeminence, and expose himself to unknown hardships and dangers, uncertain whether he should ever return, sustained only by the hope that the projected voyage might pave the way for the introduction of the gospel into that quarter. When any of his countrymen represented to him the danger of the expedition, he used to say, "Well, we will try; we shall know better when we get there." Once he said, "When I hear people talk about the danger of being killed, I think, Jesus died out of love to us, what great matter would it be, if we were to be put to death in *his* service, should that be his good pleasure concerning us." Nor did he ever, during the whole voyage, forsake that generous principle, but his cheerful, firm and faithful conduct under all circumstances proved most honourable to the character of a convert to Christianity.

Besides the missionaries and the captain, our travellers were joined by the family of the latter, and three other Esquimaux families from Hopedale, and a fifth from Okkak, who attended the shallop in a skin-boat. The whole company, therefore, consisted of nineteen persons, among whom were several young children. They all met at Okkak, and waited there till the bay was cleared of ice.

Having freighted the vessel with the things necessary for the voyage, the travellers were commended to the grace and protection of God in a meeting of the congregation at Okkak, on the evening of the 23d of June 1811.

At two o'clock the following afternoon they weighed anchor, and for several days proceeded without any remarkable occurrence. The sea being still full of drift-ice, which it required great care to avoid, they mostly approached the shore at night and cast anchor. They frequently met with companies of Esquimaux from Okkak and other places, who had their summer-station along the coast. With these the missionaries held meetings for worship, whenever circumstances permitted, especially on Sundays.

Proceeding in a northerly direction, the travellers found their passage completely occupied with floating ice, driving towards them and forcing them to return. This brought them into great distress, so that the captain himself repeatedly exclaimed in a plaintive tone: "Alas, alas, we shall soon be without a boat!" With the utmost difficulty they sailed along the shore, some being obliged to land and haul the boat with ropes round the points, and others with hooks and spars to keep her off the rocks. Two or three times she stuck fast on sunken rocks, but by God's mercy was got off again without being damaged. At length they got into Nullatartok bay, in the 59th degree of north latitude. It is surrounded by high mountains, and so shallow at the upper end, that no large ice-fields can float in it. Here they pitched their tents and were detained twelve days, during which time they explored the country as far as they were able. The mountains were covered with moss, alder, birch, and various shrubs and plants; and the valleys with grass and a great variety of flowers. The rocks were slaty, easily splitting into plates of from four to eight feet square. They discovered three rivers abounding in salmon.

The sea being at length cleared of ice, they embarked again, on July the 15th, and steered towards Nachvak bay, the magnificent mountains of which afforded them a most enchanting prospect, especially at sun-rise. A party of heathen Esquimaux, about fifty in number, had fixed their summer residence on this bay. As soon as our voyagers approached, loud shouts of joy resounded from all quarters, and muskets were fired in every direction. They had scarce patience to wait for their landing, and were all eager to assist them in pitching their tents. Their behaviour was modest and rather bashful, and there was no reason to complain of any unpleasant intrusion; nor were any thefts committed. They rested here two days, and did not neglect to acquaint the heathen with the design of their voyage, and to preach the gospel to them. They were evidently much impressed, and one of their chief men said: "I am determined to be converted to Jesus." The Christian Esquimaux, in the travelling company, were likewise very zealous in exhorting their countrymen to believe in Jesus, and on every occasion exhibited the character of true believers.

On the 25th of July they arrived at Oppernavik, lying between the 60th and 61st degree of north latitude, not far from Cape Chudleigh. Here they found Uttakiyok, with his two wives and youngest brother, waiting for them. He and his family are from the Ungava bay, the very place to which they were directing their course. He was one of the two Esquimaux, from whom our missionaries received the first distinct information respecting the Ungava country and its inhabitants. Having learned that it was the intention of our brethren to make a voyage to that country in the present year, he had waited for their arrival in Oppernavik during the whole spring, and had erected signals on all the heights surrounding his tent, that they might not miss him. This man was of very essential service to them, as without such a steady and trusty guide, they must have been wandering in the most painful and perilous uncertainty in the desert regions to the west of Cape Chudleigh, where, on a coast of one hundred miles in length, they did not meet a single inhabitant. He executed the office he had thus voluntarily undertaken, with a degree of faithfulness and disinterested kindness, which excited their admiration and gratitude.

After enduring much fear and difficulty on the first of August from large shoals of ice surrounding them on all sides, they safely passed the whirlpools and eddies in the straits, and doubled Cape Chudleigh without meeting with any disaster, except that the skin-boat, which they had in tow, with an Esquimaux in her, was seized by the vortex and received a rapid twist: but as the towing-rope did not break, she was immediately, by the swiftness of their course, rescued from danger.

Having thus entered the ocean on the western side of Cape Chudleigh, they found themselves, as it were, transported into a new world. The coast, which had hitherto taken a northerly direction, now turned to the south-south-west. They soon got sight of the Ungava country, and sailed briskly amidst the numerous island, lying along the coast, which is low, with gently sloping hills. They discovered three skin-boats, full of people, standing towards them from the shore. They were inhabitants of Ungava, and welcomed them with shouts of joy, and with firing their pieces. The missionaries visited them in their tents, informing them of the purpose for which they had undertaken this voyage. As many of these Esquimaux had never before seen an European, they did not know how to satisfy their curiosity with gazing at them, and even felt them all over.

August 7th they arrived at the mouth of the river of Kangerthualuksoak, to which they afterwards gave the name of George's-river. To this spot they had from the first directed their attention. It lies about 140 miles S. S. W. of Cape Chudleigh, in lat. 58° 57′ North. Here they pitched their tents and stayed several days, for the purpose of exploring the country. At a short distance from their landing place they discovered a spot which appeared well adapted for a missionary station. It is a green slope, or terrace, overgrown with shrubs, a woody valley extending on one side. Their conductor, Uttakiyok, who had spent more than one winter in the Ungava country, assured them that there was here an ample supply of provisions, both in summer and winter, for the Esquimaux, and expressed his conviction that they would collect from all parts and settle here, if a missionary establishment were formed. As to Europeans, the missionaries entertained no doubt that they might find means of subsistence in this place, as it is accessible for ships, and has wood and water in plenty. These considerations induced them to erect high marks of stones, on the two opposite hills at the entrance of the bay; and on a declivity of a hill on the right they fixed a board, in which were carved the initials of the present King of Great Britain, those of the two missionaries, and of the society to which they belonged, together with the day and year of their arrival.

Our travellers, after leaving this place, had proceeded but a short way, when they were obliged to cast anchor in an exposed situation, being detained several days by contrary winds: and when the wind became more favourable, it blew so hard a gale, that they were in imminent danger of suffering shipwreck. Their situation now became critical and rather alarming. The season was far advanced, and the Esquimaux expressed their fears, that if they proceeded much farther, they might not find it practicable to return to Okkak before winter, which would be attended with most distressing consequences.

These circumstances threw the missionaries into a very perplexing dilemma. They were only seventy or eighty miles distant from the western extremity of the Ungava country, which they had fixed upon as the final object of their voyage, and yet difficulties now presented themselves, which seemed to render it nearly impossible to reach this point. In this perplexity they retired to their own tent, and, having maturely weighed all circumstances, entreated the Lord's direction in fervent prayer. They rose from their knees with a firm conviction in their minds, that they ought to proceed in *His* name, relying on his help. And when they mentioned their determination to the Esquimaux, they found them cheerfully disposed to prosecute the voyage.

Two days after the wind veered to the north-east, and became favourable, so that after a sail of six days they arrived at the mouth of the river Kocksoak (Sand-river,) the very place they had in view. Here they remained from August the 25th to the 1st of September, exploring the circumjacent country, and entering into conversation with the inhabitants respecting the object of this expedition. The difference between these Esquimaux and their countrymen living in the vicinity of our settlements was very striking. The former are very poor and miserably equipped, whereas the latter, by their intercourse with our brethren and other Europeans, have acquired many conveniences, and even comparative affluence. They appeared rather shy, but, after receiving a few trifling presents, they became more free and communicative, surveying the missionaries from head to foot, as if they were a new species of animals. They listened with attention to their discourses, repeatedly expressing their wish, that they would come and settle in the country, that they might hear more of the gospel and be converted.

The estuary of the Kocksoak lies in 58° 36′ N. latitude, at the distance of from six to seven hundred miles from Okkak, and is about as broad as the Thames at Gravesend. They gave it the name of South-river. Having proceeded further up this river, in the skin-boat, they arrived at a bay, surrounded on all sides by gently rising ground, well wooded with trees of moderate size. They gave it the name of Unity's bay. They considered this a very convenient place for a missionary settlement. A fine slope extends for about half an English mile, bounded on each extremity by a hill, on which they erected high signals. The land is level and dry, well watered by several rivulets issuing from the wood, in which they found various European plants and flowers, different kinds of shrubs, such as junipers, currants, &c. and grass and trees in abundance.

Our travellers now deemed it unnecessary to prosecute their voyage any further, as, from all the intelligence they could gain from the natives, they were satisfied that no other place suitable for a missionary establishment could be found. Further west no wood grows along the coast, and there is no place, except the two rivers before named, where a ship could with safety approach the land; and at this season of the year they would probably meet with no inhabitants, as they were all gone into the interior to hunt reindeer. The object of their expedition having been thus far attained, they prepared for their return. They presented their faithful pilot, Uttakiyok, with their skin-boat, with which he was highly gratified. September the 2d they commenced their voyage home, and without meeting with any remarkable occurrence, arrived in safety at Okkak on the 4th of October, after an absence of fourteen weeks, having performed a voyage of from twelve to thirteen hundred miles.

During the following years no very remarkable events occurred in the three settlements at Hopedale, Nain, and Okkak. The mission proceeded with a slow but steady pace, and though the accession of new converts was not great, yet our brethren had the pleasure to find that, with but few exceptions, those who came to reside with them, remained faithful to their promise on admission, to forsake their pagan customs, and improve all the means of grace for true conversion of heart. They were cheered in their benevolent exertions by observing clear evidences of a divine work in the children and young people, born and educated in the settlements. They were stimulated to increasing diligence at school by obtaining a new spelling and reading-book in the Esquimaux language. The progress of both young and old in scriptural knowledge was greatly promoted by the translation and printing of the Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Summary of Christian Doctrine for the use of the children, and the subsequent version of each of the gospels separately, generously published at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The devotion of the congregation has been much enlivened by the publication of a Hymn Book in their native tongue.

The early commencement and extraordinary severity of the winter of 1815 prevented the Esquimaux from procuring a sufficient stock of provisions; they were, however, preserved from absolute famine, as the missionaries rendered them all the assistance which their own scanty stores allowed. This distress had in some measure an injurious influence on their spiritual course, as they were obliged to seek their food at a distance from the settlements. Some were so reduced by want and distress, that they seemed in a manner stupified, and scarce able to attend to the concerns of their souls with becoming seriousness. Many of them, however, manifested filial confidence in their heavenly Father, and due resignation to *his* will. Notwithstanding these trying circumstances the missionaries remark: "It is clearly seen, that the Christian Esquimaux have a consciousness of the necessity of knowing and relying on their Saviour and Redeemer, whom they are bound to love and serve; and often have we seen them shed tears on hearing the gospel. The conduct of our communicants has afforded us pleasure and edification, by which we have been greatly encouraged. In short, we rejoice in perceiving, that the work of God and his Spirit has been carried on in the hearts of our people, with manifest blessing, though amidst much weakness and imperfection on our part, and not distinguished by any extraordinary appearances from without."

A trial, severer than any which had hitherto exercised the faith and patience of our brethren on this coast, was experienced by them in the year 1816, in consequence of the late arrival of the ship at Nain and Okkak, and the complete failure of all the captain's attempts to reach the settlement at Hopedale. The following is the official account of this disastrous event: "October 28th, 1816, the Jemima arrived in the river from Labrador, after one of the most dangerous and fatiguing voyages ever known. She arrived at the drift-ice on the Labrador coast on the 16th of July. Captain Fraser found it extending two hundred miles from the land, and after attempting to get in, first at Hopedale, then at Nain, and lastly at Okkak, he was at length completely surrounded by ice, and in the most imminent danger during six days and nights, expecting every moment that the ship would be crushed to pieces; with very great exertion he at length got towards the outer part of the ice. Yet he was beset by it for forty-nine days, and to the astonishment of all our brethren, as well as the Esquimaux, did not reach Okkak till August 29th. The very next day the whole coast, as far as the eye could reach, was entirely choaked up by ice, and after lying at Okkak nearly three weeks, he was twice forced back by it on his passage to Nain, which place he did not reach till Sept. 22d. After staying the usual time, Captain Fraser proceeded, Oct. 3d, towards Hopedale, though with fine weather, yet, on account of the lateness of the season and a great deal of drift-ice, with but little prospect of reaching that settlement. Notwithstanding he mentioned his fears to the brethren at Nain, brother Kmoch and his wife, and the two brethren Korner and Christensen, who were going to Hopedale, went on board, and they set sail. In the evening the wind rose and blew very hard, accompanied with a heavy fall of snow, and so dense a fog, that they could not see the length of the ship. Being within half a mile of a dangerous reef of rocks, the captain was obliged to carry a press of sail to clear them, which he did but just accomplish, when the gale increased to such a degree, the wind being right on shore, that he was obliged to lay to, when the sea often broke over the vessel. Seeing every attempt to reach Hopedale was in vain, he was at last necessitated to bear away for England on Oct. 5th. On the 8th, 9th, and 10th, he again experienced a gale, equal to a hurricane, which, during the night between the 9th and 10th, was so violent, that the captain expected the ship would have foundered. She was at one time struck by a sea, which twisted her in such a manner, that the very seams of her larboard side opened, and the water gushed into the cabin, and into the mate's berth, as if it came from a pump, and every body at first thought her side was stove in; the Lord, however, protected every one from harm, and nothing was lost, nor has the ship suffered material damage."*

This disastrous event occasioned many fears and perplexities, both to the missionaries in Labrador and their brethren and friends at home. It caused a very considerable expense to the funds of the society. It unexpectedly removed four missionaries from the scene of their labours. And it awakened the most painful feelings in our brethren and sisters at Hopedale, who naturally concluded that the ship had been lost, as a considerable time elapsed before they heard of her arrival at the other two settlements; and even then their anxiety was but partially relieved, being inclined to fear that the vessel had foundered in attempting to reach their harbour.

The four missionaries, who had thus unexpectedly been brought to Europe, after spending the winter in England, returned to Labrador in 1817. Their voyage was perilous, as the passage was frequently obstructed by immense fields of ice during heavy gales and thick fogs. But, though the vessel was greatly damaged, she safely reached the harbour of Hopedale; and, after receiving the needful repairs, proceeded to Nain and Okkak.

From the intelligence, brought by the ship on her return to England, the author is able to lay before his readers the following concise account of occurrences in this mission down to the autumn of 1817.

The non-arrival of the ship at Hopedale in the preceding year had, as was anticipated, caused much anxiety to the missionaries in that place. They had, however, suffered no want of provisions, being supplied from the stores at Nain.

The most distressing consequence of the event just alluded to, was the obstacle, thereby thrown in the way of our brethren in Okkak, to proceed during the summer of 1817 to the Ungava country, and spend the following winter there. But the unexpected removal of the missionaries to Europe so reduced the number of those remaining in the country, that they were obliged, though very reluctantly, to relinquish that intention. This was the more to be regretted, as they had received previous information that the inhabitants of the Ungava country were anxiously awaiting their arrival. But time and seasons are in the hands of the Lord; "He does all things well," and the duty of his servants is, "under every trial to be resigned to *his* will."

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* Per. Acct. Vol. VI. p. 270.—It deserves to be gratefully acknowledged, that this is the first calamity of this kind, experienced by our brethren since their arrival in Labrador. The ship, freighted for the purposes mentioned in page 507, had made forty-seven voyages to and from this coast, without suffering any serious disaster. Though some fears for her safety had been excited once or twice before, the issue was such, as to awaken gratitude rather than repining sensations. In 1778 the vessel was captured by a French privateer; but as it happened on her return, it was attended with no detriment to the missionaries; and being soon after recaptured by the English, she was restored to the owners. The captain, mate and two sailors, who had been taken to Dunkirk, were soon liberated, and all the letters and papers from Labrador transmitted unopened to our brethren in London. On her return in 1805 she escaped a similar danger. On the 18th of November she was chased by a French frigate, brought to, and forced to keep her company. But the sea running very high, and continuing in that state for twenty-four hours, it was impossible for the frigate to send out a boat to board her. The second night proving extremely dark and boisterous the captain, setting as much sail as the ship would carry, ventured to attempt his escape, and in the morning saw no more of the frigate. Two days after, however, he had the mortification to meet her again, and to be brought to a second time. Again the Lord interposed. The wind was so violent, that the frigate could not put out a boat, and during the night the captain, crowding all the sails, fortunately escaped and saw no more of the enemy. On her voyage from Nain to Okkak in 1811 the mercy of God in her preservation was thankfully acknowledged by all on board. The cold was so intense, though only the latter end of September, that the running rigging, being covered with ice, would not work through the blocks, and had it been needful, the sails once set, could not have been handed. Even the sails were stiffened by the frost, so as to be quite unmanageable. But it pleased God to grant such favourable wind and weather, that nothing was required but to steer the vessel. On reaching Okkak, on the 29th of September, the sailors were obliged to go aloft and knock off the ice and furl the sails. On her return to England she encountered storms little short of hurricanes; and though she sustained considerable damage, the captain did not deem it necessary to put in for repairs any where, and reached London in safety on the second of December.

The peaceful and hopeful course of the Christian Esquimaux was unhappily disturbed by some pagan visiters from the south, who inveigled eighteen of the inhabitants of Hopedale and fifty of Okkak to leave the settlements, and remove with them to the residence of the Europeans in the south. Discouraging as this was to our brethren, they were animated in the prosecution of their work, by observing, that the major part of their converts were progressively attaining more of the Christian character, both in knowledge and practice.

A few general observations will very properly close this chapter. The mission in Labrador, in many respects, bears a strong resemblance to that in Greenland. Most of the converts pass the winter in the settlements, dwelling in winter-houses; but the greater part of the summer they spend in their provision-places on the islands, or along the coast, catching seals, or in the interior hunting reindeer; and when during this season they come, for a week or two, to the settlements, they dwell in their tents. During the winter the meetings for religious worship, not only on Sundays, but every day in the week, and likewise the schools, both for adults and children, are held in regular order.

Our brethren have laid out gardens, which, however, do not produce much except lettuce, spinnach, and a few early turnips and cabbages. The country supplies them with some game, such as hares, wild geese, partridges, &c., and the bays furnish plenty of fish; in some years they have even caught more than 6000 large salmon-trouts at Nain, which, together with cod, are prepared for winter's use. But, after all, their main subsistence must depend on the provisions annually sent from Europe. It is no wonder, therefore, that the arrival of the ship is always considered as a most auspicious event, and never fails to awaken the liveliest joy and gratitude.

They have one convenience not possessed in Greenland. The country supplies not only wood for fuel, but also timber for most purposes of building. With a view to facilitate their necessary labours of this kind, they have erected a saw-mill in each of the settlements.

CHAPTER III.

MISSION IN NORTH AMERICA.

The Trustees of Georgia having offered Count Zinzendorf a tract of land to be colonized by the Brethren, this offer was gladly accepted, in the hope that a way might thus be opened for preaching the gospel to the Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee Indians.

A number of brethren being found willing to engage in this undertaking, they left Herrnhut in November, 1731, conducted by John Toeltschig and Anthony Seiffart, and being joined in London by brother Spangenberg,* arrived in America the following spring. The Trustees of Georgia accommodated them with houses in the town of Savannah, till they had cleared and cultivated a piece of ground and formed a settlement on the river Ogache. Their number being increased the following year by several new colonists, God blessed their endeavours in such a manner, that in a short time, besides maintaining themselves and assisting their neighbours, they were able to repay the money advanced for them in London. Among their neighbours they bore the character of peaceable, quiet and pious people, who were not seeking temporal advantages, but merely the salvation of the heathen.

In the hope of thereby attaining their object, they erected a house for a school on the island of Irene, in the river of Savannah, about five miles from the town. Many Indians resided on that island, and most of them understood some English. Here the missionaries, P. Rose and his wife, Seiffart and Biener took up their abode, preached to the Indians, and instructed their children. The Reverend Benjamin Ingham, an English clergyman, having come from Georgia, lodged with them for some time, and rendered them important services, particularly in studying the language of the Indians.

Their labours here, however, were soon interrupted. The Spaniards endeavouring to expel the English from Georgia, the Brethren were called upon to join the other colonists in taking up arms against them. This they refused, having before their arrival obtained a legal exemption from personal military service. But, as their refusal displeased the rest of the inhabitants, they repaid all the money advanced to them, left their flourishing plantations, and retired to Pennsylvania.

Being unwilling totally to relinquish this promising field of labour, they availed themselves of the offer of the Rev. George Whitfield to assist him in his establishment in Georgia, and for this purpose sent brother John Hagen thither in 1740. But all the men of the Creek Indians having gone to the war against the Spaniards, he could not effect much, and therefore returned to Pennsylvania.

Brother Spangenberg had meanwhile visited Germany, and excited such a lively interest in the Indian mission, that several brethren resolved to venture their lives in this benevolent but arduous service. One of these, Christian Rauch, was immediately despatched to New York, where he arrived in July, 1740. Some pious people endeavoured to dissuade him from his intention, representing it as a fruitless and dangerous enterprize; but his zeal and confidence in God were not shaken.

Having heard that an embassy of Mahikans were in the city, he went in search of them, and to his great joy he found that they understood the Dutch language. Their appearance was ferocious, and they were besides much intoxicated. When they had become sober, he addressed two of them, Tschoop and Shabash, inquiring, whether they wished for a teacher to instruct them in the way of salvation? They approved of his proposal, and with due Indian solemnity declared him their teacher. At a subsequent interview, arrangements were made for his removal to the Indian town Shekomeko, about twenty-five miles east of North River, on the borders of Connecticut.

When Rauch arrived at the residence of these Indians, they received him with great kindness, and listened to his first address with marks of serious attention; but, when he repeated his exhortations the next day, they derided his words, and openly laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged by their taunts, he was indefatigable in visiting them in their huts, testifying of the evil of sin and of the grace of God in Christ Jesus. On these occasions, he had to encounter many hardships. He had neither the means to keep a horse, nor money to hire a boat, and thus suffered from the excessive heat and fatigue in travelling from one town to another; and he was not unfrequently denied admittance into their houses.

In a while, however, it pleased the Lord to open the ears and hearts of some of them. Tschoop, one of the two Indians whom he had met in New York, was the first who discovered any serious conviction of sin, and a desire to be instructed in the gospel. Soon after, his companion, Shabash, was likewise awakened; and the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of these two savages strikingly evidenced itself. Their eyes overflowed with tears when the missionary conversed with them on the sufferings and death of our Redeemer, and the efficacy of his atonement. They lamented their former blindness in worshipping dumb idols, and their ignorance of the true God and the way of salvation.

These proofs of the power and grace of God soon became public. The neighbouring Christians were roused and made attentive to the gospel. They desired the missionary to preach to them, and the Word was blessed to many. In this way he laboured for a whole year, never omitting an opportunity of beseeching and encouraging Christians and heathen to come to Jesus Christ.

But now, some white people, conceiving their interests would be injured if the Indians were converted to Christianity, stirred up the heathen against him, and even instigated them to threaten his life, if he did not leave the place. He therefore deemed it most advisable to remove for a while, and take shelter with a farmer. This man, at first, raised various objections against the conversion of the Indians; but when he observed the zeal and devotedness of the missionary, he offered him board and lodgings in his house upon condition that he should instruct his children, remarking, "We white people are as wicked and ignorant as the heathen."

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* He had held the office of Theologus Adjunctus in the university of Halle, in Saxony; and having joined the Brethren, was afterwards consecrated a bishop of their church.

In this family, brother Rauch diligently discharged the duties of a schoolmaster, yet neglecting no opportunity of fulfilling his missionary calling. In the execution of the latter, however, he met with many difficulties and impediments. Some of the white people sought opportunities to maltreat him, even threatening to hang him; others tried to seduce the Indians to inebriety, that they might murder him in a drunken frolic. In short, they employed every artful means to prepossess their minds against him, so that even Tschoop and Shabash became mistrustful. To these wicked machinations, he opposed a meek and peaceable deportment. He was prudent and cautious in all his steps; firmly confiding in his Almighty Protector, he acted with undaunted courage, praying for his enemies, and sowing the word of God in tears.

By degrees, his meek and humble behaviour, his perseverance and courage, gained the admiration of the Indians, and changed their conduct towards him. He went frequently among them, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep in their huts with the greatest composure. This latter circumstance, in particular, excited their astonishment. Tschoop once observing him asleep in his hut, confessed that he was mightily struck, and thought: "This man cannot be a bad man; he fears no evil, not from us who are so savage, but sleeps comfortably, and places his life in our hands." Being, upon further reflection, convinced of the falsehood of the charges brought against the missionary by the white people, he exerted himself to remove the prejudices of his countrymen; and he happily succeeded.

Having thus regained the confidence of the Indians, brother Rauch was unremitting in his labours for their good, and had the joy to observe, that many were powerfully impressed by his discourse of the love of Jesus to sinners. But, in no instance did the Word reach the conscience with greater power, or more strikingly display its saving efficacy, than in the case of Tschoop. Before his conversion, he was distinguished by every act of outrage and sin, and had even crippled himself by his debaucheries; but now the lion was tamed, and the slave of sin and Satan became a child of God and a preacher of righteousness. The account he once gave of his conversion, will best elucidate the change wrought in him. "Brethren," said he, "I have been a heathen, and have grown old amongst them; therefore I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came, and began to explain to us, that there was a God. We answered, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Return to the place from whence thou camest.' Then again, another preacher came and said: 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk,' &c. We answered, 'Thou fool, dost thou think us ignorant of this? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to whom thou belongest, to leave off these things; for who steal, lie, or are more drunken than thine own people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time, brother Rauch came into my hut, sat down and spoke nearly as follows: 'I am come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and of earth. He sends to let you know, that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery in which you lie at present. For this end he became a man, gave his life a ransom and shed his blood for sinners,' &c. When he had finished his discourse, he lay down, fatigued with his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I thought, what kind of a man is this? There he lies asleep; I might kill him and throw him into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern. However, I could not forget his words; they constantly recurred to my mind. Even when asleep, I dreamt of the blood Christ shed for us. I found this to be widely different from any thing I had heard before; and I interpreted Rauch's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening commenced among us. I say, therefore, brethren, preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would wish your words to gain entrance among the heathen."*

Count Zinzendorf, being come to America to inspect the various colonies and settlements of the Brethren in that quarter of the world, also visited this infant mission. On this occasion, Tschoop, Shabash, and two other Indians, were admitted to the church of Christ by baptism, as the first fruits of that nation. The count made several journeys into the interior, whereby a friendly intercourse was established with some other Indian tribes. In one place he met with a numerous embassy of sachems, or heads of the Iroquois, to whom he declared the purport of his visit. After about an hour's consultation, two of the ambassadors returned the following answer to the count: "Brother, you have made a long voyage over the seas to preach to the white people and to the Indians. You did not know that we were here, and we knew nothing of you. This proceeds from above. Come, therefore, to us, both you and your brethren; we bid you welcome, and take this fathom of wampum in confirmation of the truth of our words." A kind of league was thus made between the Brethren and the Iroquois, which was at that time of great importance, as they might have considerably obstructed the labours of the missionaries, had they been enemies.

Shekomeko now became a flourishing little town. More missionaries joined brother Rauch, endowed with the same patient fortitude, prudence and ardent zeal, for the conversion of the heathen. The young converts were filled with joy and gratitude for the grace conferred upon them, testifying with a warm heart, both to white people and to Indians, of the love of God in Christ Jesus; and their Christian deportment evidenced the reality of their profession. The gospel found attentive hearers not only in the neighbouring villages, but many savages came from a distance of twenty miles to hear the *great word*, as they termed it, and were often so much affected during the sermon, that they wept all the time, and some even fell on their faces, and by other expressive attitudes signified how deeply the discourse had penetrated and humbled their hearts.

Meanwhile the other Indian nations were not wholly neglected. Besides the endeavours of Count Zindendorf and the persons in his company, the Brethren at Bethlehem frequently sent some of their number to preach in the Indian towns in their vicinity, which were chiefly inhabited by Delawares. No immediate success attended these endeavours, except that the kind and affable behaviour of the brethren prepossessed the savages in their favour, and thus paved the way for better things at a future period. These journeys were often attended with much fatigue and danger. On one occasion, two brethren were obliged to pass through a forest which had been set on fire, and to cross a large brook, which had overflowed its banks. But the God whom they served delivered them, and literally verified his promise: "*When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.*"—Isaiah xliii. 2.

In externals, the missionaries had to endure many difficulties and trials. The enmity of many nominal Christians against the work of God among the heathen had not wholly subsided. They met with much opposition, and Satan was continually instigating his emissaries to harass and distress them. They lived and dressed in the Indian manner, so that in travelling they were often taken for Indians. As far as they could, they maintained themselves by the labour of their hands, being assisted by the Brethren in Bethlehem only when their own resources proved insufficient.

As most of the Christian Indians who visited at Skekomeko lived in Pachgatgoch, in Connecticut, at a distance of about twenty miles, they requested the magistrates to provide them with a preacher. Their petition being rejected, they applied to Bethlehem, when brother Mack and his wife were sent thither. They were received with great joy, even by the heathen, who remarked that they must love them very much, to undertake so long a journey in winter. Mack likewise made a journey to Potatik, about seventy miles further in the country. In both places the Lord evidently blessed his labours. Many were awakened to a sense of their lost condition and their need of a Saviour, and six Indians were baptized at the latter place.

The congregation at Shekomeko continued to increase, not only in number, but also in grace and knowledge; but hitherto the missionaries had been scrupulous of admitting any to the Lord's Supper. Now, however, they thought it wrong to debar them any longer from this holy ordinance. Having, therefore, given their converts the needful instruction respecting its institution and the blessings thereby conveyed to true believers, they admitted ten of the Christian Indians to partake with them of this sacred repast in March, 1743; and their number was augmented each succeeding month.

In July, the same year, a new chapel was opened at Shekomeko. It was thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. This enabled them to regulate their meetings for worship better. On Sundays and other festival occasions Shekomeko seemed all alive, and it might be said with truth that the believers evidenced their faith in Jesus both early and late. Many heathen visited the place; and once, when above a hundred were there, the missionaries observed, that wherever two or three were standing together, the love of God and the sufferings of Christ formed the subject of their conversation; and such was the zeal of the Christian Indians, that they often testified of Jesus to their countrymen till after midnight.[*] At the request of the inhabitants the missionaries drew up some rules for the regulation of their civil and social intercourse with each other, and for the promotion of good order in the settlement; and they had the pleasure of finding, that whenever any of their converts had been guilty of transgressing these rules, they were ready to acknowledge their misconduct, and to listen to advice and instruction. Thus every thing seemed to flourish at Shekomeko; the number of baptized Indians, at the close of the year, amounted to sixty-three, exclusive of those residing in Pachgatgoch. Besides these, they had a great many constant hearers, some of whom were under serious impressions of divine truth. Brother Mack and his wife now took up their residence at Pachgatgoch, and built themselves a hut of bark after the Indian manner. The wonderful effects produced by the preaching of the gospel in this place, soon roused the attention of the whole neighbourhood. Some white people, who had been accustomed to make the dissolute lives of the Indians subservient to their own advantage, were exceedingly enraged, when they found them unwilling any longer to abet their wicked practices. They, therefore, resorted to every base artifice to seduce them, propagating the grossest calumnies against the missionaries; and as this did not succeed, they persuaded a clergyman of the Church of England to join in their measures. He ordered the Indians to send to New England for a minister and schoolmaster; but they replied that they were perfectly satisfied with the teacher they already had, and requested to enjoy the same religious liberty as all other denominations of Christians in the state did. This answer exasperated the adversaries still more. They publicly stigmatized the Brethren as papists and traitors. The missionaries, Mack, Shaw and Pyrlens, (the two latter being on a visit in Pachgatgoch,) were taken prisoners, and dragged up and down the country for three days. The governor of Connecticut having fully investigated the allegations brought against them, and found them false, they were honourably dismissed. However, as their enemies still continued to harass them, they thought it most prudent to retire for a while to Shekomeko.

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* *Loskiel*, Part II. p. 14. By comparing this relation with that of the conversion of the first Greenlanders, the resemblance will be found truly striking. See pp. 497, 498.

Not to mention several visits, paid about this time to other Indian tribes, it should be here observed, that while, on the one hand, the missionaries had to suffer many hardships and much opposition, they met, on the other, with many proofs of the power of the gospel in "turning the gentiles from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God." In one place, a most savage Indian publicly burned his idols, and in a speech, delivered to his countrymen, lamented his former blindness and ignorance with great energy, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord Jesus.

Hitherto, though exposed to various vexations, they had not met with any serious interruption to their labours; but in the spring of 1744 a violent persecution was raised against them. Some white people continued to employ every artful means to alienate the affection of the Indians from the Brethren, and to seduce them to drunkenness and other vices. They circulated the basest insinuations against the missionaries, representing them as dangerous to the state, pretending that they were in league with the French, and intended to supply the savages with arms to fight against the English. This report, false as it was, spread such terror through the country, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Sharon remained under arms for a whole week, and some even forsook their plantations. The missionaries were now called upon to serve in the militia; but this they refused, on the ground that, as ministers of religion, they ought not to be compelled to bear arms. A second application to the same effect being likewise resisted, they were for several months dragged from one court to another, to be examined and answer to the allegation brought against them. They punctually, though with great inconvenience to themselves and their work, obeyed every summons, and were enabled to disprove, by unimpeachable evidence, every charge brought against them. At the same time they protested against the restriction laid upon them in the prosecution of their missionary calling, and avowed their firm resolution rather to suffer any thing for conscience sake, than disobey God and the lawful authority of the state. The magistrates were satisfied, dismissed them with every mark of respect, and, as a protection against the machinations of their enemies on their return to Shekomeko, they gave them an honourable acquittal in writing.

Their adversaries, finding their scheme frustrated, resorted to other measures. Knowing the conscientious scruples of some of the missionaries against taking an oath, they exerted all their influence to obtain two Acts of Assembly in New York, which were passed in October; the one enjoining all suspicious persons to take the oaths of allegiance, and, in case of refusal, to be expelled the country; the other positively prohibiting the Brethren from instructing the Indians. December the 15th, the sheriff and three justices of the peace arrived at Shekomeko, and, in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all religious meetings, commanding the missionaries to appear before the court on the 17th of that month. On their appearance, the act was read to them, by which they were expelled the country, under the old pretence of being in league with the French.

The injustice of this act was acknowledged by every candid and unprejudiced person. Bishop Spangenberg, who visited this settlement towards the close of the year, makes the following remarks in his journal: "The nearer we approach to Shekomeko, the more veneration we found among all ranks of people for the great work of God in that place. The justice of the peace at Milsey accompanied us, and declared that he would rather suffer his right hand to be cut off, than treat the Brethren conformably to the act passed against them, for he was thoroughly convinced that the grace of God had, by their means, wrought miracles in that place."[*]

The missionaries, however, deemed it not only prudent, but their duty, to obey the lawful authority of the state, and therefore retired with a heavy heart to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania; yet they preserved unshaken confidence in the Lord, that he would himself defend their cause and arise for the help of his oppressed people.

After their removal from Shekomeko, the Christian Indians continued their religious meetings as usual, and were occasionally, though at the risk of persecution, visited by brethren from Bethlehem. Once when a large company was returning to Bethlehem, the circumstance of the wife of one of the missionaries being an Indian woman furnished some ill-disposed justices at Sopus with a pretext for detaining them. They were insulted by the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from cold and violent rain, and, when at length permitted to proceed, they were loaded with curses and reproaches. On another occasion two brethren were arrested at Albany, and, after enduring many indignities, taken to New York and confined in prison for seven weeks.

Amidst the grief experienced in consequence of these disastrous events, the missionaries were greatly comforted by perceiving that their labour was not in vain in the Lord. Soon after their expulsion from Shekomeko they had the joy to baptize a man and his wife, the first fruits of the gospel among the Delaware nation. This solemn transaction was performed at Bethlehem. Both of them belonging to the family of the chief, their relations were highly displeased, considering the step they had taken as a disgrace to their rank, and, in order to seduce them to apostacy, invited them to their houses; but the two baptized persons, fearing their souls might suffer harm, declined the invitation. Upon this their relations resolved to take them by force, and thirty-six, among whom were several young warriors, came to Bethlehem with this intention. At first they behaved in a very turbulent manner, but, being kindly treated, their anger abated, their countenances softened, and they even entered into conversation with their baptized friends and other Christian Indians. Gottlieb, one of their baptized relatives, gave them a plain account of his reasons for joining the Christians, exhorting them also to believe in the Lord Jesus. During this conversation the savages seemed extremely uneasy, and early the next morning set off on their return. After some time they sent a message to Gottlieb, desiring him to come and instruct them. With this he complied, and had the satisfaction to see his own brother become a believer, and by baptism join the church of Christ.

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[*] Mr. Weiser, a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, bears a pleasing testimony of the grace prevailing at Shekomeko, in a letter written to one of the missionaries after he had visited that place. His words were: "The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of Jesus, have impressed my mind with a firm belief, that God is with you. I thought myself seated in a company of primitive Christians. They attended with great gravity and devotion; their eyes were steadily fixed upon their teacher, as if they would eat his words. John [Tschoop] was the interpreter, and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit. The text of Scripture, *Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*, appeared to me as an eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Indian church sitting around me, as living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and his atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God; and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen.—*Loskiel's History of the Indian Mission*, Part II. p. 53.

[*] Loskiel, Part II. p. 64.

Although the state of things at Shekomeko was such as to afford sincere pleasure, yet the suspension of the regular services of the missionaries could not but eventually prove injurious to the congregation. It was, therefore, proposed to the Christian Indians to remove from the province of New York, and settle near Bethlehem, till a more eligible spot could be procured for their future establishment. But, contrary to expectation, the inhabitants of Shekomeko showed themselves averse to this measure, and, among other reasons, alleged, that the governor of New York had expressly commanded them to stay in their own town, promising them his protection; and that, were they even to remove, some of their relations, especially the young, would still remain there and be easily seduced to their former sinful practices. An event, however, occurred soon after, which induced them gladly to accede to the proposal of the Brethren. Some white people came to a resolution to expel the Christian Indians by main force, under pretence that the ground on which Shekomeko stood, belonged to other people. The governor of New York not attending to their petition for his interference, these white people seized upon the land and appointed a watch to prevent all visits from Bethlehem. The old accusations of disloyalty were renewed, and gained so many supporters, that the inhabitants of Reinbeck demanded a warrant of the justice to kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. Though the warrant was not granted, yet the situation of the people there became so very distressing, that they were glad to emigrate.

Ten families of these emigrants, consisting of forty-four persons, arrived at Bethlehem in April, 1746. They immediately built some huts near the settlement, as a temporary residence, to which they gave the name of Friedenshuetten. But as an Indian town could not be supported so near to Bethlehem, the Brethren purchased two hundred acres of land, lying at the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, about thirty miles distant. This situation pleased the Indians, and they immediately began to plant, and lay out a town, calling it Gnadenhuetten. The building of this place was attended with considerable expense and much trouble. The land, being overgrown with wood, had first to be cleared, and the Indians having neither knowledge nor skill in agriculture, the heaviest part of the labour fell upon the missionaries; but they cheerfully endured every fatigue, considering it as done in the service of the Lord.

When intelligence of this new settlement reached Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, many Indians in those places were induced to remove to it, so that, in a short time, it contained more inhabitants than the two former; and soon became a regular town. The church stood in a valley; on one side, upon rising ground, were the Indian houses, forming a crescent, and on the other the mission-house and the burying-ground. Every Indian family had a plantation. The road to Wayomick and other Indian towns lay through the settlement.

In Shekomeko the prospect appeared daily more precarious. The Indians in league with the French, having made inroads into the country, had advanced within a day's journey of that town, setting fire to the houses and murdering the inhabitants on their way. By these circumstances, and being called upon to join in the war, the Christian Indians, still remaining in that place, were kept in constant fear and anxiety. The Brethren could not come to their assistance till in July, 1746, when Hagan and Post went thither from Bethlehem. It was now found necessary to give up every idea for holding meetings for divine worship in that place, but the chapel was, by a deed of gift, secured to the Indians as their property. Thus the Brethren, with sorrowful hearts, yet praising God, who had first caused the light of the gospel to shine to the heathen in this place, concluded their labours at Shekomeko. Within the space of two years sixty-one adults had been made partakers of holy baptism, exclusive of those baptized at Bethlehem.

During the troubles in Shekomeko, various disorders had occurred among the converts. Some had been seduced to join in sinful practices, and others, through the calumnies of adversaries, had imbibed prejudices against the missionaries. The Brethren, however, had the joy to find, that most of them became sensible of their errors, and with sincere penitence confessed their deviations. Such penitents were received with open arms at Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten. As an example of the figurative manner in which the Indians generally express themselves, the language of one of these penitents may be quoted: "I am like a child," said he, "whose father loves him dearly, clothes him well, and gives him all he stands in need of; afterwards the child becomes refractory, deserts his parent and despises his counsel. At length, the child, through his folly, loses all the good things he possessed, his clothes become ragged, and nakedness and want follow. Then remembering how well he fared, he repents and weeps day and night, scarcely presuming to return. This is precisely my case."

The Indian congregation at Gnadenhuetten continued for several years in a pleasing course, and increased to about five hundred persons. Besides other useful regulations, schools were established. The place was often visited by heathen, who were often treated with hospitality and kindness, and no means were neglected for directing their attention to the gospel. Nothing, in general, made a deeper impression upon the savages, than the peace and harmony prevailing among the Christian Indians, and their contentment amidst all difficulties. The sincerity of their profession evinced itself in many ways. They diligently attended to their work and the cultivation of their fields, and when necessary for their support, went out to hunt. Their firm confidence in our Saviour showed itself in many trying circumstances. Thus, when the small-pox broke out among them, they bore the sickness with patience, manifesting but little fear of death; and the cheerful and happy disposition of those who departed this life, was truly edifying. Their solicitude for the Christian education of their children was another proof of the change wrought on their minds. Such is the excessive fondness of the Indians for their children, that they hardly ever suffer them to be out of sight; but now many of them, seeing the temptations to which they would be exposed at home, entreated the Brethren, even with tears, to receive them into the schools at Bethlehem; a request willingly acceded to, whenever it was possible.

The labours of the Brethren for the conversion of the Indians at this period, were not confined to Gnadenhuetten. They improved every opportunity that offered for propagating the gospel, and undertook many difficult and perilous journeys. The Iroquois more particularly engaged their attention; to gain entrance among them they made several visits to Shomokin and other towns on the Susquehanna, and by degrees established themselves there. The inhabitants of Shomokin being noted for ferocity and licentiousness, the missionaries witnessed many barbarous and profligate scenes, and were more than once in danger of being murdered by the intoxicated natives. During a journey to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois and the seat of the great council, a solemn league, executed with due Indian formalities, was made between the council and the Brethren, by which the latter obtained permission for two of them to reside in that country for the purpose of learning the language. But no permanent advantages were gained by all these exertions.

Their endeavours at other places were more successful, especially at Pachgatgoch and Wechquetank, in the neighbourhood of Shekomeko, where a few Christian Indians, who had not emigrated with the rest, were still residing. The missionary David Bruce was appointed to this station in 1748; and the year after had the pleasure of seeing twenty Indians added to the church by baptism. But that very year he finished his earthly pilgrimage, being succeeded by brother Abraham Buninger. This little flock enjoyed rest and peace for several years, and increased to upwards of a hundred in number.

Meniolagomekah, situated at no great distance from Bethlehem, was another promising station, occupied during this period, where many of the inhabitants became obedient to the gospel. In a few years, however, the white people seized upon their plantations; and as the Brethren could not succeed in making a purchase of the land, their converts were obliged to remove to Gnadenhuetten in 1754.

In the summer of 1752 an embassy of Nantikoks and

Shawanose, consisting in all of one hundred and seven persons, arrived at Gnadenhutten, and formed a solemn league of friendship with the Brethren. Another embassy of these tribes, attended by three Iroquois Indians, and consisting of twenty-two persons, came to Gnadenhuetten the following spring, and, to the no small astonishment of the Brethren, proposed to them to quit that settlement and remove to Wayomik, a town belonging to the Shawanose. They assigned no particular reason for this unexpected proposal. It appeared, however, in the sequel, that it was in reality an act of friendship. For as the savages were secretly determined to join the French in hostilities against the English, they wished to furnish a safe retreat to their countrymen of Gnadenhuetten, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from Wayomik into their neighbourhood, to make room for the Christian Indians.

However unpleasant the projected removal was, the Brethren would not interfere in the business, lest the old calumny of intending to enslave the Indians should be revived, and, therefore, left their converts to act entirely as they pleased. After evincing considerable reluctance at quitting their pleasant settlement, and real sorrow at being thus separated from their teachers, upwards of eighty finally determined to remove to Wayomik and Neskopeko. After their arrival in these places, they were occasionally visited by some of the missionaries, who found these poor exiles still walking in the fear of God, and that, by their zealous testimony of Christ and his atonement, they were made a blessing to their heathen countrymen. But their external situation was by no means desirable. All the people residing on the Susquehanna, were in constant fear and terror both of the Catawas and the French. The former being at war with the Iroquois, who made frequent incursions into the country, and the latter threatening the Indians with fire and sword, unless they acted in concert with them against the English. Besides this, the people of New England, who laid claim to Wayomik, were advancing with an intention of seizing the land by force. These circumstances obliged the Indians in 1756 to forsake that town.

The missionaries were still lamenting the emigration of so many of their converts from Gnadenhuetten, when their sorrow was unexpectedly turned into joy, by the arrival of the Indians from Meniolagomekah. This enlivened the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, and animated the native assistants with new zeal and fidelity in the discharge of their duties. Their external troubles, however, did not yet terminate. They had not only a kind of tax imposed upon them, to show their dependence on the Iroquois, but the following very singular message was sent them: "The great head, *i. e.* the council in Onandago, speak the truth and lie not: they rejoice that some of the believing Indians had moved to Wayomik, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares,* and set *them* down also in Wayomik; for *there* a fire is kindled for them, and *there* they may plant and think on God: but if they will not hear, the great head will come and clean their ears with a red-hot iron (meaning they would set their houses on fire) and shoot them through the head with musquet-balls." The chief of the Shawanose, who delivered this message, then turned to the missionaries, earnestly demanding of them not to hinder their converts from removing to Wayomik.

This message spread general consternation through Gnadenhuetten, especially the concluding address to the missionaries. It was soon discovered that this proposal did not originate in the great council at Onondago, but with the Oneida tribe and the warlike Mahikans and Delawares, aided by some persons of consequence in Philadelphia, who thereby hoped to obtain some sinister end they had in view. The Brethren left the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten to their free choice, whether to go or stay, only warning them, in an affectionate manner, of the dangers to which their souls might be exposed by their removal. This warning was addressed to them, not without good reason, as some of the baptized had lately relapsed into heathenism, and even become the seducers of others. The address had the desired effect. Most of those, whose conduct had been blameable, ingenuously owned their transgressions, begging forgiveness of the rest, which was granted with joy. The grace of God was, perhaps, never more evident, than in seeing an Indian, naturally obstinate and inflexible to a high degree, appear before a whole body of people as an humbled sinner, and ask pardon of God and those whom he had offended. Thus most of them resolved to stay, and they remained firm to their resolution. When, shortly after, the message was repeated in a more stern tone, an Indian brother said: "What can the chief of the six nations give me in exchange for my soul? They never consider how that will fare at last." Another remarked: "God who made and saved me, can protect me, if he please; I am not afraid of the wrath of man; for not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without His will." And a third observed: "If even one of them should lift up his hatchet against me and say, 'depart from the Lord and the Brethren,' I would not do it."

The congregation at Gnadenhuetten had now a short season of rest, and, walking in the fear of the Lord and the comforts of the Holy Ghost, was edified. The Brethren improved this interval of repose for sending missionaries to preach and administer the sacraments to the Christian Indians residing in other places, and for propagating the gospel among the heathen. These journeys were attended with many dangers; but they thought themselves richly compensated by finding their converts in most places walking worthily of the gospel, and by the accession of new members to the church.

The repose at Gnadenhuetten was of short duration. A cruel Indian war, occasioned by the contest between the English and French, broke out, spreading terror and confusion through the whole country. The first outrage was committed near Shomokin, where three of the missionaries resided, but through the mercy of God they were all preserved, though exposed to continual danger. The inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten were not so fortunate. Being considered as friends to the British government, they were in the most imminent danger of being attacked by the Indians, in league with the French, and as the most dreadful reports reached them from all quarters, some were so much intimidated, that they fled into the woods. The greater part, however, staid in the settlement, resigned to the will of God, giving the most encouraging assurances, that they would not forsake each other, but remain united in life and death.

But God had otherwise ordained. Late in the evening of the 24th of November, 1755, while the missionaries were at supper, their attention was suddenly roused by the continual barking of dogs, which was followed by the report of a gun. On opening the door of the mission-house, they observed a party of hostile Indians standing before the house with their pieces pointed towards the door. On its being opened they immediately fired, and Martin Nitschman was killed on the spot. His wife and some others were wounded, but ran up stairs into the garret and barricaded the door with bedsteads. Hither the savages pursued them; but, not being able to force open the door, they set fire to the house, which was soon enveloped in flames. Two of the brethren had previously made their escape by jumping out of a back window; and now a boy leaped down from the flaming roof, though not till one of his cheeks had been grazed by a ball and his hand much burned. Sister Partsch, whose husband had escaped out of the window, likewise ventured to leap down from the burning roof. Unobserved by the enemies she hid herself behind a tree on rising ground, from whence she had a full view of the tragical scene. Brother Fabricius, in attempting to make his escape in the same manner, was perceived by the Indians, and instantly wounded by two balls. They then seized him, and having dispatched him with their hatchets, took his scalp and left him dead on the ground. Eleven persons, belonging to the mission, were burned alive, among whom was a child only fifteen months old. Sister Senseman, already surrounded by the flames, was heard to exclaim: "'*Tis all well, dear Saviour! I expected nothing else.*" The murderers now set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay and cattle were consumed; and, having made a hearty meal, they departed.

This melancholy occurrence proved the deliverance of the Christian Indians; for, upon hearing the report of guns, seeing the flames, and learning the dreadful cause from those who escaped, they offered to attack the enemy without delay; but, being advised to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and the settlement was thus in a few minutes cleared of its inhabitants. By the exertions and persuasions of the missionary, Shebosh, who alone remained at Gnadenhuetten, most of the fugitive converts returned the next day. They now hoped to remain in safety, as, in consequence of a petition, presented by the Brethren at Bethlehem, the governor of Pennsylvania sent a party of soldiers into these parts, for the protection of the Christian Indians and the country in general. But on New Year's day 1756 the savages attacked these troops, set fire to the settlement, and laid waste all the plantations; by which both the congregation and the missionaries were reduced to the greatest poverty.

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* The inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten belonged to these nations.

Disastrous as were these events, they served to avert a far greater calamity. The adversaries of the Brethren had secretly formed a design of overthrowing their whole establishment in North America. The most unfounded reports of their being in league with the French were industriously disseminated, and a base fabrication, purporting to be a letter written by a French officer, was inserted in the newspaper, in which he was represented as saying, that "the Moravians were their good friends, and would give them every assistance in their power against the English." A general suspicion was thus excited against the Brethren throughout the country, which went so far, that in the Jerseys proclamation was made, with beat of drum, that Bethlehem should be destroyed; and the most dreadful threats were added, that in Bethlehem, Gnadenhuetten and other places, a carnage should be made, such as had never before been heard of in North America. It was afterwards ascertained that a party of a hundred men, who came to Bethlehem, was sent for the express purpose of raising a mob; but the kind and hospitable manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants, who were ignorant of their design, overcame their malice and softened their rage. It was not, however, till after the burning of Gnadenhuetten that the public sentiment respecting the Brethren underwent a complete revolution. Their adversaries were now convinced of the falsehood of the charges brought against them, as *they* were the first sufferers from the French. Many exclaimed even with tears: "How greatly have we sinned against an innocent people! What should we have had to answer for, had we followed our design of exterminating the Brethren and murdering their men, women and children, on the vague supposition that they were our enemies."

After the destruction of Gnadenhuetten, a few of the Indian converts fled to Wayomik, which place they reached in safety; but the greater part flocked to Bethlehem, where they were lodged, clothed, and fed with brotherly kindness. But this very circumstance rendered the situation of our Brethren there peculiarly critical. The savages, on the one hand, insisted upon their taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal. On the other hand, a set of fanatics arose, who demanded the total extirpation of *all* the Indians, lest God's vengeance should fall upon the Christians for not destroying the Indians, as the Israelites were commanded to do in the case of the Canaanites. These people were greatly incensed against Bethlehem, on account of the protection and assistance which were there granted to a race of beings, whom they considered accursed. The inhabitants of Bethlehem, therefore, looked upon themselves as sheep ready for slaughter; and never knew, when going to bed at night, whether they would rise the next morning.

In this critical and alarming situation they preserved unshaken confidence in God. Their courage in maintaining their station proved a comfort and protection to their neighbours; for, if they had fled, nothing could have obstructed the inroads of the savages. But, while they firmly relied on the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their safety. The settlement was surrounded by pallisades, and guarded, both night and day, by Europeans and Indians. This precaution proved the means of saving the settlement, while many adjacent villages were laid in ashes.

The firmness of the Brethren and their good political regulations, induced great numbers of their distressed neighbours to take refuge with them. Several hundred women and children came from a distance, and with tears begged for shelter. All were admitted as long as there was any room; and thus not only Bethlehem, but the four contiguous settlements of Nazareth, Christiansbrun, Friedensthal, and the Rose, were crowded with fugitives. Though, in consequence of the war, their own resources were greatly exhausted, the Brethren exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to provide for their numerous guests. Thus wonderfully did the wisdom of God overrule passing events. The very people, who were but lately suspected of a correspondence with the enemy, now became the protectors and defenders of those who through ignorance had aspersed their character and meditated their destruction.

Under the wings of Bethlehem the Indian congregation now enjoyed a season of repose. Some additional temporary dwellings were erected for them; the schools commenced anew and were diligently attended, and three missionaries were appointed for their immediate service. Portions of the Scripture, the litany and several hymns were translated, and the children often met together, and in the German, Mahikan, and Delaware languages sang the praises of God their Saviour. Thus Bethlehem assumed the appearance of a missionary settlement. Amidst much external poverty and distress the grace of God ruled in the hearts of its inhabitants; and both the Indian converts and the original European colonists *showed forth the praises of Him, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light*.*

The residence of the Indians at Bethlehem, however, was attended with various difficulties; both the missionaries and the Indians themselves, therefore, wished to have a settlement of their own. Application being made to the governor, he readily acceded to this measure; and in June 1757 a piece of land was assigned them, about a mile from Bethlehem, on which they erected a town, and called it Nain. Most of the Christian Indians, who, during the late troubles, had moved to Wayomik, or fled to the Susquehannah, now sought permission to live at Nain; and thus this new settlement rapidly increased. Numbers of savages visited both in Nain and Bethlehem, and the testimony of Christ and his atonement, seconded by the pious conversation of their Christian countrymen, proved in many instances the means of conversion.

This period of difficulty and trouble was succeeded by four or five years of peace and tranquillity. After the burning of Fort Duquesne by the French, the scene of the contest was changed; and from the beginning of the year 1759, neither Pennsylvania, nor the neighbouring provinces, were disturbed by the Indians. Thus all the settlements of the Brethren in this district enjoyed rest and prosperity; and so rapidly advanced in the esteem of their neighbours, that those who had formerly been their bitterest enemies, and even sought their entire expulsion, were now, in general, pleased with their farming establishments in their vicinity.

The Indian congregation at Nain increased so fast, that it was found expedient to purchase fourteen hundred acres of land behind the Blue Mountains, in order to form an additional settlement. The building of this place, called Wechquetank, was begun the following spring.

About this time, David Zeisberger, accompanied by an Indian brother, undertook a journey to Machwihilusing on the Susquehannah, a report having reached the Brethren, that the Indians in that place had been in a remarkable manner stirred up to inquire the way of truth, and were very desirous of obtaining a teacher to instruct them. When the travellers approached the town, they found this report confirmed. For being met by one of the inhabitants, he informed them that their council had assembled six days successively, to consider how they might procure a teacher of the truth. Under these favourable circumstances, Zeisberger and his companion entered the town, and were received with general demonstrations of joy, being lodged by Papunhank.† In the evening all the inhabitants met; and the missionary and his companion, though greatly fatigued with their journey, testified to them of the grace of God till midnight, and resumed their labours by five o'clock the next morning, the people being eager to hear the *great word*, before they began their daily occupations. The result was, that upon a regular application from the heads of families to our Brethren at Bethlehem, brother Zeisberger was appointed to reside among them.

But, while rejoicing at the favourable reception given to his testimony of the gospel, events occurred which rendered his recall to Bethlehem necessary. Intelligence had been received, that the Indians had commenced fresh hostilities near the Canadian lakes and on the Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred settlers, and renewed their incursions into Pennsylvania. From this, a repetition of the dreadful scenes in 1755 was apprehended.

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* See History of the Brethren's Church, Vol. I. p. 381, &c.

† This Indian had for some time set up for a preacher of morality among his people; but as his instructions had no influence either on himself or his hearers, in changing their profligate conduct, the latter began to doubt whether his doctrines were true. Having afterwards himself visited Nain, heard the gospel, and been present at a baptism, he was so overcome that he burst into tears, and exclaimed: "O God! have mercy upon me, and grant that the death of my Saviour may be made manifest unto me." On his return he thus addressed his countrymen: "My dear people, I have told you many good things, and pointed out what I considered a *good* way; but I have now learnt that it was not the *right* way. If we wish to be saved, we must look to that Saviour whom the Brethren preach." He was the first in Machwihilusing that was admitted to holy baptism, and by his conduct and conversation evidenced that a real change had taken place in him.

The settlements of Wechquetank and Nain were now placed in the most critical situation. One alarming report after another reached them, which made it needful to keep up a constant watch during the night. The Christian Indians, however, resolved to take no part in the contest, any further than defending themselves against the savages. Under these circumstances, the Indian brethren showed great faith and courage. One of them remarked: "Wicked people are as weak as worms in the sight of our Saviour: he can and will protect us, and cause fear to fall upon the wicked." His words were verified on the very next day, being the 9th of October, 1763; for on that day about fifty white men assembled on the opposite side of the Lecha, with a view to surprise Nain in the night, and murder all the inhabitants. But a neighbouring friend representing in strong terms the danger and difficulty of such an attempt, the enemies abandoned their design and returned home.

The same day on which Nain was in such imminent danger, a party of Irish freebooters came to Wechquetank, intending to murder all the Indians there, whom they accused of being accomplices in a late murder committed in their colony. No remonstrances of the missionary could restrain their fury, till he at length pacified them by presents and by plentifully supplying them with meat and drink. Upon this, they quietly quitted the settlement; not, however, without repeating their threats to return and execute their barbarous design, unless the Indians would soon remove from that place. During the succeeding night, all the men were upon the watch, as several spies were lurking about the settlement, and a fire at some distance betrayed a neighbouring encampment. The Brethren, therefore, apprehended a sudden attack, which was probably prevented by violent rain that fell during the night.

It now became sufficiently evident that it would be extreme temerity to postpone their flight any longer; especially as a messenger just then arrived from Bethlehem with the most pressing solicitations to the Indians to break up immediately, and retire to the settlement at Nazareth.* While preparing for their departure, they were suddenly alarmed by the report of several muskets. The Christian Indians, supposing that the savages had attacked the white people, resolved to go and defend them. But the missionary dissuaded them from this, exhorting them to stand by each other and expect deliverance from God. "Very true," replied one of them, "only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." The party from whom the attack was apprehended, suddenly marched off with the Indian war-whoop; and it was afterwards discovered, that the firing proceeded from a party of soldiers. Thankful for having escaped this danger, the whole congregation left Wechquetank on the 11th of October, and arrived the next day in safety at Nain, where they were welcomed with joy, and provided with every comfort and accommodation which their circumstances required.

In the mean time, Nain was closely blockaded. The savages continued to lay waste the country and murder the neighbouring settlers. This increased the fury of the latter against the Indians, so that the inhabitants of Nain could no longer venture to go to Bethlehem, but were obliged to employ a European brother to transact their business. No Indian even ventured to fetch wood, or look after his cattle, except he was accompanied by a white brother, or had a passport in his pocket. Even at home the men were forced to keep strict watch, both day and night. In this trying situation they remained for four weeks; but the peace of God and brotherly love ruled among them, and supported their courage and patience.

Having made such regulations for defence that the enemy could not attempt an attack without danger, they flattered themselves that government would have assisted them. But very unexpectedly affairs took a different turn. Renatus, a harmless Indian, was suddenly apprehended as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers; and his person being sworn to by the widow of the deceased, he was conveyed to Philadelphia and imprisoned. The news of this occurrence rapidly spread through the country, and enflamed the rage of the settlers against the Indians. The inhabitants, therefore, expected nothing but the most cruel treatment.

In this dreadful emergency, God appeared for their help; and by inclining the chief magistrate to afford them protection, rescued them from the hand of their enemies. November 6th an express arrived from Philadelphia, with an order from government, that all the Christian Indians from Nain and Wechquetank should repair to that city, where they would be protected on delivering up their arms. This measure was indeed very painful to the Indians, who declared they would rather die than leave their teachers. But, being assured that the missionaries would not forsake them, they cheerfully acquiesced. And when the sheriff arrived, they delivered their arms to him with a composure of mind which strikingly evidenced the change wrought in them through the gospel, for a heathen Indian would rather part with his head than with his gun.

The Indians of Nain having joined their Christian countrymen of Wechquetank, who had previously removed to Nazareth, the whole company set out on their pilgrimage in the afternoon of the 8th of November, accompanied by the missionaries Grube, Schmick, David Zeisberger and John Rothe, with the wives of the two former, under the conduct of the sheriff, who cared for them like a father. It was a most affecting sight to behold these people, among whom were many aged, infirm and sick, besides pregnant women and young children, proceeding patiently along the road, ignorant of their future fate. Though wagons were provided for the sick, the aged and the children, yet they suffered much from fatigue and other hardships, and still more from the malice of some settlers, who abused and loaded them with curses.

Having on the 11th of November arrived at Philadelphia, they were ordered to be lodged in the barracks; but, notwithstanding the positive order of government, the soldiers forcibly refused them admittance. The poor Indians were kept standing in the street for five hours. A mob soon collected, who derided, reviled and charged them with all the outrages committed by the savages, threatening to kill them on the spot; which they would no doubt have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil. The zealous interference of the missionaries in behalf of their beloved converts, exposed them to the most imminent danger from the fury of the populace.

The magistrates at length interposed, ordering them to proceed six miles further, to Province Island, in the river Delaware, where they lodged in some large buildings. In passing through the city, thousands followed them with such tumultuous clamour, that they appeared like sheep among wolves. Here they settled as well as circumstances would permit, and regulated their daily meetings for worship, which proved a great comfort to them. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially some Quakers, humanely interested themselves in their behalf, and they were kindly supplied by government with whatever they needed.

They had not been here long when intelligence was received that Wechquetank had been burnt by some of the settlers, and that some incendiaries had endeavoured to set fire to Bethlehem, and actually laid the oil-mill in ashes, the adjoining water-work having been with great difficulty saved from destruction. The Brethren, therefore, were truly thankful that the Christian Indians had found a safe retreat in Province Island; and their gratitude was increased when they were informed of an act of horrid cruelty committed by some white people, calling themselves Christians. Fifty-seven of these barbarians attacked a party of peaceable Indians in the village of Canestoga, near Lancaster, and murdered fourteen of them in their huts. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates lodged and protected them in the work-house, a strong and well secured building. But the white savages pursued them, marched into the town at noonday, broke into the work-house; and, though the Indians on their knees begged their lives, they inhumanly murdered them all, and threw their mangled bodies into the streets. They then departed with a dreadful shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should share the same fate.

So general and inveterate was the rage of the white people, and such the state of anarchy and insubordination in the country, that in defiance of every proclamation from government, they boldly avowed their determination to massacre all the Christian Indians. This induced the government to send them by way of New York to the English army. Late in the evening of January 4th, 1761, they received orders to this effect, and before midnight embarked in some boats, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, which city they reached almost unobserved early in the morning. The commissary, Mr. Fox, having kindly supplied them with blankets, and provided wagons for the aged, the sick and the children, and for the heavy baggage, they set out, accompanied by the missionaries. The pressure of the immense crowd which had collected was so great, that they could hardly proceed; the mob in the most shocking manner cursed and reviled them; but, being escorted by a company of seventy Highlanders, no one ventured to lay hands on them. In every town through which they passed, they were insulted by the populace; but God mercifully prevented serious mischief, and in about a week they safely reached Amboy, where two sloops lay ready to carry them to New York. They were just preparing to embark, when very unexpectedly strict orders arrived from the governor of New York, that no Indian should set foot on that territory; and even the ferrymen were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from conveying them across the river.

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* Nazareth, like Bethlehem, was a colony of European brothers and sisters.

They were now lodged in the barracks at Amboy, waiting for further orders. Here they held their daily meetings; and, as great numbers of strangers attended, divine service was performed in the open air. Their devotion and good behaviour excited general admiration, and many conceived a more favourable opinion of them. A soldier once said: "Would to God that all the white people were as good Christians as these Indians."

Orders having meanwhile arrived from Philadelphia for their return to that city, the Indians cheerfully obeyed, confident that the Lord, in his inscrutable wisdom, had directed their toilsome peregrinations for some gracious purposes. This journey was often rendered peculiarly dangerous in crossing the frozen rivers, the ice not being every where sufficiently firm. Their daily meetings, which they never suspended during their travels, were attended by many white people with astonishment and edification.

Having safely reached Philadelphia on the 24th of January, 1764, they were for security lodged in the barracks, and attended by a military guard day and night. As the fury and number of the mob still increased, the magistrates were obliged to adopt more serious measures. The guard was doubled, eight pieces of cannon were planted before the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, some of whom were young Quakers, took up arms and repaired to the barracks in defence of the Indians. Twice the rebels prepared for an attack; but being fully informed of the measures of defence taken by government, abandoned their murderous design. Upon this, some gentlemen were deputed to inquire into their complaints. After much insolent behaviour, they asserted that there were several murderers among the Christian Indians whom they had seen at Pittsburgh, and demanded that they should be delivered up. To pacify them, one of the ringleaders was admitted into the barracks; but after very strict examination of all the Indians, he did not find an individual chargeable with the smallest crime. Another allegation, that the Quakers had secreted six of them, proving equally unfounded, tranquillity was finally restored.

During their residence in the barracks, which lasted rather more than a year, they regularly held their meetings for religious worship, which on Sundays were frequented by such crowds of people, that the chapel could not contain them: yet the greatest silence and order were preserved, and in several instances the gospel was accompanied with saving power. At stated times they observed the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and some were admitted to holy baptism. The missionary Grube even commenced an English school, and the Indian youths took great delight in learning. Though the visits of strangers were occasionally attended with inconvenience, yet they tended to convince many ill-disposed persons of the innocence of the Indians and their true conversion to God.

To the Indians, however, their present situation was a severe trial, and to some even more afflicting than all their past dangers. The superior quality of their victuals, to which they had not been accustomed, was no more conducive to their health than the want of exercise and proper employment was congenial to their minds and habits. Their close confinement became insupportable and revolting to their notions of independence and liberty. This was especially the case with the young people; some grew low-spirited, others dissatisfied, and even refractory; and many suffered harm by their intercourse with the unconverted Indians, quartered in the same barracks. This caused the missionaries much grief and perplexity, being on the one hand obliged to hear all the complaints of the dissatisfied, and on the other hand aware that government justly looked to them for the maintenance of good order and subordination. As summer advanced, fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned such terror, that many meditated their escape from the barracks. But God so evidently blessed the endeavours of the missionaries, that their uneasiness was changed into perfect resignation to the will of the Lord. No less than fifty-six persons departed this life; many of them not only with composure, but in full assurance of eternal glory.

Among the Christian Indians lodged in the barracks, none had a harder fate than one called Renatus. This poor man had been thrown into prison upon repeated accusations on oath, that he was the murderer of Mr. S. in the Irish settlement. During his confinement, which lasted eight months, three of his nearest relatives died by means of the infectious disease, rife in the barracks. When informed of this, he burst into tears and exclaimed: "This is almost too much to bear; to lose my father, my wife, and my child, while I myself am confined in prison." The missionaries frequently visited him in his cell, where he spent his time in reading and prayer. His trial took place at Easton; and, after a most patient investigation of the evidence adduced on both sides, the jury returned a verdict of *not guilty;* upon which he was immediately set at liberty. This decision was of great benefit to the missionary labours of the Brethren, as it entirely frustrated the aim of their enemies, to cast an odium upon the believing Indians and render the mission generally suspected.

Hostilities having at length terminated, and peace being restored, the directors of the mission lost no time in endeavouring to obtain an eligible place for a settlement for the Christian Indians, and for this purpose preferred the country on the banks of the Susquehannah. The government readily acceded to their proposal, permitting them to leave the barracks, and liberally supplied them with all necessaries. Mr. Fox even procured a grant, by which they were provided with flour from the time of their arrival on the Susquehannah till their new planted Indian corn should be ripe. Before their departure, the Indian brethren delivered an address of thanks to the governor for the kindness he had manifested towards them, which was signed by four in the name of the rest, and graciously received.

March 20th, 1765, they left the barracks in Philadelphia, and commenced their journey, resting a few days at Nain and Bethlehem. The animosity of the white people not having yet wholly subsided, they were obliged to take a very circuitous route, which rendered the journey tedious and difficult. The road lay through extensive forests, frequently without a path, so that they had to cut their way for miles through the woods, and to ford many rivers. The men generally waded through, and constructed rafts for the women and children. Some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on the banks till they had built a sufficient number of canoes to cross them. In some places they were obliged to unload the wagons, and carry the luggage over high, steep and craggy hills. When they halted in the evening, every family erected a hut for the night, keeping up a large fire. All the fatigue and toils of the day were forgotten, when at night they assembled in the open air, round a large fire, to return thanks to the Lord for his mercies during the day, and supplicate his protection for the night. Their greatest difficulty arose from the want of provisions whenever they passed through a territory which afforded neither game nor fish. Those who had any thing in store were always ready to divide with the rest. Their whole stock of flour being at length consumed, it was a truly affecting sight to see them receive their last portion. They occasionally found wild potatoes, and hunger overcame the unpleasant taste of these roots. At other times they peeled chesnut trees, and sucked the juice oozing out under the bark, which is very sweet, and was particularly palatable to the children. Frequently they had no other drink than muddy water found in puddles. One night they were greatly terrified, the woods being on fire, and burning with great fury round their encampment till one o'clock in the morning. Some died by the way, in consequence of these various hardships. Having, after many toilsome wanderings, reached the Susquehannah, they got a few boats, some sailing up the river and others travelling along its banks, and arrived at Machwihilusing on the 9th of May, after a journey of five weeks.

Having fixed on a convenient spot for a settlement, they immediately began to erect a town, which, when completed, consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty houses built of wood in the European manner, besides a dwelling for the missionaries. In the middle of the street, which was eighty feet broad, stood a large and neat chapel. The adjoining ground was laid out in gardens; and between the town and the river, about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. The burying ground was situated at some distance at the back of the buildings. Each family had its own boat. To this place they gave the name of Friedenshuetten.

This new settlement soon assumed a very flourishing appearance. The inhabitants were industrious, and dwelt together in peace and unity. Many Indians visited the place, admiring the fine situation and the good order maintained in the town. But what afforded the missionaries the greatest delight, was the salutary impression which appeared to be made on some, so that the number of the congregation was rapidly increasing, which in less than two years rendered the erection of a larger chapel necessary. Indeed the change observable in the believing Indians was so striking, that the heathen visitors were not unfrequently constrained to confess, "That the words of the Brethren must be true, for otherwise it would be impossible that the mere belief of them should make their converts willing to deny the world and every ungodly lust, and at the same time to be so serene and cheerful in their looks and behaviour.

This pleasing and tranquil course was occasionally interrupted by the unbecoming behaviour of some of the heathen visiters, and still more by the white traders, who dealt chiefly in rum, and often came to the settlement for the purpose of traffic, occasioning much levity and dissipation among the young people. The missionaries, not wishing to have the appearance of usurping any jurisdiction over the Indians, left it to the native assistants and heads of families, to whom the police of the town was committed, to adopt such measures, as might prevent this evil in future. And their exertions in this respect in a great measure succeeded.

In autumn, 1767, the missionary Zeisberger and two of the Indian assistants made a journey to the Ohio, intelligence having been received that some Indians in that part of the country were desirous of hearing the gospel. Their intention was first to visit Goshgoshuenk, though they every where received the most unfavourable accounts of its inhabitants. On this journey they had to encounter many difficulties, having to travel through an extensive wilderness.

Their road lay partly through the territory of the Delaware, and partly through that of the Seneka Indians. On reaching the first town, inhabited by the latter, the appearance of a white man was so unusual a sight, that one of the inhabitants immediately rode off to announce his arrival to the chief of the next town, a distance of nearly thirty miles. Having arrived at this place, the chief, taking Zeisberger for a spy, at first treated him rather roughly; but, won by his conciliatory and affable manner, and the disinterestedness of his views, he became very friendly, and conducted him to his house. Zeisberger seized this favourable opportunity to preach the gospel to him; but the chief declared, with great warmth, that this Word of God was not intended for the Indians. He, however, granted them permission to proceed to Goshgoshuenk, adding a serious caution against trusting the people of that place, who had not their equals in wickedness and cruelty.

Not intimidated by this and similar reports, but rather considering the profligacy of the place the most cogent reason for visiting it, they prosecuted their route and reached it in safety. They soon found that the reports they had heard were but too true. Zeisberger remarks, he had no where seen the abominations of heathenism practised in such a horrid and shameless manner as in this place; it seemed to be the very seat of Satan. Notwithstanding the crying wickedness of the inhabitants, the missionary and his companions were well received; and their doctrine, by its novelty, so engaged the attention of the inhabitants, that they could not hear enough of it, and requested the Indian brethren to repeat and explain it to them more fully. Before their departure, the Indians assembled a council, and Reisberger asked them whether they would permit a teacher to reside among them? To this they gave their unanimous consent, and even requested him to promote the attainment of so desirable an object.

His journey proving thus far encouraging, the Brethren resolved to attempt the establishment of a regular mission at Goshgoshuenk. In order to effect this, the brethren Zeisberger and Senseman, together with some Indian families, moved thither in the following spring. Immediately on their arrival Zeisberger sent information of it to the chiefs, who exhorted their people to listen to the word of God with attention. He held regular morning and evening devotions, and preached every day. These meetings were attended by great numbers, whose behaviour was silent and decorous, and manifested an eagerness to hear.

Soon, however, a violent opposition, originating in the jealousy of the chiefs, was raised against the missionaries. It was augmented by the most ridiculous and unfounded accusations being propagated against the Brethren; and it at last rose to such a pitch, that they threatened to kill both them and their converts. This intimidated even those who had hitherto been their friends.

Notwithstanding these alarming appearances, the missionaries resolved not to quit their post; but built a small house, as a place of retirement, where they might celebrate the Lord's Supper and hold other meetings with the Christian Indians, their present habitation being seldom free from visiters. Their labour was not wholly in vain. Not a few attended their meetings, and some heard the gospel with saving effect. Several, indeed, came only by night, fearing the reproach of men; for those, who went boldly to the meetings, were abused and persecuted in various ways; and in some instances the words of our Saviour were literally fulfilled: *a man's foes shall be they of his own household.* Matt. x. 36. At length the inhabitants of the town were divided into two parties; one of which opposed the gospel with all their might, and the other became so much attached to it, that they declared they would rather emigrate than be deprived of it. These were exposed to the hatred of the opposite party, who branded them with the names of Sunday Indians and Shwonnaks, *i. e.* white people, the latter being the most opprobrious epithet they could apply. This, however, did not deter them from their attendance on the meeting.

However, as the opposition did not abate, but rather increased, the missionaries thought it prudent to retire to a place on the opposite bank of the river, called Lawunakhannek, about fifteen miles distant from Goshgoshuenk. Here they formed a temporary settlement, being followed by all those Indians who had sincerely embraced the gospel. In process of time they had the pleasure of admitting several to holy baptism, among whom was an aged chief, who had lost his sight. By degrees the hostility against them subsided, and in a council held at Goshgoshuenk a great majority declared in favour of the gospel. This rendered their situation more tranquil and easy, a different spirit prevailed, and the desire of the Indians to "know the grace of God in truth" increased.

Among the places, which were visited by the missionaries from Friedenshuetten, was a town about thirty miles higher upon the banks of the Susquehannah, called Tshechshequannink, in which a great awakening took place, occasioned by the accounts concerning Friedenshuetten brought by those who had visited there. At the request of the inhabitants, the missionary Rothe went to reside among them. His testimony of Jesus was accompanied with great power, the audience being frequently melted into tears, which is very unusual among the Indians, as they consider it unmanly to shed tears. One of them remarked: "I would not have wept, if my enemies had cut the flesh from my bones: that I now weep is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart." For some time it appeared as if the whole town would turn to the Lord and be converted.

The tranquillity, enjoyed for a season, was again interrupted in 1770. The Seneka Indians having broken the treaty lately made with the Cherokees, hostilities commenced in the neighbourhood of Lawunakhannek. This rendered the Christian Indians desirous of removing, and they therefore resolved to accept the kind offer, repeatedly made to them by some chiefs, to settle near the Delaware town of Kaskaskunk.

In April the missionaries and their whole flock embarked in sixteen canoes, passing down the river Ohio by Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Beaver creek, which they entered, proceeding up the falls, where they had several times to unload, and transport their goods and canoes by land. On one of these carrying-places they were detained two days. After a tedious and troublesome journey of a fortnight, they reached the place allotted to them by the chiefs. No spot could have been better chosen, as there was good land, sufficient to support a hundred families. They immediately began to build and plant, and called the place Friedenstadt.

The Indians in the neighbourhood were astonished to see a people settle among them, differing so much in their manners and customs from the other natives, and to hear them propagate the doctrine so contrary to any thing they had ever heard before. In some this astonishment soon changed into animosity and opposition, especially when the chief of Kaskaskunk moved to the settlement. This so enraged the adversaries, that they annoyed the inhabitants in every possible way, disseminating unfounded calumnies. They even forged messages in the names of the chiefs, ordering them to quit the country. These impostures being detected, some of their own teachers violently opposed the doctrine taught by the missionaries, asserting, that emetics were the only infallible remedy to cleanse a man from sin. The missionary endeavoured to convince them, that though an emetic might benefit their stomachs, it could never cleanse their hearts. Some malicious savages came late one evening to Friedenstadt, tempting the inhabitants to get drunk. Finding all their efforts ineffectual, they threatened to murder first the missionaries and then the whole congregation, and made such a hideous noise, that the women fled into the woods, and the men were forced to keep strict watch round the mission-house.

While harassed by these external troubles, the missionaries had abundant cause to praise God for the divine power which rested on their ministry in the gospel. The number of hearers at Friedenstadt rapidly increased. Among these was a man belonging to the party, who had destroyed the mission-house on the Mahony in 1755, and who was often so much impressed by what he heard, that he shed floods of tears. In another of their hearers the effect produced by the gospel was still more striking. This was the chief, Pakanke, hitherto an enemy and opposer, but whose sentiments, during a visit at Friedenstadt, were so completely changed, that he listened to the gospel with great attention; which produced such a change in him, that he became a believer himself, and even exhorted his children to go to the Brethren, and believe in the Lord Jesus. Among the baptized members of the congregation the peace of God, brotherly love and a real desire to love the Saviour and cleave to him with purpose of heart, prevailed. Their conduct and conversation became increasingly conformable to their Christian profession, and they greatly valued their high and heavenly calling. In the children, likewise, the missionaries observed many astonishing evidences of the work of the holy Spirit, in "perfecting praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings." And the awakening among the catechumens was general and solid, and exhibited a sincere desire to obtain grace and the remission of sins in the blood of Christ.

In the mean time they received certain information, that the Iroquois had clandestinely sold the land, on which Friedenshuetten stood, to the English, though they had formally ceded it to the Christian Indians in 1765. This involved that settlement in new troubles. They therefore resolved to quit that place, and to seek another residence.

Early in June, 1772, the whole congregation, consisting of two hundred and forty-one persons, left Friedenshuetten, some of them travelling by land, but the greater part by water. The difficulties attending the emigration of so many people, with all their goods and cattle, in a country like America, is almost incredible. The party, who went by land, had to care for seventy oxen and a still greater number of horses, and sustained inconceivable hardships in forcing their way through very thick woods and swamps, directed only by a small path, in some places hardly discernible. They had to ford many rivers, being in one part of the country obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the Munsy. The difficulties of those who went by water were not less. They were every night obliged to seek a lodging on shore. In some places they were molested by inquisitive, and in others, by drunken people. The many falls and dangerous rapids in the Susquehannah, occasioned much trouble and frequent delays. To add to their difficulties, the measles broke out among them soon after their departure, of which many, especially children, fell sick, and some died. Both companies having at length met, they pursued their journey by land. Arrived on the banks of the Ohio, they built canoes for conveying the aged and infirm, with the baggage, down the river; and in a few days the whole party reached Friedenstadt, and were most cordially welcomed by the Christian Indians there, who united with them in solemn praises to God for their safe arrival, after a tedious journey of eight weeks.

It was not, however, the design of the Indians to fix themselves permanently at this place; but to proceed to the banks of the Muskingum, and occupy a piece of ground, which had been allotted them by the council of the Delawares. The council had passed a formal resolution, that this tract of land, which was of considerable extent, should exclusively belong to the Christian Indians, and no others be permitted to settle upon it; and that all Indians, dwelling on its borders, should be ordered to behave peaceably towards the missionaries and their converts, and neither disturb their worship, nor prevent any from attending the preaching of the gospel. Zeisberger had visited this place early in the spring, and found it in all respects an eligible situation for an Indian town, having an excellent spring, a small lake, a fine soil, plenty of game, and every other convenience. It lies about seventy-five miles west of Friedenstadt, and nearly at the same distance south of Lake Erie.

Five families of Christian Indians had in May removed to this place and begun the erection of a settlement, giving it the name of Schoenbrunn. They were now joined by those who had emigrated from Friedenshuetten.

About this period the prospect at Friedenstadt became more and more alarming. The repeated encroachments of the savages occasioned much perplexity, and the pernicious consequences of the rum-trade became at length insupportable. The savages frequently brought a quantity of spirits close to the town, got intoxicated, and behaved like madmen, committing various acts of mischief and outrage, even threatening to kill the missionary. It was solely owing to the restraining hand of Providence that they did not execute their barbarous purpose. At one time a ruffian furiously rushed into the house where the missionary lay sick, but, on seeing the fellow come in, he raised himself and looked at him with undaunted composure. This completely disconcerted the savage, he stopped short, and the Indian brethren, hastening to the assistance of the teacher, easily secured him. These unpleasant occurrences seeming to admit of no alleviation, the inhabitants resolved, though much against their inclination, to forsake the place, and remove into the neighbourhood of their Brethren on the Muskingum, where they arrived after a journey of three weeks. Here they established a colony, about ten miles below Schoenbrun, which they called Gnadenhuetten.

During the building of these two settlements, Zeisberger, accompanied by two Indian brethren, made a journey into the country of the Shawanose, who were generally considered the most savage of all the Indian tribes. They were, however, kindly received by the chief, and lodged in the house of one of the heathen teachers. This man, being informed by the missionary that the object of their journey was to preach the words of eternal life, replied: "This is what we want, and we will hear you with pleasure." Having for several days attentively listened to the discourses and conversation of the missionary and his companions, the heathen teacher made the following remarkable declaration: "I have not been able to sleep all night, for I am continually meditating upon your words, and will now open to you my whole heart: I believe that all you preach is truth. A year ago I became convinced that we are altogether sinful creatures; and that none of our good works will save us: but we did not know what to do to gain eternal salvation. I have, therefore, always comforted my people, that some person would come and show to us the true way to happiness, for we are not in the right way; and even the day before your arrival, I desired them to have but a little patience, and a teacher would certainly come. Now you are come, and I verily believe that God has sent you to make his word known to us." The council having formally declared their wish that the Brethren would come and reside among them, the travellers, filled with gratitude to God for this hopeful prospect, returned to Schoenbrunn. The more poignant was their sorrow, when, on repeating their visit the next year, they met with so much opposition and hostility, as fully convinced them, that as yet no missionary establishment could be formed here.

About this time new troubles interrupted the tranquillity of the congregations at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten. Besides the continuance of petty wars among the Indian tribes, the white settlers in Virginia were obliged to fly to arms to defend themselves against the savages. This rendered the year 1774 a period of great perplexity and confusion to the two settlements. For many months the inhabitants had hardly a single day of rest. Numerous troops of warriors passed through, some upon murdering expeditions, others with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent menaces, that both places should be surprised and laid waste. Owing to their enmity against the white people, the missionaries in particular were in the most imminent danger. One terrifying report after another was flying through the country. They were frequently so much alarmed that canoes were kept in constant readiness in case sudden flight should become necessary. The women were more than once driven from the plantations at noon-day; and all the inhabitants were, for days and weeks, confined to their houses, as several parties were strolling about the neighbourhood for the purpose of seizing stragglers. At length the Indians were compelled to submit to make peace, and thus tranquillity was restored.

The missionaries found great reason to rejoice that amidst all these troubles the two congregations continued to flourish. They had not once been obliged to omit the stated preaching of the gospel, and the number of their hearers was often so large that the chapel at Schoenbrunn, though capable of accommodating five hundred, proved too small. Among the strangers who attended there were many warriors, and the impression made on some was such, that, though they returned home for a time, they could not rest till they obtained leave to reside with the Christian Indians. Even one of the heathen teachers was so struck with conviction of the truth of the gospel, that he took up his abode in the settlement. One of the chiefs likewise embraced Christianity, was baptized, and became a zealous witness of the doctrines of grace among the very people whose chief he had been. And the Indian, appointed his successor, declined the honour intended for him, choosing rather to be an humble follower of Christ than to occupy the highest and most honourable rank among his countrymen.

During the war there was a striking contrast between the conduct of the Christian Indians and the savages. While the latter neglected every thing, the former, though exposed to many interruptions, continued to plant their fields, boil sugar, and follow their various avocations with their usual diligence. God blessed the labour of their hands, so that they could assist those that were needy, and even provide many of the warriors who marched through their village, with food and other necessaries. This led a captain to remark: "I have found your people very different from what I had heard. It was reported in our town that when a strange Indian arrives with you, he is sent to make his fire in the woods, and gets nothing to eat. I now hear the contrary from all who have visited you, for they have all been fed and lodged. In other places they make wry faces at us; here, men, women, and even children, bid us welcome."

By this time the Christian Indians had in a very great degree gained the confidence and esteem of their pagan neighbours; so that even some of the captains and chiefs interested themselves in their behalf, demanding that they should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, and be protected in their possessions against every intruder. This was formally ratified by an act of the council in the name of the whole Delaware nation; in which they gave full permission to any of their people, who were so disposed, to go and hear the gospel. This act was shortly after renewed, and accompanied with an urgent request on their part, that the Brethren would form a third settlement.

This proposal was readily agreed to, and they fixed on a spot on the east side of the Muskingum, to which they gave the name of Lichtenau. In April 1776 the missionaries Zeisberger and Heckewaelder, with eight families of Christian Indians from Schoenbrunn, moved to this new settlement. It soon increased in number and extent, by the accession of many heathen, who became obedient to the gospel. The number of inhabitants in the three settlements on the Muskingum amounted now to four hundred and fourteen persons, and, as they lay at no great distance from each other, a pleasing intercourse was constantly kept up between them, which contributed not a little to the encouragement of the missionaries, and the edification of their converts.

This prosperity of the mission received a sudden check, in consequence of the rupture between Great Britain and her colonies. By this time the contest had risen so high, that the disturbances it occasioned reached to the Ohio and the Muskingum. The Brethren, indeed, determined to take no part in the war, yet they were placed in the most critical situation, as their very neutrality served to render them suspicious in the eyes of each of the belligerent powers, and threw a general odium upon their character and conduct.

During the consecutive commotions the chiefs of the Delawares firmly adhered to their resolution not to interfere with the war. But a tribe of that nation, the Monsys, secretly separated from the main body and formed an alliance with the Mingoes, a set of idle thieves and murderers. They endeavoured to gain a party among the enemies of the mission, and even ventured into the settlements in order to decoy some of the inhabitants to join them, in which they were but too successful. They found a party of apostates, who seemed intent upon overthrowing Christianity, and replacing paganism in its room. This was the severest stroke the missionaries had yet met with, and occasioned them far more poignant grief than all their former sufferings. They spared no pains, which love could dictate, to recover these poor backsliders from this snare of the devil; but all in vain. It afterwards appeared that the Monsys and the apostate party had nothing less in view, than either to murder the missionaries, or convey them to Fort Detroit; the firmness of the Delawares in maintaining peace being ascribed to the influence of the Brethren on their council. And when this attempt did not succeed, they spread the false, though probable report, that the missionaries and their congregations were daily in danger of being surprised and murdered by the Huron warriors.

Rather, therefore, than enter into a dispute with so dangerous an enemy, they resolved to abandon Schoenbrunn, and move to Lichtenau. They now found the contiguity of this settlement to the Indian town of Goshachguenk of essential advantage, as they could not have defended themselves against the insults of the warriors, had they not met with constant support from the chiefs and council of that place. A part of the fugitive congregation settled at Gnadenhuetten.

In August 1777 intelligence reached Lichtenau that two hundred Huron warriors, headed by one of their chiefs, called by way of distinction the half-king, were on their march to that place. This caused considerable alarm; but after mature consideration the missionaries resolved to betray no symptoms of fear, but rather seek to conciliate their favour by kind treatment. No time was lost to prepare provisions for them; and the liberality of the Christian Indians, on this occasion, was the more remarkable, as they considered it the only means of saving the lives of their beloved teachers. The warriors expressed no little surprise and pleasure on being met by a party from Lichtenau, bringing provisions for them. This put them into a very good humour; and the Christian Indians did not neglect to improve this favourable opportunity, but sent a formal embassy to the half-king and the other chiefs of the Hurons, informing them that they had embraced Christianity, and now wished to live in peace with all men; and therefore requested protection and safety for themselves and their teachers. This message was well received by the half-king, and he exhorted the Christian Indians to obey their teachers, attend to their worship, and not to mind other affairs; promising that no one should molest or hurt them.

While these negociations were pending, the inhabitants of Lichtenau were not without serious apprehensions, being uncertain what turn affairs would take. The deputies had, therefore, agreed that should the half-king speak in an angry tone, they would immediately despatch a messenger to the settlement, thereby affording time to the congregation to take flight before he had concluded his speech. The greater, consequently, was their joy, when the embassy terminated so favourably.

The same day the half-king, attended by the chief captain and eighty-two warriors, visited Lichtenau. They were so amply supplied with provisions, that they were able to carry a considerable quantity home with them. Similar visits were repeated in the sequel: and sometimes more than two hundred warriors of different nations took up their night-quarters close to the settlement, and behaved so quietly, that their presence was hardly perceived. For the half-king maintained strict discipline, and took every precaution to prevent drunkenness, being well aware that this would terminate in bloodshed and murder. He was so pleased with the reception he and his retinue had met with, that he took the missionaries by the hand and called them *father*, desiring that they would consider him and his people as *children*. He even sent messengers to the English government in Detroit and to the chiefs in the Huron country, informing them of the alliance made with the Christian Indians, adding, that he and his warriors had acknowledged the white brethren to be their father, and would ever own them as such. The maintenance of so many warriors, however, was attended with considerable expense and trouble; the inhabitants of the settlement, therefore, were glad, when, towards the end of August, they finally removed from that part of the country.

The situation of Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten now became every day more dangerous. It was, therefore, deemed expedient to lessen the number of missionaries, leaving only one in each of the settlements. As the distance between the two places was only twenty miles, they kept up, as far as possible, a regular intercourse, and in travelling through the country found the friendship made with the Hurons of great advantage. Yet they saw little before them but perplexity and distress. Various terrifying reports were in circulation, which rendered it necessary for the two congregations to hold themselves in constant readiness for a precipitate flight. Canoes were provided and a place of rendezvous appointed; and one night they actually fled, in consequence of a report, that the enemy was approaching. Fortunately this proved a false alarm; and after spending a day together in the place of rendezvous, the two congregations could return in peace to their respective dwellings.

Every part of the country now exhibited scenes of the most dreadful cruelty. The Hurons, who were in league with the English, committed the most horrid murders and ravages on the white people and their plantations, and the Americans treated the Indians with little less ferocity. It was a melancholy spectacle to see the savages drag along men, women and children, whom they had made prisoners, and many of whom were severely wounded, and carry dead bodies and scalps, as trophies of victory, through the settlements. The Christian Indians showed the prisoners all the compassion and attention in their power, and would never suffer them to be scourged, or otherwise abused, while in the place, as is the custom in the Indian towns. Among the prisoners a venerable old man and two youths more particularly excited their pity. When the warriors arrived with them in their own town, the two youths were tortured and burnt to death. The old man was condemned to suffer the same punishment, but, receiving timely information, he effected his escape. Some of the Christian Indians found him in the woods, almost dead, having had nothing but grass to eat for fourteen days. They brought him to Lichtenau, where he was well cared for, and after regaining his strength they sent him to Pittsburgh. The governor of that place acknowledged the conduct of the Indian congregation to have been of real benefit to the whole country, and that the fury of the warriors had been considerably mitigated by the example and influence of their Christian countrymen.

Hitherto the Delawares had firmly adhered to their resolution to take no part in the war; at length, however, they were induced to join the English against the Americans. Their friendship for the missionaries and Christian Indians was now changed into enmity, considering them, on account of their peaceful disposition, as a check to their conduct. The council unanimously resolved that the hatchet should fall on the head of every one who refused to accept it; and as the Indians in league with the Americans formed a similar resolution, our congregations were placed between two cruel enemies, and saw nothing before them but inevitable ruin. The missionaries, in particular, were exposed to the most imminent danger, as it was ascribed to their authority and influence that the young men in our settlements had declined the challenge, repeatedly sent by the Delaware chiefs, to take up arms. The savages, therefore, reiterated their threats, that the missionaries should be either killed or made prisoners; flattering themselves, that if *they* were removed, the Christian Indians would soon be forced to comply.

But God knew how to preserve his servants; and his guardian care over them was often displayed in a most striking manner. Repeated attempts to carry them prisoners to fort Detroit were frustrated. At one time brother Shebosh got between two parties, who were in pursuit of each other, and did not know his danger till after his escape. The preservation experienced by Zeisberger was still more singular. Being on a journey with two Indian brethren, he was met by a white man, who headed a murderous party of eight Mingoes and a prisoner. As soon as he observed the missionary, he called out to his party: "Here is the man we have long wished to secure; do now as you think proper." The Mingoe captain shook his head, and after asking a few questions, walked off. The English, indeed, acknowledged that the missionaries had done no harm, but were even useful in civilizing the Indians; yet they wished to carry them away prisoners, being persuaded that if *they* were removed, not only the Delawares but many other tribes would join the army.

It has already been mentioned that Schoenbrunn was forsaken by the faithful part of the congregation, almost at the very beginning of these troubles; and as they were now chiefly felt at Gnadenhuetten, it was deemed expedient to remove that congregation also, and to concentrate the whole mission at Lichtenau. This was effected in April 1778; and in order to make room for this increase of inhabitants, several new houses were built, and the chapel was enlarged. In the sequel, however, it appeared that this settlement was too much crowded. A resolution was, therefore, taken in 1779, to rebuild Schoenbrunn, though not on the same spot, but on the opposite bank of the Muskingum. And as Lichtenau, which had hitherto been the safest place, now became more and more exposed to the outrages of the heathen, the missionaries in 1780 deemed it necessary to quit this place also, and to erect a new settlement at the distance of about twenty miles, which they called Salem.

Amidst all the disturbances occasioned by the daily marches of warriors through the settlements, the Christian Indians did not lose their courage; and these very troubles led them to cleave more steadfastly to the Lord and seek help from *him*. The grace of God was sensibly felt in all their meetings; great numbers of heathen Indians attended the preaching of the gospel, and the emotion was frequently so general, that the preacher had to stop in his discourse, as the loud weeping of his audience overpowered his voice. Many were baptized; and some who had been baptized in other communities were received as members of the Brethren's church. The assistants were peculiarly zealous and successful in bearing testimony of the truth to their countrymen. For this purpose they made frequent visits to the neighbouring towns. A great awakening likewise took place among the young, as yet unbaptized children, who with tears begged for admission to this holy rite. Such was the powerful influence of the gospel in the congregation, that the members not only loved each other with a pure heart fervently, but extended their charity to their worst enemies, constantly praying for them, and doing them every kind service in their power. The apostate part of the congregation who left Schoenbrunn, was more particularly the object of their prayers. They were graciously answered; for most of these poor deluded people returned, like the prodigal son, earnestly begging for pardon and re-admission. This was granted in presence of the whole congregation, whose tears of compassion and joy on these occasions realized the words of Christ: *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use and persecute you.* Matt. v. 44.

By these means, the new settlement in Salem soon began to flourish; and, notwithstanding the pressure of the times, the bounty of God so richly provided the inhabitants with food and raiment, that they could supply the wants of many of their starving and suffering countrymen.

Our Indian congregations now enjoyed a season of rest, seldom witnessing any thing of war, except that troops sometimes marched through the settlements. But this happy tranquillity terminated in less than a year, and new scenes of unprecedented distress commenced. The English governor at Fort Detroit, influenced by the calumnies of the adversaries, began to entertain a suspicion that the Christian Indians were partizans with the Americans, and that the missionaries acted as spies. In order to rid himself of such troublesome and dangerous neighbours, he sent a message to the Iroquois and several other tribes, to take up the Indian congregations and their teachers and carry them away. But these tribes declined acceding to the proposal. A similar message was then sent to the half-king of the Hurons. This man, instigated by the Delaware captain, Pipe, a sworn enemy to the mission, at length agreed to commit this act of injustice; declaring at the same time, that he only did it with a view to save the Christian Indians, whom he had formerly treated with every mark of friendship.

In August, 1781, a troop of warriors, amounting to upwards of three hundred, commanded by the half-king, the Delaware captain, Pipe, and an English captain, made their appearance, and fixed upon Gnadenhuetten, as the most convenient place for holding a consultation with the Christian Indians. At this meeting the half-king and his retinue put on the mask of friendship, and proposed their removal as a measure dictated by regard for their safety. This proposal the Christian Indians declined, promising, however, to consider their words, and return an answer the next winter.

The half-king would probably have been satisfied with this answer, had not the English officer and Captain Pipe urged him to persevere. The consequence was, that the hostile party became more peremptory in their demands, insisting on the removal of the congregation. Their vengeance was particularly directed against the missionaries, and they held frequent consultations, in which they resolved to murder all the white brethren and sisters, and even the Indian assistants. But before they executed their bloody purpose, they inquired the opinion of a common warrior, who was held in great esteem as a sorcerer. He was decidedly against the measure, and said: "You have resolved to kill my dearest friends; for most of their chief people are my friends. But this I tell you, that if you hurt any of them, I know what I will do." This threat so terrified them, that they relinquished their design.

Meanwhile the savages became more daring and riotous. Though they were supplied with every thing they wanted by the Christian Indians, they wantonly shot their cattle and pigs. Small parties made inroads into the adjacent country and brought their prisoners to Gnadenhuetten; thus turning it into a theatre of war and pillage.

At length the half-king summoned all the missionaries and their Indian assistants from the three settlements before a council of war, asking them what they intended to do? As they appealed to the answer already given, the assembly broke up without further debate. A Delaware captain then stepped up to brother Zeisberger, telling him, that being adopted one of the Delaware nation, the warriors were willing to protect *him*. But as this protection extended only to himself and not to his fellow-labourers, he nobly declined it. Upon this he and the two other missionaries were immediately seized and declared prisoners of war. As they were dragged into the camp, a Huron Indian aimed a push at brother Senseman's head with a kind of lance, but fortunately missed his aim. A Monsy then stepped forward, seized the missionaries by the hair, and shaking them, tauntingly exclaimed: "Welcome among us, my friends!"

Upon this they were led into the camp of the Delawares, who sang the death-song, stripped them of all their clothes except their shirts, and led them into the tent of the English officer, who, seeing their pitiable condition, declared that, though the governor of Detroit had given positive orders to secure them, this treatment was contrary to his intention. Having received a few rags to cover them, they were confined in two huts, belonging to the camp of the Hurons, and joined by the missionary Edwards, who, though he might have escaped, preferred sharing the same fate with his brethren. However, they were not bound like other prisoners; but a strict watch was set over them. Here they were obliged to sit on the bare ground, and, having scarce any covering, suffered severely from the cold.

Soon after their confinement, they saw a number of armed warriors march off for Salem and Schoenbrunn. The apprehension of what their families might suffer was far more distressing to them than all the indignities offered to their own persons. When the savages arrived at the settlements they plundered the mission-houses and chapels, wantonly destroying the furniture, and took the remaining missionaries and their wives and children prisoners, singing the death-song, as they led them away. None was more to be pitied than sister Senseman. She had been delivered of a child only three days before, and now she was in a dark, and rainy night, hurried away by these merciless barbarians. By the mercy of God, however, neither she nor her infant received the least injury. It was indeed a providential circumstance that she was able to walk, otherwise the savages, according to their usual practice, would instantly have murdered both mother and child. Early in the morning of September 4th this company arrived at Gnadenhuetten. The feelings of the brethren Senseman and Zeisberger on seeing their wives brought prisoners into the camp, where they were confined themselves, may more easily be conceived than described. Thus six missionaries, three of their wives and two children were at once dragged away from their pleasant and peaceful habitations, exposed to all the horrors of captivity in a camp of Indian warriors, and to constant dread, lest these savages should gratify their thirst for blood, by torturing and murdering them.

But that God who rescued Peter and Paul and Silas from the hands of their persecutors, preserved also the lives of these his devoted servants, and sent them deliverance. The very next day the prisoners obtained permission to see and speak with each other. The scene now exhibited was so affecting, that it struck the very savages with remorse and astonishment. The sisters, who showed wonderful composure and resignation, were soon set at liberty, together with the missionary Jungman. The mission-house being nearly destroyed, they went to the house of brother Shebosh, who being considered a native, as he had completely adopted the Indian manner of living, and married one of their countrywomen, had not been taken prisoner. Mutual visits were now allowed to those who had been liberated, and their friends who were still in confinement.

At the beginning of these troubles the behaviour of the Christian Indians bore some resemblance to the conduct of the disciples of Jesus, when he was betrayed: they forsook their teachers and fled. However, when they met together in the woods, they wept so loud, that the air resounded with their lamentations; and, soon recovering from their panic, they returned; and having retaken, or bought, several articles stolen by the savages, restored them to the owners. Late in the evening they carried blankets to the missionaries, who were still in prison, and fetched them away early in the morning, lest the savages should steal them in the course of the day.

After the lapse of four days, during which the five imprisoned missionaries had experienced all the horrors of being at the mercy of a set of robbers and murderers, the Indian assistants took courage and applied to the half-king and the other captains for the liberation of their teachers. The savages, being by this time convinced that the Christian Indians would never remove from the settlements, unless they were conducted by the missionaries, summoned them before the council, set them at liberty, and advised them to encourage their converts to emigrate.

Filled with thanks and praises to God, they now returned to their beloved people, and having directed them all to meet at Salem, they once more celebrated the Lord's Supper with them, during a remarkable perception of the presence of God and the influence of his Spirit. Here they spent some days in peace and comfort, preached the gospel with boldness, baptized one of the catechumens, and exhorted the believers to evince the sincerity of their faith, by acting with firmness and resignation in this season of trial. The Christian Indians, convinced that there was no alternative left them but to emigrate, the more readily acquiesced in the proposed measure, as about a hundred of the savages, who had constantly watched their motions, and surrounded them at a distance, now entered the settlement, and behaved like madmen, committing the most daring outrages.

But never did the Brethren leave any country with greater regret. They had already lost about two hundred horned cattle, and four hundred hogs; and now they were obliged to leave a great quantity of corn in their stores, besides three hundred acres, just ready to be reaped, together with potatoes and other vegetables and garden fruits. According to a moderate calculation their loss was computed at two thousand pounds; no trifling sum to be the property of Indians, and which strikingly shows the tendency of true religion to promote industry and improvement. But what gave the missionaries the most pain was the total loss of all their books and manuscripts, which they had translated and compiled with great labour for the instruction of the Indian youth, all of which were now burned by the savages. Add to this, they saw nothing before them but distress, misery and danger. But there was no alternative; they could only possess their souls in patience, and go even whither they would not, relying on the help of God.

They were escorted by a troop of savages, commanded by English officers, who enclosed them on all sides at the distance of some miles. In a few days the half-king of the Hurons and his warriors overtook them, and proceeded with the rest. One party went by water, and another by land. By the sinking of some of their canoes, those who were in them lost all their property, but, fortunately, saved their lives. Those who went by land drove the cattle. The journey was exceedingly tedious and troublesome, and for the greater part of the way lay through a swamp. The savages frequently drove them forward like a herd of cattle. The missionaries and their wives, surrounded by the Christian Indians, usually travelled in the middle. But one morning, when the latter could not set out as expeditiously as their conductors wanted, they forced the missionaries away alone, whipping their horses till they became unmanageable, and would not even allow time to the mothers to suckle their infants. The Christian Indians followed as fast as possible, but, with all their exertions, did not come up with them till night; and thus it was morning before they were rescued from the hands of the savages. Notwithstanding these and many other difficulties, they pursued their journey with the utmost patience. Not one left the congregation; not one laid the blame on others; no dissatisfaction or dissension arose among them, but they were united in the spirit of true brotherly love, rejoicing in God their Saviour; and even held their daily meetings for worship.

After a journey of about four weeks they arrived at Sandusky creek, about one hundred and twenty-five miles distant from the settlements on the Muskingum. Here the half-king and his warriors left them, marching into their own country, without giving them any further directions. Thus abandoned, in a country where there was neither game nor any other kind of provisions, though it had been represented to them by these barbarians as a perfect paradise, they roved to and fro for some time, and at last resolved to spend the winter in Upper Sandusky. Having pitched upon the best spot they could find in this dreary wilderness, they erected small huts of logs and bark, to shelter themselves from the wet and cold. This was the more necessary, as their savage conductors had stolen all their blankets and other articles, only leaving them the needful utensils for making maple sugar. Their want of provisions at length became so great, that the missionary Shebosh and some Indian brethren returned to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, to fetch the Indian corn, which had been left standing in the fields. This was a hazardous enterprize. Shebosh and five of the Indians were actually taken prisoners and carried to Pittsburgh; but the rest returned safely, with four hundred bushels of corn, to Sandusky. Though many heathen visited this neighbourhood, they showed no disposition to hear the gospel, but rather scoffed at it. Captain Pipe boasted, that he had taken the brethren prisoners, and considered them now as his slaves. The half-king informed them, that being now under his dominion, they were bound to obey all his mandates, and even to go to war at his command. The less prospect there appeared, under these circumstances, of being instrumental in the conversion of the heathen, the more joy the missionaries felt at seeing several, who at the commencement of the troubles, had wandered from the congregation, return to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls, and join his persecuted flock.

Scarce had the Christian Indians begun to establish themselves at Sandusky, when the missionaries and the chiefs of their people received an order from the governor at Fort Detroit, to repair thither. Glad of this opportunity to speak for themselves, and refute the many lies propagated respecting them, four of the missionaries, accompanied by as many of the assistants, set out for that place on the 25th of October. Some days elapsed before the investigation of the various charges, brought against them, could take place, as their principal accuser, Captain Pipe, had not yet arrived.

Without entering into a minute detail of the trial, suffice it to say, that Pipe, after some fruitless evasions, was obliged to confess, that the missionaries were innocent, and to take all the blame to himself and the chiefs. After making some further inquiries, the governor declared publicly, that the missionaries were innocent of all the charges brought against them, that he viewed their endeavours to civilize and christianize the Indians with great satisfaction, and would permit them to return to their congregation without delay. He then addressed the Indian assistants in a very condescending manner, admonished them to obey their teachers, and gratuitously supplied them with all they wanted. He offered the use of his own house to the missionaries, and as, contrary to his express orders, they had been plundered, he provided them with clothes and every other necessary, and even repurchased four watches of which they had been robbed when made prisoners. Thankful for the gracious interposition of God in their behalf, they arrived again at Sandusky on November 22d, to the inexpressible joy of their families and the whole congregation, who had entertained serious apprehensions, that they would be kept prisoners in Detroit.

Our Indians at Sandusky now enjoyed a temporary rest. They erected a chapel, assembled for daily worship, and great grace prevailed among them. Some new people were baptized, and others, who had gone astray, were again restored to the fellowship of the believers. But with regard to externals, their situation was distressing in the extreme. Often they knew not to-day what they should eat to-morrow, and absolute famine stared them in the face. Provisions were scarce and could be bought only at a most exorbitant price. The unusual severity of the winter increased the distress. They had considerable herds of cattle, but there was no forage for them in this dreary region, in consequence of which, numbers perished. Many of the poor lived entirely on wild potatoes; and the famine at last rose to such a pitch, that they greedily ate the carcases of horses and cows, that were starved to death.

Compelled by the horrors of famine, several parties returned to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, where the corn was still standing unreaped in the fields, and was even then better in quality, than what was offered for sale, at an enormous price, in Sandusky. A report likewise prevailed, that the danger in those parts had ceased; but in crediting this, they found themselves most fatally deceived. A scene of treachery and bloodshed was soon after exhibited in this very quarter, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of the greatest barbarians of any age or nation.

About this time the governor of Pittsburgh released those Christian Indians who, together with the missionary Shebosh, had been taken prisoners by the Americans. This act of common justice greatly incensed the white people, who represented the Indians as a set of Canaanites, that ought to be extirpated from the face of the earth.* Having heard that parties of Christian Indians from Sandusky came occasionally to the Muskingum, to fetch provisions, about one hundred and sixty of these ruffians formed a plot to surprise them, destroy the settlements, and then proceed to Sandusky and murder the rest of the congregation. As soon as Colonel Gibson at Pittsburgh received intelligence of this infernal plot, he sent information of it to the Muskingum, to warn the Indians of their danger: but the messengers arrived too late. Our Indians indeed had received timely notice of danger from another quarter, but, contrary to their usual caution and timidity, paid no regard to the information, supposing that they now had nothing to fear from the Americans.

In this instance their confidence was fatally misplaced. Early in March, 1782, the murderers approached Gnadenhuetten. About a mile from the settlement they met young Shebosh, the son of the missionary, fired at and wounded him so severely, that he was unable to escape. He then, according to their own account, begged for his life, representing that he was the son of a white man. Regardless of his entreaties, they cut him in pieces with their hatchets. Proceeding onward they reached the plantations, where many Indians were at work. They accosted them in friendly terms, and desired them to go home, promising that no one should molest them. They even pretended to pity them on account of their past sufferings, and assured them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The Christian Indians, ignorant of the murder of young Shebosh, believed all they said, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. And when ordered by these murderers not to return to Sandusky, but go to Pittsburgh, they submitted with resignation, hoping that God, in his providence, would by this means put a stop to their sufferings. Prepossessed with this idea, they cheerfully delivered their guns, hatchets and other weapons, and even showed them where they had secreted their property in the woods.

Meanwhile John Martin, one of the Indian assistants, went to Salem to inform the inhabitants of the arrival of the Americans, assuring them they were come as friends in order to conduct the Christian Indians to a place of safety. Those at Salem received this intelligence without regret, persuading themselves that God, by the instrumentality of the Americans, would release them from their present disagreeable situation; and fondly hoping that, being once arrived at Pittsburgh, they would not find it difficult to form a settlement in some convenient spot, and procure advice and assistance from Bethlehem. John Martin, having returned to Gnadenhuetten, acquainted both the Christian Indians and the Americans with their resolution. The latter having expressed a desire to see Salem, a party of them was conducted thither and most hospitably entertained. Here they feigned the same friendship as at Gnadenhuetten, and even affected great piety, entering into much religious discourse with the Indians.

Having by these hypocritical arts completely succeeded in deceiving the unsuspecting Indians, they at once threw off the mask, and displayed all the hideous deformity of their real character. They suddenly attacked the poor, defenceless inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, seized and bound them. Those coming from Salem shared a similar fate. Before they entered Gnadenhuetten they were surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns and even of their pocket-knives, and brought bound into the settlement. A council was held, and by a plurality of votes, it was resolved to murder them all the next day. The few who opposed this inhuman resolution wrung their hands, calling God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Indians. But the majority remained inflexible, only differing as to the mode of execution. Some proposed burning them alive, others scalping them. The latter mode was finally fixed upon. They then despatched a messenger to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were Christians, they might prepare themselves for death in a Christian manner, for they must all die on the morrow.

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* See p. 520.

It may easily be conceived, that this dreadful intelligence overwhelmed the prisoners with horror. But, soon recollecting themselves, they patiently submitted to these bloodthirsty tyrants. Being allowed one night's respite, they spent it in prayer and in exhorting one another to remain faithful until death. At the dawn of morning they united in solemn hymns of praise, in the joyful hope that they should soon enter into the glorious presence of God their Saviour, and join the song of the ransomed before the throne of the Lamb.

When the day of execution (March 8th) arrived, the murderers fixed upon two houses; one for the men, the other for the women and children; to which they gave the name of slaughter-houses. The carnage immediately commenced; and these poor innocent people, men women and children, being bound with ropes, two and two together, were led into the houses, and there scalped and murdered. By this act of most wanton barbarity, ninety-six persons finished their earthly existence, among whom there were five valuable assistants in the mission, and thirty-four children. According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they displayed uncommon patience, and met death with cheerful resignation, and in full assurance of a glorious resurrection to life eternal.

It appears from all the circumstances attending this bloody catastrophe, that they were not murdered because they were Christians, but merely because they were Indians. We cannot, therefore, compare them with the martyrs of the primitive church, who died for their testimony of Jesus; but this we may confidently affirm, that they met death, even in the most formidable shape, with all the meekness and fortitude of Christ's true disciples, and to the end of their lives bore witness to the truth and efficacy of the gospel. Their very murderers acknowledged that they were *good* Indians, "For," said they, "they sang and prayed to their latest breath."

Only two youths escaped this dreadful massacre, and that in a manner almost miraculous. The one fortunately disengaged himself from his bonds, and unobserved crept through a narrow window into the cellar of one of the slaughter-houses. Here he soon observed the blood drop through the floor and run in streams into the cellar; which makes it probable that tho murderers not only scalped their victims, but cut them in pieces. Remaining concealed in the cellar during the night, he with much difficulty made his way out the next morning, and fled into an adjacent thicket. The escape of the other youth was equally remarkable. His murderers gave him only one blow on the head, took his scalp and left him. In a while he recovered his senses, and saw himself surrounded with bleeding corpses; among whom he observed one called Abel, still moving and endeavouring to raise himself. But he lay quite still, as though he had been dead; and this caution proved the means of his deliverance; for one of the murderers coming in, and observing Abel move, gave him two or three blows, which killed him. The other, though suffering excruciating pain from his wounds, remained quiet. A while after he ventured to creep towards the door, and not seeing any person near, escaped into the woods, where he concealed himself during the night. Here he met his companion, and they pursued their journey to Sandusky. Though they purposely took a circuitous route, on which they encountered great dangers and suffered many hardships, yet they were graciously preserved. Before they left their place of concealment, they observed the wretches making merry, congratulating themselves on the success of their enterprize, and setting fire to the slaughter-houses.

The Christian Indians at Schoenbrunn fortunately escaped the destruction equally meditated against them. Having despatched a messenger on some business to Gnadenhuetten, he found young Shebosh lying dead and scalped by the way; and looking forward, saw a number of Americans in and about the settlement. Alarmed at this, he returned to Shoenbrunn with the utmost precipitation, informing the inhabitants of what he had seen. Upon this they all fled into the woods. From their lurking-places they observed the murderers approach the town; who, finding no one at home, set fire to the houses, as they had also done at Gnadenhuetten and Salem. Taking the scalps of their innocent victims, about fifty horses, some blankets and other things with them, they proceeded to Pittsburgh, with a view to murder the colony of Indians lately settled on the north side of the Ohio; which diabolical design they partially effected.

While this tragical scene was acting on the banks of the Muskingum, the missionaries at Sandusky were not without their troubles. Some members of the congregation had apostatized from the faith, and excited no small disturbance and uneasiness by their endeavours to seduce others, as well as by their own obstinacy, bidding defiance to all remonstrances, and treating even the kindest reproof with contempt and ridicule. But a heavier trial than this was preparing for them. The enemies of the Brethren were still plotting the destruction of the mission. The governor of Detroit, unwilling to break his promise that no one should molest them in their labours, resisted every base insinuation against them as far as lay in his power. At length, however, all his measures of firmness and prudence proved ineffectual; and he was in a manner forced, though very reluctantly, to give the half-king of the Hurons and an English officer in his company, an order to bring all the missionaries and their families to fort Detroit; adding, however, a strict charge neither to plunder nor abuse them.

The missionaries were panic-struck at this order: to be torn from their beloved flock was a far severer blow to them than death itself. But no choice was allowed them, and submission to the inscrutable ways of divine Providence became their imperious duty; for the slightest remonstrance might have subjected them to ill treatment and plunder, and could not have been of the smallest service. When this order was made known to the congregation, a most affecting and overwhelming scene was exhibited. The whole assembly burst into loud lamentations and almost crushed the spirit of the missionaries, already sufficiently oppressed by their own weight of sorrow. The Indians, who are wont to endure the most cruel tortures without a tear or a groan, now wept like children bereaved of their parents; and in broken accents, as their half-stifled emotions would give them utterance, exclaimed, "We are left as sheep without a shepherd!" "Ah!" said one, "it gives me no concern that I am poor and hungry and have lost all my substance. Gladly would I suffer all this and much more, but that our enemies are taking our teachers from us, and intend to rob our *souls* of nourishment and deprive us of salvation; this is more than I can bear. But they shall never entice me to adopt their heathenish practices, or force me to do things abominable in the sight of God my Saviour. No; I will rather run into the thickest wood, fly from all human society, and spend the remainder of my days in penury and wretchedness."

Heart-rending as this scene was to them, their sorrow had not yet reached its height. They were still ignorant of the tragical events on the Muskingum; and it was not till the day before their departure, that they received the first appalling tidings of that dreadful catastrophe by an Indian warrior who came from those parts. And as this information was not in every respect correct, they were left to figure things to themselves even more dreadful than they were. By what they could collect from this relation, one part of the Christian Indians had been murdered, and another carried prisoners to Pittsburgh.

In this state of mind, overpowered with grief for the past, and agitated by fears for the future, they took leave of their congregation at Sandusky. Brother Zeisberger, after exhorting them with the affection of a father, to remain faithful to Jesus unto death, and apply to Him in all their need and distress, as the only permanent source of comfort, salvation and life, kneeled down with the whole assembly, offered grateful praises to the Lord for all the spiritual blessings he had bestowed upon them in the midst of great temporal misery, and fervently commended them to the protection and preservation of the triune God.

In March, 1782, they left Sandusky, and were accompanied a considerable part of the way by a great number of their weeping flock; and by some even as far as Lower Sandusky. Here they were detained for some time, waiting for vessels to carry them across lake Erie to Detroit. The vessels at length arrived with a written order to treat the missionaries with all possible kindness, and in case of stormy weather not to endanger their lives by crossing the lake. Having arrived at Detroit on the 11th of April, they were lodged in a part of the barracks which had just been fitted up for officers' dwellings. The governor soon called to see them, assuring them that though many accusations had been brought against them, yet he was fully convinced of their innocence, and had not sent for them on that account, but merely for their own safety, having received the most authentic intelligence that they were exposed to imminent danger while they remained at Sandusky. He also left it to their own option, whether they would remain at Detroit, or go to Bethlehem. With his consent they removed from the barracks to a private house at a short distance from the town.

The Indian congregation, meanwhile, was placed in the most precarious situation. The assistants, indeed, continued the daily meetings, and faithfully exhorted their brethren to remain steadfast. An English trader who visited Sandusky, bore a pleasing testimony to this. He related that he heard them sing hymns and exhort each other, till they wept together like children. But, encouraging as this was, some false brethren now manifested the perfidy of their hearts. They ascribed all their misfortunes, and even the murder on the Muskingum, to the missionaries. Besides, the half-king of the Hurons, being incessantly tormented with the pangs of a guilty conscience, had no rest as long as any Christian Indians remained in his neighbourhood. He therefore sent them a peremptory order to quit the country altogether. Indeed it appeared as if no place were left where these poor, persecuted Indians might find rest for the soles of their feet. They could expect no protection from the white people, and the heathen proscribed them as outlaws. As their dispersion seemed unavoidable, they resolved to make no resistance. One party went into the country of the Shawanose, and another settled in the vicinity of Pipestown, with a view to proceed further to the banks of the Miami. Thus a temporary stop was put to the once flourishing mission among the Indians.

The various afflictive and dreadful occurrences just related, bore every mark of a mysterious and inscrutable Providence, impenetrable to the view of short-sighted man, and only calculated to elicit in his servants a bold effort of faith, *to hope even against hope.* By degrees, however, the dark clouds dispersed; the veil which had concealed the secret operations of the divine hand, was at least partially withdrawn, and they were enabled to discern rays of almighty love, power and wisdom in this darkest of dispensations, constraining them gratefully to exclaim: *The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! He will restrain the power of the enemy and the fury of the oppressor, and cause all things to work together for good to them that love Him.*

Though the removal of the Christian Indians from their settlements on the Muskingum caused great distress at the time; yet it was, in fact, a most gracious interposition of divine Providence; for had not this measure been rendered absolutely necessary, it is more than probable that the whole congregation would have been involved in the massacre at Gnadenhuetten; but in consequence of their emigration to Sandusky, more than two-thirds escaped. Had not the missionaries received orders to repair to Detroit, they would not then have thought of sending a messenger to the Muskingum, to call the Indians away, and thus the inhabitants of Schoenbrunn would have shared the same fate with their murdered brethren at Gnadenhuetten. For the arrival of the messenger from Sandusky at the former place, required that the message he had brought should be also carried to the other settlements; and the Indian entrusted with this was the person who, as mentioned before, saw young Shebosh lying dead by the road, and spread the alarm at Schoenbrunn, thereby affording time to the inhabitants to save themselves by flight.

But the good resulting from the removal of the missionaries to Detroit did not terminate here. The same gang of murderers, who had committed the massacre on the Muskingum, did not abandon their bloody design against the rest of the congregation, though they deferred its execution for a while. A few weeks after the dispersion from Sandusky, these miscreants came hither, but finding the place deserted, their cruel purpose was providentially defeated. Soon after this disappointment divine justice overtook them, for being attacked by a party of English and Indian warriors, the greater part of them were cut to pieces.

We now resume the history of the mission.

The missionaries in Detroit did not avail themselves of the governor's permission to go to Bethlehem; a sense of duty and affection induced them to seek the welfare of their poor, dispersed Indian flock. To promote this they resolved to build a new settlement and invite their converts to return to them. Through the interest of the governor, who highly approved this measure, they obtained from the Chippeways a grant of land, about thirty miles north of Detroit, on the banks of the Huron. The governor continued his kind assistance in various ways; he furnished them with provisions, boats, planks and other necessary articles from the royal stores, and gave them some horses and cows; and his lady presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots. He even sent a message with a string of wampum to all the dispersed Christian Indians, inviting them to return to their teachers. Several families soon collected, so that in the month of July 1782, they had the pleasure of beginning the erection of the new settlement, which they called New Gnadenhuetten.

During their residence at Detroit they had had frequent opportunities of preaching the gospel both in the English and German languages; they were often applied to to baptize children and bury the dead; and brother Zeisberger delivered several discourses to the prisoners, which were attended by many inhabitants of the town.

The industry of the missionaries, aided by a favourable soil and other advantages, soon changed the new settlement, which before had been a perfect wilderness, into a fruitful and pleasant spot, but its colonization by the Christian Indians proceeded rather slowly. The greater part of them still remained scattered among the heathen, chiefly in the county of Twichtwees, about two hundred and fifty miles south of New Gnadenhuetten. The missionaries omitted no opportunity of sending them verbal messages; but from interested motives these were frequently perverted by the bearers, and the adversaries endeavoured to keep alive their imaginary fears of the white people, especially of the English government. Some of the native chiefs also terrified them by commanding them to be resigned to their fate, and resume the manners of the heathen, adding, "that not a single word of the gospel should any more be heard in the Indian country."

Notwithstanding the wily arts of the pagans to hinder the Christian Indians from returning to their teachers, many by degrees collected together on the river Huron. The new settlement was frequently visited, both by white people and heathen, who admired the regulations and improvements of the place. The missionaries exerted their accustomed zeal in preaching the gospel and instructing their flock. A few yielded to the converting influence of the word of God, and were baptized, and the internal course of the congregation was encouraging and edifying.

In May 1783 they joined their neighbours in thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace between England and the United States of America.

The ensuing winter was marked by a very intense frost, continuing late in the spring. Being wholly unexpected, it occasioned great scarcity, and obliged our Indians to disperse through the country. They were often reduced to extreme want, and forced to live on wild roots, till God was pleased to relieve their necessities by a large herd of deer, which strayed into the neighbourhood. During this time of scarcity they unavoidably contracted considerable debt with the traders in Detroit, but these were now so well convinced of their industry and honesty, that they gave them credit without hesitation. And, as the next harvest proved very productive, they were enabled punctually to discharge all their obligations.

But now new troubles arose. The Chippeways, who had given the tract of land on which New Gnadenhuetten stood, claimed it back again, assigning as a reason, that by the erection of the settlement, they had lost one of their principal hunting districts. They even threatened to murder some of the inhabitants, and thus compelled the rest to quit the country. As it was not likely that these complaints and vexations would speedily terminate, the brethren resolved to seek for an eligible residence near the river Walhalding.

While preparing for their removal, they received intelligence that the congress of the United States, after the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, had given express orders that the territory on the Muskingum, formerly inhabited by the Christian Indians, should be reserved for them. This was welcome news at New Gnadenhuetten; for though an Indian feels a strong aversion to dwell in a place where any of his relatives have been killed, yet on embracing the gospel they have laid aside this superstitious notion. Various impediments, however, as yet prevented their return. The savages were still determined to carry on the war against the United States; and a great part of the Delawares and Shawanose declared their intention to oppose the return of the Christian Indians.

The brethren, however, resolved at all events to leave the banks of the Huron, and if they could not immediately remove to the Muskingum, to seek a temporary residence in some other convenient spot. The governor of fort Detroit approved of this determination. and sent formal messages to the Indians not to molest their Christian countrymen. By his kind interposition they received a compensation of two hundred dollars for their houses and plantations in New Gnadenhuetten, which were afterwards occupied by white settlers. He most generously offered them vessels to carry them across lake Erie to Cayahaga, and on their arrival supplied them with provisions.

In April 1786, the missionaries and their people left New Gnadenhuetten and went in twenty-two canoes to Detroit, the inhabitants of which expressed deep regret at their removal, having always found them industrious and honest neighbours. The governor treated them with great kindness and hospitality. In a few days they embarked in two trading vessels, the Beaver and Makina, belonging to the North-West Company, which one of the owners had kindly offered for the use of the congregation, and given strict orders to the captains to show them all possible kindness, and not run any risks in case of danger. Their voyage was pleasant and prosperous till they arrived at an island in the lake, where, owing to contrary winds, they were obliged to encamp for four weeks. At length a brisk gale sprung up, and in a short time brought them within sight of the Cayahaga coast. when the wind suddenly veered round and drove them back to their former anchorage.

In consequence of this long delay one of the vessels was ordered back to Detroit, and the captains agreed to land the congregation in two divisions at Sandusky, and then return with the vessels and bring the baggage to Cayahaga. The first division, being unable to reach Sandusky, disembarked at Rocky Point, about eighty miles distant from the bay. Their journey by land was very difficult, as it lay through a pathless desert. After some days the second division overtook them in slight canoes, hastily made of bark. They now travelled together; one party on foot along the border of lake Erie, the other in canoes, keeping close to the shore; and arrived in safety at Cayahaga on the 7th of June. Want of provisions made them hasten their departure, and proceed up the river till they came to an old town, formerly inhabited by Ottawas, about one hundred miles distant from Pittsburgh. Here they resolved to spend the summer; and, though the season was already far advanced, they still cleared the ground for planting, and even sowed some Indian corn. They called this place Pilgeruh.

The difficulties always attending the erection of a new settlement, were considerably lessened in this instance. For soon after their arrival they received a large supply of various necessary articles from the Brethren at Bethlehem, and some traders residing in the vicinity, readily furnished them with provisions, giving them credit for great part of the payment. The congress of the United States likewise ordered a quantity of Indian corn and blankets to be given them, and by a written message informed them that their return to the United States gave them great satisfaction, and they might always depend on the friendship and protection of government; promising to give them five hundred bushels of Indian corn, a hundred blankets and other necessaries from the public magazines, whenever they should remove to the Muskingum. This promise was scrupulously fulfilled, though their removal could not be immediately effected.

Pilgeruh was often visited by Chippeways, Ottawas and Delawares, expressing a desire to hear the gospel. But, while this circumstance afforded sincere pleasure to the missionaries, they met with troubles of a different kind from those to which they had been accustomed on the Huron. Several heathen Indians, who had relations in the settlement, endeavoured to seduce them to return to paganism, and on some their attempts were but two successful. Upon the whole, however, the state of things was pleasing, and warranted the hope, that, after a temporary rest in this place, they might proceed to the Muskingum.

The joy this prospect diffused through the congregation was soon interrupted. Various reports of new hostilities between the Americans and Indians reached Pilgeruh, and though they were soon discovered to be false, yet they excited no small consternation, as the recollection of the dreadful tragedy on the Muskingum was still too strong to be easily forgotten. Besides, the savages were as much against their remaining in their present situation as against their returning to their former settlements, and insisted on their removal to some other part of the country. This caused them much perplexity. After mature deliberation they determined to relinquish every idea of returning to the Muskingum at that time, and to seek for a peaceful and safe retreat on some convenient spot between Cayahaga and Pettquotting.

In April 1787 they broke up from Pilgeruh, and proceeding partly by land and partly by water, in less than a week arrived at the place they had fixed upon for their residence. This was very unlike any of their former places of abode. The soil was good and fertile, producing wild potatoes in great abundance; it appeared like a fruitful orchard, several apple and plum trees growing here and there; and the lake, which was only a league distant, abounded with fish. They therefore rejoiced at the thought of establishing a regular settlement in so pleasant a country, especially as it was not frequented by any of those savages who had hitherto proved such troublesome neighbours.

But their joy was of short duration. Not more than three or four days after their arrival, a Delaware captain came into the camp, and gave them positive orders to quit that place and remove to Sandusky, adding the most solemn promises of protection and safety, assuring them that the place appointed for their residence was not in the vicinity of the savages, the nearest Indian town being ten miles distant. Disagreeable as this message was, the missionaries considered submission as the path of duty. Nothing appeared so dreadful as the prospect of being again subject to a heathen government. Yet they could not deny that their calling seemed to require that they should live in the very midst of those heathen to whom they were to preach the gospel.

In the beginning of May they set forward, but had not proceeded far when they discovered that great part of the message was false, for the place intended for their residence was not above two miles from the villages of the heathen. They determined, therefore, to go no further, but settle near Pettquotting. Of this they informed the chiefs, and obtained their permission to stay at least a year in that place without molestation.

They fixed on a situation near a river called Huron, which empties itself into lake Erie at Pettquotting. On its western bank they laid out plantations, choosing the eastern, which was high land, for their dwellings; and called this settlement New Salem. Many heathen Indians attended their public worship; scarce a day passed without visits from strangers; and they had the satisfaction to find that the blessing of God accompanied their labours. Among those savages who at this time were converted from the error of their way, were two persons formerly noted for profligacy. The one had some years ago formed a plot against the lives of the missionaries, and had often lain in ambush to surprise them, but fortunately without success. Coming accidentally to Pilgeruh, the gospel made so deep and salutary an impression upon his mind that he cried day and night to the Lord to be delivered from the slavery of sin. The other was a Huron Indian, who declined the offer made him by his nation, to be their chief, and came to New Salem, declaring that he had been long seeking for something better than worldly honours. He intended to visit his heathen relations, but when hearing of Jesus and his love to sinners, he relinquished that design, and remained faithfully attached to the congregation, finding there among the believers, that peace and rest which he had so long sought in vain elsewhere.

Many of those Christian Indians also, who during the late troubles had been scattered through the country, successively returned to New Salem and were affectionately received. Yet with regard to such, as during their absence had relapsed into heathenism, proper discretion was used, and they were not admitted to the privileges of the church, till they had given satisfactory proofs of repentance and change of heart. The prosperity of the young people afforded the missionaries much pleasure. Many of them, by a strict conformity to the precepts of the gospel, showed that it had taken deep root in their understanding and affections. The assistants increased in grace and knowledge of the truth, and attended to their office with zeal and diligence. The good order maintained in the settlement, the peaceable conduct of its inhabitants, and their cheerful behaviour, excited the admiration of all who visited the place, not excepting the very savages themselves. One of their chiefs addressed the Christian Indians thus: "You are in truth a happy people, you live cheerfully and peaceably together; and this is to be found no where but among you."

Their residence near Pettquotting appeared very providential, as it afforded them an opportunity of becoming acquainted with many Indians. They had more visiters here than in any of their former places of abode, who were always treated with the kindest hospitality, though this was often attended with no small inconvenience and expense; for it was no uncommon case for one family to lodge and entertain ten or more persons for a whole week and even longer. The assistants displayed great zeal and activity in pointing out to their guests their need of a Saviour, and in commending the love of God in Christ Jesus; and their endeavours were not fruitless. Several heathen embraced the gospel and received holy baptism. Among these was Gelelemind, formerly a Delaware chief, and some other persons of distinction.

Gegeshumind, a son of the assistant Abraham, was another instance of the power of divine grace. Compelled by the pangs of a guilty conscience to disclose his true character, he freely acknowledged to brother Zeisberger, that he had been a notorious profligate: and, in order not to forget any of the evil deeds he had committed, he brought fifty-eight small pieces of wood with him, which were designed to remind him of the crimes of which he had been guilty. Deep-rooted superstition and long-contracted habits of vice drove him almost to despair, and for a time impeded his conversion; but the grace of God finally gained the victory, and liberated this slave of Satan. After his baptism he became a zealous confessor of the truth as it is in Jesus, especially when visiting the Indians. In this employment his knowledge of five of their languages, or dialects, was of great use to him.

Several apostates also returned, and some young men, acquainted with several languages, forsook paganism, joined the congregation, and became useful and active members of it, and the young people, born and educated in it, afforded the most pleasing hopes.

Those Christian Indians, who, after their dispersion from the Muskingum had retired to the Miami, continued to edify each other as well as circumstances would permit, and many of them remained true to their Christian profession. Some departed this life in peace and in assured hope of a better inheritance. The decrease in number, occasioned by their removal, was made up by others who found their way to New Salem. Among these was a girl, only eleven years old, who, as soon as she heard of the new settlement, undertook a journey of more than three hundred miles by herself, and arrived in safety. Thus the settlement was gradually increasing, and at the close of 1790 contained upwards of two hundred inhabitants.

After a tranquil residence of four years at New Salem they were obliged to quit that settlement. For some time past they had frequently been annoyed by the white dealers in rum, residing in their neighbourhood, and now they were alarmed by reports of hostilities having commenced between the United States and the Indians. They therefore endeavoured to find a temporary asylum in the English territory. For this purpose they fixed on a place lying about eighteen miles from Detroit. The governor of that town kindly afforded them every assistance in his power. The whole congregation, upwards of two hundred in number, crossed lake Erie in thirty canoes, and reached their new residence on the 4th of May, 1791, the missionaries and the heavy baggage being conveyed in a vessel, hired by a gentleman in Detroit for that purpose.*

Among other heathen, who, during their abode in this place, sought the fellowship of the Christian Indians, was a man of the tribe of the Wiondats. For some years he had manifested an inclination to live with them, and labouring now under a serious illness, he renewed his application. Some Indian brethren visited him and spent nearly the whole night in conversing with him on the love of Jesus to sinners. This greatly enlivened him, and he regretted that he was not able to go with them, declaring that he wished to die among them. In a day or two he was brought to the settlement. The Roman Catholic priest, in whose communion he had been baptized, asking him why he had changed his religion, he replied: "I have been long among you, and repeatedly heard your discourses, but it was all hay and stubble, and I have found nothing among you that could tranquilize my mind; but among these believing Indians I have found peace."

Their stay in this place did not last above a year. Some of their white neighbours, not being amicably disposed toward the mission, molested them in various ways; and war having now broken out between the Americans and savages, the latter sent repeated messages to the Christian Indians to take up the hatchet against the white people, and, in case of refusal, threatened to treat them as they had done their brethren on the Muskingum, or force them to return to paganism. Besides this, their present residence, from its low situation, was very unhealthy; many of the Indians died, and the missionaries themselves were frequently indisposed.

No other resource being left them than to abandon their present place of abode, they directed their thoughts to Upper Canada, where the English government had assigned, for the use of the mission, twenty-five thousand acres of land, lying on the river Retrench, or Thames, which falls into the east side of lake St. Clair. In April, 1792, the whole congregation moved thither, going partly by land and partly by water. Having fixed on a proper spot, they immediately began to build and divide the land into farms. The district allotted to them consisted of three large dales; the high grounds being sandy, but the low lands uncommonly fertile and well watered. Their greatest difficulty was, that they were obliged to fetch all the stones, required for building, from the bed of the river. To this settlement they gave the name of Fairfield. It was afterwards declared to be a regular township, containing twelve miles in length and six in breadth: and the inhabitants in a short time improved it so much, that the wilderness was literally changed into a fruitful field.

In a few years Fairfield became a very flourishing settlement. In 1797 it contained fifty houses, some of them large and convenient, inhabited by about one hundred and fifty Indians, besides the missionaries. By their industry in agriculture and various manufactures, the inhabitants could not only supply their own immediate necessities, but advantageously dispose of many articles to their neighbours. On an average they annually furnished the North-west Fur-company with two thousand bushels of Indian corn. In winter they made about five thousand pounds of maple-sugar; and though they consumed a great part of it themselves, yet what they brought to market was still considerable, and of superior quality to any manufactured in Canada. They also raised a great number of cattle for sale; for, being accustomed to deer's flesh, beef is unpalatable to Indians, and they, therefore, seldom eat it. Their canoes, coopery, baskets, mats, &c. also commanded a ready sale. The whole country was benefitted by their industry, as it served to reduce the price of many of the principal necessaries of life.

The establishment of the Brethren here was of public utility in another point of view. When they first came to these parts, the nearest settlers to them resided at a distance of thirty leagues; but no sooner was it known that the Christian Indians would form a colony on this river, than the adjacent lands were eagerly taken by white people; and in a few years above a hundred families established themselves in their neighbourhood. Having themselves opened roads in various directions through the country, travellers were continually passing to and fro, both by land and water, and hence Fairfield might be considered as lying on the great road to Niagara. Thus this settlement appeared to be admirably suited for a missionary station, from whence the gospel might be proclaimed to the different and numerous tribes of the Chippeways.

Soon after their arrival at Fairfield the Indians in the vicinity frequently visited them and attended their worship, especially the Monsys, who had a village at no great distance; and the native assistants from Fairfield, in their turn, visited them, embracing every opportunity for preaching the gospel. In a few instances it displayed its converting power; but most of the inhabitants, not only rejected it themselves, but opposed those who were inclined to receive it. The relatives of a certain woman endeavoured to deter her from going to reside with the believers, intimating that these Christian Indians and their teachers would meet a similar fate with their predecessors on the Muskingum. But nothing could shake her resolution, and the only reply she made was: "Should the believers suffer evil, as you say, I will share it with them; and if it goes well with them, I also shall enjoy it; where they dwell, there I will likewise dwell." The firmness of another Indian woman was not less remarkable. She was not moved from the purpose of joining the believers, either by the loss of her property, which was mostly taken from her, or by the terrifying predictions of the sorcerers, who prophesied she would not live long if she went to the Christians.

The most numerous tribe of Indians, occupying the territory in which Fairfield lies, were the Chippeways. Many of these visited the settlement, and frequently with much apparent devotion attended divine worship. This was particularly the case in 1791, when a party of warriors, belonging to this tribe, encamped near the settlement, and remained there the whole winter. An old man from the camp actually took up his abode in Fairfield, and the missionaries entertained good hopes respecting him; but in a few months, under pretence of fetching his children, he went away and never returned.

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* This place, being only a temporary residence, received no particular name.

As the war between the United States and the Indians still continued, our brethren were often annoyed by companies of warriors passing through Fairfield, or encamping near the place, and sending repeated messages to the Christian Indians, challenging them to join in the contest. In these cases the missionaries found it the most advisable to let their converts act according to their own insight and disposition, only exhorting them to put their trust in God, and not be intimidated by the threats of men. The consequence was, that, with the exception of only very few of the less stable members of the congregation, who joined the warriors, they declined all their challenges with firmness.

Notwithstanding these temptations, the internal course of the congregation was pleasing and prosperous. The edifying deaths of some members of it, excited the survivors to give increasing diligence to make their calling and election sure. Among those who about this time finished their mortal race, were two aged men, David and Joachim, who for many years had been intimate friends, and latterly, being too feeble to work, used to spend many hours together, discoursing of the salvation of their souls, the love and mercy of God our Saviour, the hope of eternal life, &c. David, who departed in 1797, had been baptized at Gnadenhuetten, on the Mahony, in 1753, and remained steadfast to his profession amidst all the vicissitudes which in the sequel befel the Christian Indians. In 1782, when the missionaries were separated from their flock and carried to Detroit, he retired to the river Thames, and lived like a hermit, near the spot where Fairfield was afterwards built. He therefore rejoiced greatly when this settlement was formed, and in it spent the remainder of his days, being universally respected and beloved.

His friend, Joachim, was the first Delaware who embraced the gospel. After his baptism in 1715 he resided a whole year in the house of the single brethren at Bethlehem, and ever after spoke of this period with much pleasure. In the sequel he bore all the sufferings, with which the Indian congregation was visited, with unshaken confidence in our Saviour. After their dispersion at Sandusky he lived for some time by himself, and never mixed with the heathen. As soon as the congregation was again collected near Pettquotting he joined it, and led a very exemplary life to his end. He understood the German and English languages, could read a little, and was one of the best interpreters of the sermons delivered by the missionaries.

The necessity of watching over their flock and guarding it against relapsing into heathenism and its sinful and abominable practices, was a duty which, however painful, was never neglected by the missionaries. In general they left the preservation of good order and regularity in the settlement to the assistants, that they might attend with less distraction to their more important functions and "give themselves continually unto prayer and the ministry of the Word." And in this respect the services of the assistants were generally effective. In extraordinary cases, however, and when public offence was given, the missionaries interfered, and enforced discipline according to plain scripture rule without respect of persons. A distressing instance of this kind occurred in 1797, but which, by the grace of God, terminated in the sincere repentance of the offenders. Several members of the congregation having been guilty of intemperance, and the assistants, having not only connived at it, but in other respects been remiss in the performance of their duty, the missionaries first called them together, representing to them the unchristian and offensive nature of their conduct, whereby they had disqualified themselves from holding any office in the church, until they manifested real repentance. They then exhorted them to confess their transgressions to our Saviour, and seek his pardon, and likewise to humble themselves before their brothers and sisters, asking their forgiveness, hoping that their example might be imitated by the other offenders. A few days after brother Zeisberger presented the offenders before the whole congregation (which had been convened for that purpose), admonishing them to sincere repentance. These admonitions had the desired effect. The guilty humbly acknowledge their transgressions, and spent several days in meeting together in small parties, and confessing to each other their deviations, with tears asking the forgiveness of all whom they had offended. The missionaries gratefully acknowledged the hand of the Lord in thus leading the transgressors to true compunction of heart for their misconduct. The end of discipline having thus been fully attained, they once more called the congregation together, and brother Zeisberger addressed them from Rev. ii. 5. "Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do thy first works." After fervent prayer, during which the whole assembly burst into loud weeping, he dismissed them in peace.

The missionaries were not inattentive to the spiritual wants of their white neighbours. Many of them regularly attended divine service at Fairfield, and brought their children thither to be baptized. Those, who lived at a greater distance, invited the missionaries to preach in their villages. In general they were treated with great respect by the settlers, who reposed almost unlimited confidence in them. The inhabitants of a certain town were even desirous of electing brother Senseman their representative in the assembly of the state. An honour which he declined, as being incompatible with his missionary calling.

No very striking success attended their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen Indians. For though many visited the settlement, the salutary impressions made on their minds by the preaching of the gospel, were but too successfully effaced by the temptation of white dealers, who were continually seducing them to drunkenness; and thus neglect of the interests of their souls, and the commission of many crimes followed of course. During the six years, since their removal from Pettquotting, only twelve adult Indians and forty children had been baptized. But amidst all these discouragements the missionaries did not relax in the zealous prosecution of their calling, and they had the joy to observe, that those Christian Indians, who lived with them, with few exceptions, walked in the fear of the Lord, building up each other in their most holy faith. With regard to such characters as appeared still undecided, or had suffered themselves to be seduced by others, they exercised all possible patience, and admonished them in love; for they had learned by the experience of many years, that as their notions of liberty are unbounded, nothing is effected with Indians by force or constraint. Some of those who had strayed at the time of the massacre on the Muskingum, and had till now remained among the pagans, returned and sought leave to reside in the settlement.

Peace having been restored between the Indians and the United States, a resolution was formed, to renew the mission on the Muskingum, where congress had formerly granted to the Brethren's Society (in America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen, the land on which Gnadenhuetten, Schoenbrunn and Salem formerly stood, with four thousand acres of ground adjoining to each of the settlements. In this view the brethren J. Heckewaelder and William Henry, in the summer of 1797, went to take a survey of it. They found the whole district overgrown with an impervious thicket of briers and brushwood of various kinds, the haunt of serpents, bears, deer, turkies and other animals. Some ruins of the houses were still standing, and the place where the Indians were massacred, was strongly marked, many of their bones lying concealed under the ashes.

In August, the following year, several Indian families from Fairfield, consisting of thirty-three persons, commenced the renewal of the mission there. The venerable David Zeisberger, with truly apostolical zeal, though then seventy-seven years old, volunteered his services for this difficult and arduous undertaking, being accompanied by his wife, likewise aged and infirm, and the missionary Benjamin Mortimer. The journey, as usual in this country, was tedious, occupying nearly two months, and was attended with many dangers and difficulties both by land and water. When they came to the carrying-place in the river Cayahaga, they were obliged to drag the loaded canoes for seven miles over solid rocks; but by great exertions they reached the place of their destination in October, in good health and perfect safety. The Indians indeed combated every hardship with wonderful composure and steady perseverance. They never murmured, and not an individual among them ever appeared to lament having undertaken the journey, or to flinch from the duties he had thereby imposed on himself. It is justly remarked by the missionaries, "that men of their stamp and character, if properly prepared for the work by the Spirit of God, would be the fittest of all others to make known the gospel to their wild countrymen living at a distance." It was strongly impressed on their own minds, that they had undertaken the journey for that very purpose, and most of them expressed an ardent desire to be useful to their heathen countrymen by leading them to a knowledge of the Saviour of sinners. They entered into an agreement among themselves, to renew the ancient hospitality and treat all visiters in the most friendly manner.

Thus after the lapse of more than seventeen years, since the Christian Indians were forcibly expelled from this part of the country, a few of the survivors, in reliance on the help of God, ventured to re-occupy that station. They erected their first settlement near the former site of Schoenbrunn, and called it Goshen. A few heathen families in the sequel moved thither and embraced the gospel. At the beginning of the year 1801, the number of inhabitants amounted to seventy-one persons. The love and Christian simplicity prevailing among them, were noticed by all visiters with great pleasure and much edification. Their number, however, was considerably diminished the following year, as several families removed to the river Wabash, to commence a mission among the Indians there.

November the 17th, 1808, the venerable brother David Zeisberger finished his earthly pilgrimage, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. Of this long life he had spent above sixty years as a missionary among the Indians, suffering numberless hardships and privations, and enduring many dangers. He had acquired an extensive knowledge of the Delaware language and several other Indian tongues. But most of his translations, vocabularies and other books for the instruction of the Indians, being only in manuscript, were burned on the Muskingum; and the unsettled state of the mission for a long period after, his other multifarious avocations, and his advancing age, did not allow him sufficient leisure or strength completely to make up this loss. His zeal for the conversion of the heathen never abated, and no consideration could prevail on him to leave his beloved Indian flock. The younger missionaries revered him as a father, and before they entered upon their labours, generally spent some time at Goshen, to profit by his counsel and instruction. Within a few months of his death he became nearly blind, yet, being perfectly resigned to the will of God, he did not lose his usual cheerfulness; and though his body was almost worn to a skeleton, his judgment remained unimpaired. Thus "as a shock of corn cometh in its season, so he came to the grave in a full age, and entered into the joy of his Lord."*

The surviving missionaries continued their labours in Goshen and enjoyed peace and quietness, and even during the war in 1813, when Fairfield was destroyed, they experienced no serious molestation or interruption. The vicinity of the two colonies of Bersaba and Gnadenhuetten, inhabited by English and Germans, who are members of the Brethren's church, likewise profited by the visits and services of the missionaries. Hereby a constant friendly intercourse was maintained between these two colonies and the missionary settlement. The missionaries occasionally made itinerant tours through the country, in order to visit those Indians who formerly belonged to the congregation at Pettquotting, and now were scattered in the wilderness like sheep without a shepherd, and to preach the gospel to the heathen. On these circuits they often, and mostly on foot, travelled three-hundred miles.

The Indians belonging to this congregation, though but few in number, walked consistently with their Christian profession, which the more strongly excited the gratitude of their teachers, as they were daily exposed to the most alluring temptations. Within the distance of only three miles from them, lay a town, a very Sodom, on account of the wickedness of its inhabitants, who, though they were white people, and called themselves Christians, lived in the practice of every abomination, and tried every base art to seduce the believing Indians. Hitherto, however, even the weakest among them continued to show too much reverence for the Word of God, to yield to these temptations; and the missionaries observed also among the young people encouraging evidences, that they were often powerfully impressed with divine truth, and showed an abhorrence of paganism and its concomitant vices and misery. Yet the ungodly lives of the white settlers had an injurious tendency in keeping the savages from attending the ministrations of the gospel; consequently few conversions from heathenism occurred at Goshen. An Indian-girl was baptized on the 6th of January 1817. Brother Luckenbach paid particular attention to the school, and several of the children showed a good capacity, and were able to read the English Testament. Among other exercises they translated portions of Scripture into their own language, which gave the missionaries an opportunity of knowing, whether they understood what they read. The number of inhabitants at Goshen did not exceed fifty.

As early as the year 1740 attempts were made by the Brethren to propagate the gospel among the Cherokees, but these and several succeeding endeavours were frustrated by repeated wars among the different Indian tribes, as well as by subsequent hostilities between the English and Americans. Nothing, therefore, was effected by the journeys made by them into this territory, except forming a friendly intercourse with that nation. In 1799 the Brethren's Society (in North America) for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, received intelligence that the Cherokees wished to have teachers residing among them. Whereupon the brethren Abraham Steiner and F. C. von Schweinitz were commissioned to visit that part of the country and inquire into the disposition of its Indian inhabitants. But the season being already far advanced, the object of their journey was not fully attained. Meanwhile a correspondence was kept up with some gentlemen, who favoured the undertaking, and resided in those parts. By their advice the two brethren left Salem in North Carolina towards the end of August following, to pay a second visit in that district. In about three weeks they arrived at Tellico on the river Tennessee, being the frontier-town of the United States towards the territory of the Cherokees. Some days after the chiefs of the two tribes, the Upper and Lower Cherokees, assembled to hold a great council, at which between three and four thousand Indians were present. To this assembly our brethren were introduced and laid before it the object of their journey. After spending several days in consultation, all the Upper chiefs declared their approbation of the proposal; but the Lower chiefs would not agree to it, and appeared rather indifferent.

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* David Zeisberger was the son of one of those Moravian emigrants, who laid the foundation of the renewed Brethren's church. He came to America when still a youth, and resided some time in Georgia, and afterwards at Bethlehem. Ever since the year 1746 he has been engaged in the mission among the North American Indians.

Having once devoted himself to this service, from the most voluntary choice and the purest motives, he steadily pursued his object, to wit, the glory of God in the salvation of his fellow-men. Never was he so happy as when he had ground for believing that his endeavours had been the means of converting one sinner from the error of his ways, and leading him to the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord. This, in his estimation, was of far higher value, than if he had acquired possession of the whole world. It may be said with truth, that he watched over his Indian flock with the solicitude of a parent, and cherished them as a nurse doth her children. He followed them in all their wanderings, cheerfully bearing with them the heat and burden of the day, and during the last forty years of his life he was never, at any one time, six months absent from his charge.

He was blessed with a cool, active, and intrepid spirit, unappalled by danger, and with a sound judgment, and clear discernment. He was therefore seldom taken by surprise, and was generally prepared to meet and overcome difficulties. If once convinced, that he was in the path of duty, he patiently submitted to every hardship, and, with firm fortitude, endured the severest sufferings. In the course of a long life, spent among savages, he was exposed to many privations, and at times suffered persecution from the enemies of divine truth, who more than once sought his life. But none of these things dismayed him; they rather increased his zeal in the Lord's cause, and in more instances than one has he had the pleasure of baptizing Indians, who not long before had lifted up the hatchet to murder him. At the same time he was of an humble and meek spirit, and always thought lowly of himself. He was a most affectionate husband; a faithful and never failing friend; and every lineament of his character showed a sincere, upright, benevolent, and generous soul, with perhaps as few blemishes as can be expected in the best of men on this side the grave.

In the evening of his days, when his faculties began to fail him, his desire to depart and be with Christ increased. At the same time he awaited his dissolution with uniform, calm, and dignified resignation to the will of his Maker, and in the sure and certain hope of exchanging this world for a better. His last words were, "Lord Jesus, I pray thee, come and take my spirit to thyself." And again, "Thou hast never yet forsaken me in any trial, thou will not forsake me now."—A very respectable company attended his funeral. The solemn service was performed in the English, the Delaware, and German languages, to suit the different auditors. Two sermons were preached from Rev. xii. 11, and Prov. x. 7.

Zeisberger was a man of low stature, yet well proportioned, of a cheerful countenance, and endowed with a good understanding. He was a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, and who could appreciate genuine worth. His words were few, and never known to be wasted at random, or in an unprofitable manner. Plain in his habits, temperate in all things, and blessed with a sound constitution, he generally enjoyed good health, and lived to a far advanced age.

He made himself complete master of two of the Indian languages, the Onondago and the Delaware, and acquired some knowledge of several others. Of the Onondago he composed two Grammars, one written in English, and the other in German. He likewise compiled a Dictionary of the Delaware language, which in the manuscript contained seventeen hundred pages. Nearly the whole of these manuscripts was lost at the burning of the settlements on the Muskingum. A Spelling-book in the same language has passed through two editions. A volume of Sermons to Children, and a Hymn-book containing upwards of five hundred hymns, chiefly translations from the English and German Hymn-books in use in the Brethren's Church, have also been published in the Delaware (or Lenape) language. He left behind him, in manuscript, a Grammar of the Delaware, written in German, and a translation into the same language of Lieberkuehns' Harmony of the Four Gospels. The former of these works has since been translated into English, for the American Philosophical Society, by P. S. Du Ponceau of Philadelphia; and the Female Auxillary Missionary Society of Bethlehem has undergone the publication of the Harmony.

Every thing having been finally determined upon by the directors of the missions, and the needful permission obtained from the government, the brethren A. Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan went thither in April 1801, and took up their abode with a Mr. Vann, who treated them with great kindness, and sent his Negroes to assist in building a cottage on the land appropriated for the use of the mission, subsequently called Spring-place. Mr. Vann's friendship was of essential service to them, for as the Indians generally respected him, and the worst stood in awe of him, none ventured to molest them. They preached every Sunday at his house to whites, Negroes and half-Indians. Some of the latter attended very regularly. They could as yet converse but little with the Cherokees, the acquisition of their language being a very arduous task, especially as they found it difficult to procure a good interpreter.

On their arrival in the country the Indians gave them a very cordial reception, and expressed great satisfaction at their coming; but when the missionaries found it impracticable directly to open a school for their children, the great council at Esternally came to a resolution to order them to quit the country, alleging as a reason for this unexpected resolution, that the missionaries had not kept their promise, no school having yet been begun. But as the chiefs allowed them half a year for deliberating on this business, every thing was amicably adjusted and arranged to the satisfaction of both parties.

The necessary buildings at Spring-place being completed, they commenced their school with four Indian boys, whom they lodged, boarded and instructed. Their number was gradually increased, and as our missionaries had not room to accommodate them all, Mr. Vann kindly took some into his own house. Several of them were sons of chiefs, who appeared very desirous that their children should be instructed. The young people rewarded the labours of their teachers by making a good progress in reading (both English and Cherokees), writing and arithmetic, and by the pleasore they took in learning hymns and texts of Scripture. They frequently seemed much impressed when the missionaries spoke to them of the love of God in Christ Jesus. After leaving the school they kept up an epistolary correspondence with their former teachers, adverting with delight to their residence at Spring-place. The endeavours of the brethren were greatly facilitated by the kind exertions of the agent for the Cherokee nation, colonel Meig, who procured them some assistance for their school from government.

With regard to the principal aim of their residence in this country, they as yet reaped little fruit from their labours. The good disposition of the Cherokees towards them did indeed not abate, but the work of conversion proceeded very slowly. The public preaching, however, was sometimes attended by thirty or forty, and those Indians who occasionally visited them, appeared in some degree convinced of the importance of the gospel. Their worship was also frequently attended by Negroes, many of whom are kept by the white settlers in these parts, instead of servants. Towards the close of 1811 they had the pleasure to see three half-Indians commemorate with them the death of the Lord at his table. One of their former scholars, Dazizi, had settled in their immediate neighbourhood, and seemed truly concerned for his salvation. He faithfully assisted them in their domestic affairs. With respect to some others of their scholars, the prospect was encouraging.

In externals God blessed the labour of their hands; they introduced several useful trades, cultivated the land with advantage, improved their habitations, and Spring-place was considered one of the healthiest missionary stations in North America.

About a year after the mission to the Cherokees had been begun, a formal message was sent by the chiefs and great council of the Delawares on the river Woapikamikunk, a branch of the Wabash, to the brethren at Goshen, requesting that some teachers might be sent to them. Considering this as a new door opened for the diffusion of the gospel, the Christian Indians at Goshen, in return, sent a solemn message to those on the Wabash, informing them that several families of their believing countrymen, with some missionaries, would come and instruct them in the Word of God.

Pursuant to this proposal, the brethen Kluge and Luckenbach, and twelve Christian Indians, (including three children,) left Goshen towards the end of February, 1801, and in a few weeks arrived in safety on the Woapikamikunk, and were received by the people there with every token of pleasure and friendship. They chose an elevated spot for their dwelling, situated between nine populous Indian towns, inhabited by different tribes. Several Indians, formerly baptized by the Brethren, had settled here after the general dispersion of the congregation at the close of the American war. These, having hitherto been forcibly prevented by their pagan relatives from returning to their teachers, the missionaries hoped to collect together again.

They had not been long in this quarter before a few heathen came to reside with them, and were baptized. The preaching of the gospel was frequently attended by a considerable number of serious hearers, and the chiefs treated them with respect and apparent friendship. Their settlement also was improved: at the end of the year 1802 it consisted of ten houses besides the chapel, and contained twenty-three inhabitants. But this quiet and comparative prosperity were soon interrupted. For some time past they had resolved to change their present place of abode; but, as their endeavours to find a convenient spot had not succeeded, they deferred their removal, till danger, which they considered still distant, at once burst upon them, attended with all the horrors which on former occasions but too awfully distinguished the ruthless attacks of the savages on their innocent Christian countrymen.

In the autumn of 1805, one of the chiefs, who had been their friend and protector, died; and another, who likewise respected and befriended them, was deposed. The savages now became ungovernable, threatened to murder the missionaries, and even killed their cattle before their eyes. This, however, was only the prelude to a transaction as atrocious as any that ever disgraced human nature; as will appear by the following extract from the journal of the missionaries:

"In February, 1806, all the Indians in this district were summoned by their teachers, or lying prophets, to assemble on the Woapikamikunk, to hear the foolish stories fabricated by the emissaries of Satan, of pretended visions and revelations received from God, and to be instructed how to act in conformity to them. Among these teachers was a Shawanose, an arch imposter. Pretending that he was able to know and discover hidden mysteries, his deluded countrymen submitted to him with profound respect. The Delaware tribo received him with great cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, in order to root out all witchcraft and poison-mixing, (which, according to their superstitious notions, existed among them,) and by fire to extort confession from all such as this imposter should accuse; and whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their war-hatchets, and burned. With a view to execute their horrid purpose, the young Indians got together, chose the more ferocious to be their leaders, deposed all the old chiefs, and guarded the whole Indian assembly, especially the aged of both sexes, as if they were prisoners of war. The venerable old chief Tettepachsit was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and of having destroyed many Indians by his art. When the poor old man would not confess, they fastened him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him at a slow fire. During the torture, he said that he kept poison in the house of our Indian brother Joshua. Nothing was more welcome to the savages than this accusation, for they wished to deprive us of the assistance of this man, who was the only Christian Indian residing with us at that time. They had frequently sent him invitations to attend their heathenish festivities, but he would never accept them. His answer was: 'You know that I am a believer in the true God, whose Word we made known to you; I therefore can have no fellowship with you in your wicked works. Do you as you please, but leave me to serve the living God.' This answer displeased them much, and on March 13th, they sent seven wild Indians, with painted faces, to our settlements, and took him away by main force. They pretended that he only need tell Tettepachsit to his face that he had no poison in his house, and he might then return home. All excuses were vain, and Joshua was compelled to accompany them to the assembly at Woapikamikunk.

"When he was presented to Tettepachsit, he frankly confessed that he had accused him merely to pacify the enraged multitude, and escape from the torture. Joshua was now pronounced not guilty, yet they would not permit him to return; but insisted on his remaining with them till the Shawanose imposter should arrive. This son of Belial arriving the same day, all the Indians of both sexes were ordered by him to sit down in a large circle, when he would declare who had poison in his possession. The two old chiefs, Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska, were both accused of poison-mixing; and the former was more particularly charged with the untimely death of many Indians. When the Shawanose was asked about Joshua, he indeed declared that he had no poison, but that he was possessed of an evil spirit, by which he was able to destroy other Indians. Pleased with this verdict, they seized these three poor innocent men, and strictly watched them as condemned criminals. We knew nothing of these horrible events until the evening of the 16th, when a message was brought that the savages had burned an old woman, who at a former period had been baptized by the Brethren, and also that our poor Joshua was kept close prisoner.

"On the 17th our distress and fear concerning the fate of Joshua rose still higher. We were stunned with horror on seeing ten of the most savage Indians, with blackened faces, conducting Tettepachsit, arrive in our settlement. Soon after, these murderous wretches kindled a large fire close to our place; and, having given the aged chief a blow on the head with a war-hatchet, threw him alive into the flames, diverting themselves with the miserable cries and convulsions of the poor dying man. The flames communicated to the grass and wood near the settlement, by which all our dwellings were filled with smoke.

"After committing this horrid murder, the savages came boldly into our house, boasting of their atrocious deed; and, assuming a hypocritical mein, demanded bread and tobacco, which we were obliged to give them. We took courage to ask them what would be the fate of Joshua. They immediately began to accuse him, saying there was good reason for detaining him a prisoner, for they knew well that he understood the black-art, and could destroy the Indians, his faith in our doctrines being a mere pretence. In vain we endeavoured to convince them of the untruth of these assertions. They pretended to set our minds at ease, by saying that they would not kill him. We charged them to tell their captains, that they ought well to consider what they were doing; that Joshua had long been a believer, and had never had any concern with the things of which they accused him, for he was a servant of God, and had renounced the devil and all his works; and that he was of the Mahikan tribe, and not a Delaware, and had accompanied us as interpreter. We therefore requested that they would immediately release him, for we should consider all they did unto him as done unto ourselves, &c. But they manifested the most diabolical hypocrisy; for, though they knew that Joshua was to be murdered that very day, they promised to deliver our words to the captains. We easily perceived that our defence of Joshua had displeased them; and they left our place in a riotous manner.

"Though we had been informed that the savages suspected us of keeping poison, for the purpose of making those Indians sick who would not do as we directed them; and though we did not know to what length the devil might instigate them to carry their fury, nor what our fate might be, yet we felt ourselves constrained to go to their assembly, and try what we could do for the preservation of Joshua, or at least to give him comfort and advice, should we even suffer for it. But as my wife and children (writes brother Kluge) could not be left alone in so dreadful a situation, brother Luckenbach took courage to go alone.

"He had hardly proceeded half way before he met an Indian, who informed him that Joshua had become a victim to their cruelty on the foregoing day. They had given him two cuts in his head with a hatchet, and then thrown him into the fire. With these dreadful tidings brother Luckenbach returned to us in the afternoon. This was the heaviest stroke we had yet met with. Dread and terror took from us all power of speech and reflection, and we could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe.

"Having, in some degree, recovered ourselves, our first thought was to sell all our goods, and fly as expeditiously as possible towards Goshen. During our preparations for the journey, a sudden change of the weather to severe cold prevented us from departing so soon as we intended.

"Some days after we were informed that Joshua had spoken a great deal at the place where he was murdered, in a language not understood by the Indians; which led us to suppose that he had directed his prayers to the Lord in German, which he spoke well. When the savages forced him from us, he was in a very comfortable state of mind, and seemed well prepared to leave the world, and as a reconciled sinner to meet his Saviour. In the following days more Indians were accused, and shared the same fate."*

Not long after this tragical event, the missionaries were forced altogether to relinquish the station on the Wabash.

When the Brethren erected the settlement of Fairfield in Canada, they were peculiarly pleased with the facility which its local situation promised for extending their missionary labours to the Chippeway Indians, who inhabited several towns only a short distance from its seite. In order to carry this benevolent design into effect, the missionary C. F. Dencke, who possessed the happy talent of acquiring a new language with ease, and was already well versed in the Delaware tongue, paid several visits to the Chippeways in 1801, and the following year took up his abode among them on a piece of ground formally allotted to him by the chiefs. Its situation was very convenient, lying on the river Ionquakamik, and being surrounded by eight Indian villages.

Here he lived for a time almost separated from society; for, excepting some Indian hunting huts, the nearest human habitation to him was Mr. Harsen's dwelling, about a mile distant, on the opposite side of the river. In a little while, however, two or three Indian families put up their tents near his house; and he was frequently visited by others, some of whom occasionally lodged with him for a night. He omitted no opportunity of commending to them the gospel of salvation; and in some instances his words appeared to gain entrance into their hearts, for they repeated their visits, and declared that they could not forget his conversation, saying, "It had made them sick at heart." Being obliged to give up a school which he had commenced with Mr. Harsen's boys, as the mother found it inconvenient to send them, he applied himself with the greater diligence to learn the Chippeway dialect, and translated several portions of the Bible. These he read to the Indians who visited him; and they all declared that they understood them very well.

In the sequel, however, the savages began to express dissatisfaction at his residence among them, fostering a suspicion that he had come to possess himself of their country. Some even uttered threats against his life, and he was finally obliged to abandon his station and return to Fairfield.

Not discouraged by these repeated failures, the Brethren in North America persevered in their philanthropic endeavours to convey the blessings of Christianity to the heathen nations around them. During a visitation, held by bishop Loskiel at Goshen in the year 1803, it was resolved to begin a new settlement at Pettquotting, on lake Erie. Agreeably to this resolution, the missionaries Haven and Oppelt, together with thirty-six Indian brethren and sisters from Fairfield, moved thither in spring, 1804, and formed a colony about three miles beyond the towns belonging to the Monsys. At the end of the year this small congregation consisted of sixty-seven persons. Amidst various hardships, the courage of the missionaries was strengthened by the experience of the Lord's gracious help, and by clear evidences of the work of his holy Spirit on the hearts of the Indian brethren and sisters. Their worship was sometimes attended by a considerable number of heathen, though as yet apparently without any salutary effect.

A few years after their arrival they found it would be necessary for them to quit this place, being informed that government had sold this district to some white settlers, which exposed them to the danger of being driven away at a short warning. Besides this, the proximity of the Monsy towns and the introduction of the rum-trade, which the missionaries could not prevent, were circumstances very pernicious to the morals of their young people. They, therefore, deemed it expedient to emigrate from Pettquotting, and took

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* Per. Acct. Vol. IV. 1—7.

up their residence on Sandusky creek. On its western bank they erected a temporary building on a piece of ground allotted to them by the Monsy tribe. The missionaries Luckenbach and Hagen visited two Monsy towns, lying higher up the river, generally twice a week, and preached as often as circumstances would permit. They were likewise invited by the chief of the Wyondats to come to upper Sandusky. Most of those Indians residing in these parts who had been baptized in former years, regularly attended divine worship, bringing their children with them. But, though they often seemed much impressed with the truths of the gospel, no material change was wrought on their conduct, as they too easily yielded to the solicitations of the heathen to attend their idolatrous festivities. Very few of the latter ever attended their meetings; and only ten Indian children, most of whom had been formerly baptized, came to the school.

In the year 1812, the Monsy tribe, with a view to whose instruction the missionaries resided in that country, very unexpectedly resolved to leave the banks of the Sandusky and form a settlement on the Huron, in the province of Michigan. Forty families consequently emigrated, and among them were all those formerly baptized by the Brethren; some of whom intended to go to Fairfield, if they could obtain permission to pass over to the English territory. After their departure, the missionaries deemed it expedient to forsake their present residence, and occupy a house formerly built by a Presbyterian minister for a school; and which, being unoccupied at the time, was offered them. They were induced to accept this offer, in the hope that they might from thence visit the Wyondats and Mingoes, and diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among them. This station, however, was afterwards abandoned.

In the year 1803, the Brethren's Society (in North America) for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, directed their attention to the Creek Indians, a very populous nation, computed at seventy or eighty thousand souls; and among whom, through the laudable exertions of the government of the United States, a greater degree of improvement and civilization had been introduced than was to be met with among the other native tribes. In order to carry their design into effect, they first deputed brother A. Steiner, on his return from Springplace, to make a journey into the country of the Creeks. This commission he executed towards the end of the summer in the above-mentioned year. He proceeded to Fort Wilkinson, on the river Oconu, in Georgia, and was treated with great kindness and hospitality by Colonel Hawkins, at whose house he lodged during his stay of seven days. The colonel entered warmly into the proposal for establishing a mission in this part of the country, pointing out the mode most likely to be attended with success; and promising to aid the undertaking in every possible way, by his friendship, advice and protection.

Animated by these encouraging prospects, two missionaries went to this country and occupied a house kindly provided for them by Colonel Hawkins, situate on the river Flint, about sixty miles from Milledgeville, the seat of government in Georgia. Here they diligently applied themselves to the study of the language, and visited the Indians in their own villages. The latter also frequently came to them, chiefly indeed for the purpose of purchasing their manufactured goods, for as yet they evinced but little disposition to hear and believe the gospel. The unsettled state of the country, during the ensuing war, rendered it necessary to abandon this station.

In detailing these minor attempts of the Brethren to propagate the gospel among the Indians, it appeared the most convenient not to interrupt the relation by too nice a regard to the order of time; a reference is therefore made to them all here, as they respectively succeeded each other. We shall now resume the thread of the general narrative.

After the emigration of several families from Fairfield in 1798, for the purpose of commencing the mission at Goshen, the former settlement, though considerably diminished in point of numbers, continued in a flourishing state, both as to its temporal prosperity and the progressive advance of the major part of its inhabitants in those pious and moral habits which adorn the character of the true Christian. Perplexities and trials of various kinds were indeed not wanting: but their greatest trouble arose from the white people in their vicinity, who, by the introduction of the rum-trade, occasioned many evils in the country, and filled the missionaries with anxious apprehensions for the morals of their young people. But whenever their faith and hope were ready to droop, the Lord rekindled their zeal in his service by giving them fresh proofs of the power of his grace to conquer the most corrupt passions of the human mind, and elicit from the most stubborn heart the tear of repentance. Although few of the neighbouring heathen were savingly affected by the gospel, many of the children born and baptized in the settlement, as they matured in age and understanding, experienced the converting influences of the holy Spirit; and, now and then, some who had strayed from the congregation and relapsed into sin, returned, and with true compunction of heart sought the forgiveness of the Lord and his people. Thus, in the year 1812, twenty-two persons of this description were added to the church; and at the close of that year, the whole number amounted to one hundred and twenty-six persons.

Fairfield, after enjoying tranquillity for more than twenty years, was on a sudden involved in all the troubles of war, in consequence of the contest between England and the United States. On the 2d of October, 1813, seventy sick English soldiers arrived at the settlement, and were accommodated in the school and the chapel. The dwellings, both of the missionaries and Indians had for some time been occupied by fugitives, whose number was daily increasing. The following day, however, the surgeon ordered the chapel to be cleared, that the usual Sunday's service might be performed.

On the 4th, the British General, Proctor, informed the missionaries that he was willing to purchase their houses, Indian corn, garden-fruits, furniture, and any thing else they could spare, for the use of the army; and promised that another tract of land should be given to the Christian Indians for a temporary residence during the war, and that they should be provided from the king's store with provision and clothing. The Indians being convinced that it would be dangerous to delay their departure any longer, left the settlement.

On the same day, an engagement took place between the American army and an English detachment, about a mile and a half from Fairfield, in which the latter were overpowered. General Proctor escaped with fifteen soldiers; the other regulars were either killed or taken prisoners, and the Indian auxiliaries escaped into the woods. In the evening a great number of Americans entered the settlement, chiefly on horseback. At first they pretended to be friendly, and promised to do no harm to the missionaries, nor take any of their private effects, and likewise expressed their regret that the Christian Indians had left the place, as they intended them no injury.*

The same night, however, they began to treat the missionaries with great severity, accused them of secreting king's stores and English officers; and, with fierce importunity, demanded that they should be delivered up. The assurances given that the accusation was not founded in truth, were of no avail. Every room and corner were searched, and particularly the roofs of the chapel and school. John Dolson, who, with his family, had fled hither, and two other men, were made prisoners, but were liberated on the following day. The Americans told brother Schnall, that he being a missionary was not to be considered as a prisoner of war; but that he must not be offended that his house would be guarded during the night. They were now ordered to open all their trunks and boxes for examination, and no person was permitted to go out of the house without a guard. The family could take no rest, but spent the night in silent prayer to the Lord, commending themselves and the white people who had sought refuge with them, to his almighty protection.

Very early the next morning the Americans began to plunder the settlement, and seized on all kinds of provisions. The missionaries were obliged to surrender their last morsel of bread: fifty bushels of potatoes, twelve of apples, all kinds of garden-stuff, and six hundred pounds of flour, which they had just purchased for winter's consumption, were taken from them, and ten bee-hives emptied of all the honey, without however destroying the bees.

The American general, Harrison, and several officers arrived during the plundering. Brother Schnall immediately waited upon him, and recommended the settlement to his protection, requesting, also, that some compensation might be made for what had been taken. His request was refused; but he was told that the missionaries were at liberty to quit the place. Commodore Perry, who was one of the party, meeting brother Schnall in the street, behaved with kindness, and said, he knew our society and respected our missions, and promised to procure a passport, that the missionaries might depart without being molested; which he likewise effected. After this interview he came several times to their house, by which their anxiety was in some measure relieved; some of the officers and privates also expressed pity for the hard treatment they had experienced. Some even used force to keep off the wild and lawless soldiery, who loaded the missionaries with the most bitter curses and mockeries. By this interposition they gained time to pack up their property. Commodore Perry now informed them, that he should soon leave the settlement, and advised them to make haste and get away, for if they staid after his departure, he would not answer for their being able to proceed. General Harrison likewise ordered them to hasten their flight. But, when in the act of loading the wagon, they were once more obliged to submit their baggage to a thorough search. Not the smallest article, however, was found, which could tend to impeach their character. They were obliged to leave all their furniture behind them. They had no sooner quitted the place, than part of it was set on fire, and on the following day the rest of the buildings were wholly consumed: not even the smallest out-house was spared.

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* The fears of the Christian Indians were, however, well founded, and the remembrance of the events of 1782 justified their flight. [See p. 529.]

On the 15th the missionaries arrived at Detroit, where the commandant, General Cass, furnished them with a passport to go to Bethlehem. In prosecuting their journey they experienced various and great hardships, but also many signal proofs of the protection of the Lord.

When the news of the approach of an American detachment, and the defeat of the English, first reached Fairfield, our brethren there resolved that the missionary Schnall and his wife, together with Michael Young, who was aged and infirm, should go to Bethlehem; and brother Dencke and his wife remain with the Indians and share in their fate, whatever it might be. They cheerfully acceded to this proposal, determined even to devote their lives to this service.

The Indians, on leaving the settlement, had encamped about six miles higher up the river; but, being alarmed by reports brought by other fugitives, they had all fled into the woods; so that when the missionary arrived at the camp, he found it deserted, and for some time both he and the Indians remained ignorant of each other's situation. In this uncertainty, not knowing which way to direct their steps, they providentially met with a man, who offered to take them in his wagon to Delaware-town. On their way thither, besides other hardships, they had the mortification to be attacked by a gang of Kikkapoo and Shawanose robbers, who plundered them of the few articles of clothing which they had taken with them in their flight from Fairfield, and of the greater part of their other goods, together with their books and manuscripts, not leaving them even a Bible or Testament.

But they soon forgot the sorrow occasioned by these disasters when they reached Delaware-town, on the 12th of October. They had scarcely arrived before a number of the Fairfield Indians came running to meet them, and with tears in their eyes offered thanks to God for having thus brought them together again. Messengers were quickly dispatched into the woods to search for those who were still absent; for in their sudden flight parents were separated from children, and children from parents. They were soon collected together, and only one sister was missing, who had been murdered below Fairfield.

Having at length arrived near lake Ontario, the Indians built huts for themselves in the woods, a house for the missionary, and a chapel, which latter was opened for divine worship at Christmas 1813. At the close of that year the congregation consisted of one hundred and sixty members, besides twenty-three persons not yet baptized, but who had come to winter with them and regularly attended divine service. This situation being deemed rather unsafe, on account of its proximity to the lake and the superiority of the American fleet, they removed the following spring farther towards the mountains, about ten miles from Burlington Heights. One of their heaviest trials arose from the total stoppage of all communication with our congregations in America, and even several letters and parcels sent from England did not arrive. They were the more thankful, therefore, to the loyal and patriotic Society at York, (on lake Ontario,) who, without being solicited, remitted a hundred dollars to the missionary, with an intimation that, should it be needed, it would give them pleasure to render him further assistance, till he could command his own resources.

After the termination of the war they returned to Fairfield, and for some time dwelt in huts on the scite of the former buildings, till they had erected a new settlement, rather higher up on the opposite bank of the river, at a little distance from it. This place they began to inhabit towards the end of the summer of 1815, calling it New Fairfield; the number of inhabitants then amounted to one hundred and nine. Here they continued to enjoy rest and peace; the missionaries (whose number had been increased by the arrival of J. R. Schmidt from Bethlehem), prosecuting their calling with alacrity, and not without encouraging proofs that the Lord blessed their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen. A very striking instance of this they were favoured to witness in 1816, in the case of an Indian, called Onim, whom the Lord was pleased to make a miracle of grace in the fullest sense of the phrase.

This Indian had from his youth given evidence of his hostility against the mission. He was one of those who calumniated John Papunhank at Friedenshuetten. At that time he used to wear a tomahawk in his girdle, and when questioned what he intended to do with it, replied, "cleave the missionaries' sculls for deceiving the Indians." This enmity against the missionaries and the Christian Indians generally he manifested on all occasions, till within a few years, when the infirmities of age put a stop to his activity. The first sign of a change of sentiment in him was observed when he entertained the brethren Luckenbach and Zacharias in his cabin at the Monsy-town, on their way to Grand-river. Till then, he had always been lurking in the neighbourhood of our settlements, trying to create disturbances. And being a preacher among his countrymen, he used to dissuade them, by all the means in his power, from embracing the doctrines of the whites. "For," said he, "their skin is white and ours is brown; and our whole manner of life is entirely different from theirs: of course they must also have a different way of happiness; and those Indians who embrace their doctrine are altogether deceived." He taught the existence of three gods; a brown, a white, and a black god; and that each nation should live conformably to the directions received from the god of their colour. The Indians of course were to preserve their own religious ceremonies, their feasts, dances, sorceries, &c. He opposed, in particular, the gospel doctrine of the remission of sins; teaching his countrymen, that those who lived according to the will of the Great Good Spirit, would after this life go to him; but those who acted differently, would be banished to the haunts of the Evil Spirit. He believed not only in the immortality of the human soul, but even asserted, that all creatures, and also trees, and herbs, are inhabited by a living soul; accounting for the withering of the latter, when cut down, by saying, that their indwelling spirit then left them.

From what he said during his last illness, it should appear that he was led to reflect on his lost state by a remark, addressed to him by an Indian sister, Anna Paulina, who met him in December 1815 at the house of a sick woman, whom he was endeavouring to cure by his sorceries; for he had always pretended to great skill in this art. The following spring he was taken ill, on his way to Monsy-town, for the purpose of assisting at a feast to be held there. Unable to proceed further than New Fairfield, he returned to his friends, who had a camp near the settlement.

On the 10th of March 1816 he sent for brother Jacob, one of the native assistants, and, among other remarks, observed: "A word, lately spoken by one of your Christian Indians, has laid hold of my soul. I begin to be troubled in my mind, and to grow doubtful concerning my spiritual state. My constant cry is: Oh for some one to show me the right way." Having said more to the same effect, Jacob addressed him nearly in the following words: "Thou hast now told me a great deal; I will tell thee something too. Listen to me, Onim! I well remember that ever since I was a little child, thou hast often been with the congregation of Christian Indians, always going from and coming again to us. For many years thou hast heard the gospel which we believe. But till now, thou hast despised and ridiculed it, saying, 'I have another way to be saved *according to my creation*.'* But now, when thou art here in a miserable situation, lying on hard boards, unable to help thyself; thy little property spent in drinking; nobody taking care of thee, and death seeming to be at hand: now, dost thou say at last, '*I have brought terror on my mind, because I have been so wicked?*' Oh, that these words of thine were but true! Would to God thou didst but feel real anxiety about thy condition! For then

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[*] This is an Indian phrase, implying: According as the Great Spirit and Creator has directed and appointed for me.

thy soul might yet be saved. Art thou indeed convinced that the devil hath deceived thee? Why art thou concerned about thyself at last, at the very end of thy life? In the days of thy health, thou hast despised and mocked at the Word of God; thou hast dissuaded and prevented others, who were disposed to believe; and thou hast tried to entice those away who joined the congregation. Thou hast made thy jest of the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. But know thou, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Creator of heaven and earth, became a man: *this is the truth!* He suffered, was tormented to death, and shed his precious blood for the remission of sins: *this is also the truth!* And unless thou obtain pardon of thy many and great sins, through faith in his blood, and thy heart be cleansed therewith, believe me, thou shalt after death go straightway to hell, into everlasting perdition. And there thou wilt find cause to accuse no one, neither men nor God, who made thee, but *thyself, thyself alone.* Nor will thy living with us, as thou desirest, avail thee any thing, unless thou be pardoned and purified from thy sins by the precious blood of Christ, whose mercy thou must earnestly seek. Reflect upon this, and recollect what thou hast formerly heard from us Christian Indians and our ministers."

The next day he was visited by the missionary Denke, who spoke to him in the same earnest and faithful manner. Among other questions, he asked him, whether it were true, that he had been a murderer and sorcerer? To this he replied: "The former is a false accusation; and sorcery is a deceit of the devil; it is naught: of this I am now convinced." With many tears he lamented his past wicked life, and made so affecting a confession of his faith in Jesus, that all present were melted into tears; and the work of grace, wrought in his heart by the Holy Ghost, was most strikingly manifest. Brother Denke then explained to him, that the mere rite of baptism could avail him nothing, unless he experienced in his heart, through faith, the purifying power of the blood of Christ; whereupon he exclaimed, "I believe! I believe! Do *ye* also have pity on me!"

His repentance appearing truly sincere, and his earnest request for baptism to proceed from an ardent desire of receiving this rite as a seal of the forgiveness of his sins and of acceptance with God through the sacrifice of Jesus, he was baptized in the name of the holy Trinity, and called Leonard. All his former doubts and fears now vanished: he truly enjoyed the peace of God in his soul, and continued in prayer day and night, almost till he drew his last breath, on the morning of the 13th, exalting the mercy of his Redeemer, and inviting all to come unto *Him*, that they might obtain pardon and remission of their sins. Addressing his countrymen, he said: "Formerly I spoke evil words to you, when you showed any desire to be converted, trying to dissuade you from it; forgive me for so doing, and follow my dying advice, which is, to forsake your wicked ways, or else you will be lost. Turn to your Saviour, and experience what I now feel, and you shall live."

"The solemnity attending this transaction," write the missionaries, "may more easily be conceived than described, and will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The Christian Indians were filled with joy, and exclaimed, 'Onim, our enemy, is become our brother Leonard!' The conversion and death of this extraordinary man will speak volumes to the heart of his late hearers; and the impression made thereby upon his heathen countrymen, cannot but, under God, prove highly favourable to the cause of the gospel."

In this hope they were not disappointed. A new awakening seemed to take place among the inhabitants of the settlement, which extended also to the children, and their separate meetings were distinguished by particular devotion and attention to the word of God. The remarkable conversion of Onim made a salutary impression, not only upon the Indians, but also upon many white people in that neighbourhood. Several heathen were baptized in 1817, and some, baptized in infancy, were solemnly received as members of the church. Thus the Lord was verifying unto them his promise: "*In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.*"

From the foregoing relation it appears, that the United Brethren have now continued their labours in propagating the gospel among the North American Indians for more than seventy years, and that at present they occupy three missionary stations, viz. New Fairfield in Canada, Goshen on the Muskingum, and Spring-place in the country of the Cherokees. The little success which has hitherto attended their endeavours, may probably have disappointed the reader's expectation. Were strenuous exertions, indefatigable labour, patient perseverance, constant self-denial and devoted zeal sufficient to insure success, our missionaries might indeed have collected a greater number of converts, as the preceding pages supply ample proof that they were not deficient in these qualifications. However, the blessing which has accompanied their efforts, verifies the divine promise, *my word shall not return unto me void;* while their comparatively small success as clearly demonstrates, that *except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.* Indeed the peculiar habits and roving disposition of the Indians, the frequent wars among themselves and the white people, and the introduction of the rum-trade, have always operated as strong barriers against the propagation of the gospel, and continue to throw impediments in the way of its converting influence, which nothing but Omnipotent grace can conquer.

From a register of the Indian congregation, dated 1772, it appears that the number of heathen baptized by our brethren from the commencement of the mission to that time, amounted to seven hundred and twenty. Of the subsequent years no authentic records remain, as the church-books and other manuscripts were lost at the destruction of the settlements on the Muskingum, and likewise during the warlike commotions in later years. In 1817, the year with which the narrative closes, the number of Christian Indians belonging to the three congregations of the Brethren, amounted to one hundred and fifty. The missionaries indeed are not anxious to collect great numbers of nominal Christians, but rather wish that those, whom they baptize, should give reasonable proofs that they truly desire to die unto sin and live unto righteousness. Respecting the number of Indians baptized by the Brethren, Heckewelder states the following: From the commencement of the mission among the Mohicans in the states of New York and Connecticut in 1740, and among the Delawares in Pennsylvania a year later, to the year 1808 inclusive, between thirteen and fourteen hundred souls were baptized by the Brethren. The exact number cannot be ascertained, on account of the loss of the church-registers; but as to hundreds, the number is not overrated.—*Heckewelder's Narrative of the Missions, &c.* p. 418.

CHAPTER IV.

MISSION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

The missionary labours of the United Brethren in South America have been hitherto confined to that part of the vast continent, which is known by the general name of Guiana. This territory lies on the northern coast, extending from the fourth to the seventh degree of north latitude. On this coast the Dutch, French and English have several possessions, the principal of which are Surinam, Berbice, Demerary, Cayenne and Essequibo. The climate is very unhealthy, being humid and sultry. The country is level, overgrown with impervious thickets and immense forests, the haunts of serpents and other venomous reptiles; it is also exposed to frequent inundations. The soil is uncommonly fertile, and vegetation so rapid, that several crops can be reaped in succession in a year. It is watered by several large rivers, near the mouths of which the European colonies are formed, and from which they derive their names.

The late bishop Spangenberg, (of whom mention was made in the preceding chapter,) on his way to England in 1731, passed through Holland. Here he had several consultations with the Directors of the Dutch Trading Company for Surinam, the result of which was, that the Brethren agreed to form one or more colonies in that country, with a view to the conversion of the heathen. Agreeably to the arrangements then made, three brethren proceeded to Surinam the following year, and spent some time in Paramaribo, in order to inquire on the spot into the practicability and best mode of establishing a mission in that quarter of the globe. After their return to Europe, a gentleman in Amsterdam requested that some of them would settle on one of his plantations on the Rio de Berbice, for the purpose of instructing his Negroes in Christianity. Considering this as a door opened to them for the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ, they cheerfully acceded to his request, and directed their first attention to the Negroes on his estates. But as their exertions were, in the sequel, extended to other parts of the coast, a brief relation of each of these shall now be given in separate sections.

SECTION I.

Pilgerhut on the Rio de Berbice.

In consequence of the offer above stated, two brethren, L. C. Daehne and J. Guettner, left Holland in June 1738, and arrived the following September in Berbice. As they brought strong recommendations with them from Holland, the stewards and managers of the estates suspected that they had been sent for the purpose of secretly inspecting their conduct; and on this account rendered their situation as unpleasant and difficult as possible. But God endowed them with faith and patience, and blessed the labour of their hands, so that, being content with very frugal fare, they could support themselves without depending on the favour of the stewards. Their greatest grievance was, that their situation precluded the possibility of obtaining the principal object of their residence in the country. Unacquainted with the language of the slaves, they had not even a prospect of learning it, as the rigour with which these poor creatures were treated, rendered it extremely difficult to have any intercourse with them.

In the midst of this perplexity God himself provided for them. A gentleman of the Surinam Trading Company, without their solicitation, offered them a retired and tranquil residence on his estate. Thankful for this providential direction, they moved to the place pointed out, where they took possession of a small tenement, and tilled a piece of ground, lying in the midst of a forest, about a hundred miles distant from the sea coast, and called it Pilgerhut. This gentleman likewise procured from the President of the Surinam Company in Holland a recommendation of the Brethren, so favourable in its tenor, that the governor, who had hitherto been rather inimically disposed, felt compelled to give them no further molestation.

Having thus obtained rest from without, they began to visit the Indians in that neighbourhood, some of whom understood a little Dutch. They soon gained the love and confidence of these good-natured people, who with apparent pleasure listened to the instructions they endeavoured to give them concerning God, the Creator and Redeemer of man. But, as their ideas of God and divine things were few and exceedingly obscure, the missionaries clearly saw that very little could be effected till they had learnt the language, and for the acquisition of this, the labour necessary for their support left them but little leisure. They, therefore, requested the directors of the missions to send out a married couple to manage the temporal concerns of their little settlement.

The Brethren in Europe having meanwhile gained a more correct knowledge of the Surinam mission, and obtained a formal concession from the Surinam Company to establish a regular settlement on that river, five brethren were sent thither in the year 1739, and this company was further augmented the following year by the arrival of Fr. Regnier, M. D. and his wife. As they could not immediately purchase a piece of ground in an eligible situation, they took lodgings in the town of Paramaribo. Here they became acquainted with a pious citizen, Abraham Boemper, who built a small house for them. Their whole establishment was very poor, but they lived together in peace and brotherly love; God blessed the labour of their hands, and, notwithstanding their mean fare and the inconvenience of their dwelling, their health did not suffer, which they remarked as a particular providence, for in general the climate of Surinam is so injurious to the constitution of Europeans, that more than one half die almost immediately on their arrival. Their family devotions were frequented by great numbers, among whom were many Jews. This excited observation, and, through the machinations of their enemies, they were strictly forbidden by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, to grant any strangers admission to their religious meetings. After some time they succeeded in purchasing a plantation, about a mile from the town, which they cultivated with their own hands and with the assistance of three Negroes whom Mr. Boemper lent them. Many white people again attended their family devotions and became convinced of the purity of their doctrine and the probity of their intentions. But, finding it impossible to attain the proper object of their calling in this place, they sold their land and premises and bought a small plantation on the river Cottika, where they lived in the immediate neighbourhood of the Indians. No permanent advantage, however, was gained by this removal. They could have very little intercourse with the Indians, their knowledge of the Arawak language being still extremely defective; their harmony was interrupted and dissensions arose among them. These circumstances led to the final relinquishment of this station in 1745. After this digression we now return to the settlement on the Rio de Berbice.

With a view to assist the missionaries in Pilgerhut, Henry Beutel and his wife went thither in 1739; and two years after their number was further increased by the arrival of John Grabenstein and his wife. The brotherly love prevailing among them sweetened all their external hardships and poverty, and rendered them cheerful amidst their incessant manual labours.

This circumstance, however, greatly retarded the progress of the mission with regard to its most important object, though Pilgerhut possessed many local advantages for obtaining it. It was situate at some distance from other European settlements, many Indians resided in its neighbourhood, and the savages were continually travelling through the place, so that hardly a day passed on which the missionaries were not visited by individuals, or whole companies. But these favourable circumstances could be but little improved by them. Their number was too small to attend both to the temporal concerns of the settlement and to the preaching of the gospel, which required not only a more perfect knowledge of the language of the heathen, but also frequent visits to them in their own habitations, and demanded their undivided time and attention. Both these difficulties were shortly after removed. For, when the establishment on the Cottika was abandoned in 1745, two of the missionaries moved to Pilgerhut, and two brethren with their wives arrived from Europe. This accession of numbers enabled them more regularly to distribute the necessary labour in the mission, some attending chiefly to its temporal concerns, while others devoted themselves more especially to the work of the ministry.

About the same time a gentleman presented them with a mulatto boy, who assisted them in acquiring a more correct knowledge of the Arawak language. He was in the sequel converted to God, and they found him of great use, as an interpreter, in their attempts to preach to the heathen. They now made frequent visits among the savages, travelling a circuit of three hundred miles through a vast wilderness. These journeys were attended with great dangers and difficulties. They were obliged to carry their provisions with them, wade through broad and deep rivers, or hastily construct a raft to cross them, and often to spend the night in the forest, sleeping in their hammocks, suspended from trees. And, what was still more distressing, if they came to an Indian hut, and the men were not at home, the women, who were always terrified at the approach of white people, set up a great shriek and ran into the wood; and thus their toils and fatigues had been endured in vain. Not deterred by this, they persevered in their benevolent exertions, and their kind and affable deportment, by degrees, conciliated the affections and won the confidence of the savages.

Assisted by their mulatto boy, they compiled a concise narrative of the life and sufferings of Christ, in the Arawak language subjoining a brief summary of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. This tract they took with them when visiting the Indians, read it to them, and expatiated on its contents, accompanying their exhortations with fervent prayer. The mulatto youth himself now became a preacher of righteousness, and addressed the savages in so striking a manner, that they were powerfully affected, and circulated among their countrymen the news of the great word which they had heard.

Thus after a residence in this country of nearly nine years, amidst many heavy trials, and without seeing any fruit from their labours, the time arrived, when, after having sown in tears, they were favoured to reap in joy. Towards the close of 1747 they had the satisfaction, which they had so long and ardently prayed for, to perceive that the Divine Spirit was exciting a real hunger after the word of God among the Arawaks. They frequently visited them, burning with desire to hear more of Christ crucified. This inflamed the zeal of the missionaries to return their visits; and the very women, who had formerly fled on their approach, now became their guides through the wood. Passing by the huts of such as were disposed to mock and ridicule their endeavours, they conducted them to those dwellings of the Indians where they knew they would find eager hearers. Wherever they came they met with a warm reception; all the inhabitants seated themselves around them and listened to their discourse with the greatest silence and eagerness.

In March, 1748, the first Arawak Indian obtained admission to the church of Christ by holy baptism. It was an old woman, decrepid with age and scarce able to walk. About forty of the savages were present at this solemn transaction, and it made such a deep impression upon them, that they were suffused in tears. Several men came the next day, and with much importunity begged to be admitted to the same privilege. The change, wrought in the baptized, was visible in their very countenances and appeared in their whole conduct. This, together with their conversation among their friends, had such an effect, that hardly a week passed in which this sacred rite was not administered to one or more converts on their profession of faith in Jesus. Thus, already, by the end of June, the baptized amounted to thirty-nine, among whom were several venerable old people.

Many of the converts could not endure the thoughts of leaving the missionaries and again returning to their former places of abode, and therefore requested permission to erect some huts on the land of the settlement, promising to cultivate a piece of ground for their support. The missionaries the more joyfully acceded to this proposal, as by having them thus constantly near them, they would be the better able to teach them to observe all things whatsoever Jesus hath commanded. This outweighed every consideration of the trouble and expense, unavoidably connected with such an arrangement, as they must maintain all these people till the cassabi, sown on the new ground, was ready to reap; for most of the produce of their former fields had been stolen by the savages. By the end of the year eighty Indians, including children, lived in the settlement.

Before our Brethren in Europe could receive any intelligence of this awakening, the directors of the missions had come to a resolution to appoint a man of learning to superintend the establishment at Pilgerhut, conceiving that he would more easily acquire a knowledge of the language and other local circumstances. They found a person, well qualified and willing to undertake it, in Theoph. Sol. Schuman, late a tutor in the Protestant cloister of Bergen in Saxony. He arrived in the country in the autumn of 1748, and in one year acquired such proficiency in the language, that he could translate several portions of the holy scriptures and converse with the natives without an interpreter. He ended his useful and active life here, October 6th, 1760, after serving this and the other missionary institutions of the Brethren in Guiana, for twelve years, with indefatigable zeal and faithfulness, during which period he made two visits to Europe in concerns of the mission.

While the missionaries were filled with joy and gratitude for the success attending their endeavours, and counted no difficulties or labours, which might in any degree tend to further the noble cause in which they had embarked, too hard, the adversaries were not remiss in their attempts to oppose this growing work. Some white people, displeased with the conversion of the Indians, tried to make them jealous of the missionaries. And when this did not succeed, they insinuated that the numerous assemblies at Pilgerhut might tend to excite a rebellion, and that it would be wise in government positively to prohibit these meetings for the future.

However, the governor, Mr. Loesner, paid no attention to these representations, but on every occasion testified the pleasure he felt in contemplating the blessing of God, which so evidently rested on the labours of the missionaries. But it was not long before an unfavourable change took place in the government. Mr. Loesner received his dismission, and though he most warmly recommended the mission to his successor, it soon appeared that this gentleman was not very favourably disposed. Shortly after his arrival he summoned the missionaries to appear before the council. On their appearance he read to them the orders of the directors in Amsterdam, requiring their taking a formal oath, adding, that, in case of refusal, he would send them by the first ship back to Europe. Brother Schuman answered, that as some of them had scruples of conscience against taking an oath, they would abide by the declaration made on their arrival in the country, and, in case of a breach of their simple affirmation, they would consider themselves liable to the same penalty as if they had been guilty of perjury. Having with modesty and firmness replied to some other questions, and remonstrated against several restrictions, intended to be imposed on their labours; their adversaries were silenced, and the council finally resolved, that their simple affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath.

The enemies of the mission, who for some time had rather too loudly expressed their joy at its approaching destruction, finding themselves thus unexpectedly disappointed, again resorted to their former contrivance, and endeavoured to render the Indians suspicious of the missionaries, by insinuating that they would make them slaves. But, though the idea of slavery was more formidable to these people than death itself, they were so firmly persuaded of the sincerity and affection of their teachers, that the white people effected nothing by these base insinuations. Thus the missionaries enjoyed a season of rest and tranquillity, and the number of the congregation was gradually increased.

In the beginning of the year 1750 a deputation of eleven savages arrived at Pilgerhut, from the Spanish possession on the river Oronoco. These people had been visited by one of the Christian Indians, and his conversation had made such an impression upon their minds, that they now came to hear the *great word* from the missionaries themselves. Their embassy led to the result, that in the sequel, several pagans from that territory (a distance of about eight or ten days' journey) embraced the gospel and settled at Pilgerhut. A visit made by some of the converts to their relatives on the river Corentyn, was followed by consequences equally pleasing. Their testimony of the grace they had experienced excited the astonishment of their friends, who sent a deputation of seven men to Pilgerhut to inquire what the good news was, which the missionaries announced to the Indians in the name of their Creator. Before the end of the year, several companies, consisting of fifteen or twenty persons, came from those parts to settle at Pilgerhut. The missionaries remark: "It is impossible to behold these people without deep emotion. There are some very aged persons among them, who have come hither, on crutches, a journey of four or five days. They have left a district where they had abundance of provisions, and now are satisfied with a very small pittance, that they may daily hear of Jesus. Without reckoning those who occasionally visit us, there are at present three hundred belonging to our congregation, of whom two hundred live in the settlement."

Scarce had they been enlivened by this pleasing progress of the mission, when new troubles broke out. Their enemies, at home and abroad, were still secretly plotting the ruin of their establishment. One of the directors of the Surinam Trading Company arrived from Holland with unlimited powers to make such regulations as should be deemed most advantageous to the trade. This gentleman lent a willing ear to the complaints, that the endeavours of the missionaries for the conversion of the Indians were injurious to the interests of the company. In November, brother Schuman was summoned before him and the governor. The former, in an imperious tone, demanded that the missionaries should not draw the Indians to their settlement, but let them live dispersed in the woods; that they should clothe their converts, and pay a personal tax for them, equivalent to that charged on the white people. He more particularly insisted that the Indians should be required to lend their services to the Dutch colony, and that the missionaries should be compelled to take the oath prescribed, perform military duty, and appear on the parade. To every one of these demands Schuman replied in so satisfactory and convincing a manner, that the conscience of the director was touched, and he remarked, not without considerable emotion, "that he knew the Brethren were quiet, peaceable and regular people, but that he was not authorized to exempt them from bearing arms and taking oaths. If his superiors in Holland would grant them a dispensation from these duties, he would not only make no objections, but assist them as far as he could, and allow them eight months in order to refer their petition to the mother-country." He dismissed Schuman with expressions of kindness, and a few days after was suddenly removed by death.

The vexations of the missionaries, however, did not terminate here. Once the governor sent some soldiers to Pilgerhut, who forcibly compelled two of the Christian Indians to serve in the colony. This so terrified the rest, that many of them fled into the forest: by degrees, however, they all returned. When new missionaries arrived in 1751, they were again commanded to take an oath, and those who had scruples of conscience on this point, were obliged to return in the same ship to Europe. This greatly increased the labours of those who remained, especially as one of them, after six years faithful service, departed this life.

For several years no further impediments were thrown in the way of their operations. Their plain but zealous testimony of the death and resurrection of Jesus had a mighty influence in convincing the heathen of sin, and establishing their converts in the obedience of faith. The visits of savages from distant regions still continued; and through them the knowledge of the gospel was widely diffused. Many came and took up their residence at Pilgerhut; among whom were some of the rudest and most ferocious tribe, being considered even by the Arawaks as the greatest barbarians, for they feast upon the flesh of those whom they have taken and killed in war. But the word of the cross tamed these tigers in human shape, and changed their ferocity into the meekness of the lamb.

The congregation increased in grace, and evidenced their faith by a conduct and conversation consistent with their Christian profession, and by the simple utterances of their feelings when they described the change wrought in them by divine grace, and their desire to press forward to the mark set before them. One of them, wishing to write to our brethren in Europe, dictated the following: "Having arrived at manhood, I spent many years without any knowledge of my Saviour. When I afterwards became desirous to experience what I heard, it was granted me. Jesus has cleansed me in his blood, and delivered me from my *disobedience*. This truth, that he died and shed his blood for me, hath conquered and captivated my heart: this I can never forget; and therefore will I love him with all my soul, and daily give my whole heart to him. I fervently pray that he will keep me, and never suffer me to stray from him, or lose the impression of his death and sufferings. His love to me is astonishingly great, therefore hath he drawn me to himself." Another expressed himself thus: "I love my Creator with my whole heart, and I rejoice that when I leave this earth I shall go to him, and worship at his feet, who hath washed me from my sins in his own blood. He gives me eternal life. He knows my heart. I had gone astray from him; but he appeared and took away my polluted, evil and flinty heart, and gave me a heart of flesh: for his blood hath purified and softened it. It remains indelibly impressed on my mind that he hath shed his blood for me. He has granted me the grace, that I can leave this world in assured hope, and full of joy go to him and behold him as he is." In this confident expectation of eternal glory the missionaries saw several of their converts quit this stage of life; the fear of death, so natural to them in their pagan state, being completely vanquished by faith and the hope of immortality.

Another circumstance which greatly promoted the prosperity of the mission was, that about this time several of the converts were sufficiently advanced in knowledge, and prepared by the Spirit of God, to assist in preaching the gospel. These assistants afforded the missionaries essential service, especially in visiting and discoursing with the savages, and likewise in accompanying their Christian countrymen, when going out to hunt, or fish, or till their fields, which lay at some distance in the woods. On these occasions pretty large parties used to go together and be several days, or even weeks, away from the settlement. The assistants who accompanied them held daily meetings for prayer and exhortation; endeavoured to preserve good order and maintain brotherly love among them; and gave in reports to the missionaries, with a view that, as far as possible, every thing might be averted which might tend to injure the cause of the gospel. They had now within the space of eight years, since God began visibly to bless their labours, baptized three hundred and sixty-seven persons, of whom forty-eight had died. At the close of the year 1756 there lived at Pilgerhut two hundred and thirty-three persons, besides some children not yet baptized; and, reckoning the converts who resided in the neighbourhood, the whole number amounted to upwards of three hundred.

This hopeful progress of the work was about this time slightly threatened by a demand made by the new governor, M. Van Ryswyk, that they should send all those Christian Indians, who belonged to the Berbice territory, away. But, upon proper representation, that not one in ten of those who lived in the settlement had come from that territory, and that they never wished to interfere with the affairs of the Dutch colony, he withdrew his demand, commended their benevolent exertions, and ever after befriended them.

Under these favourable auspices they and their flock of converted Indians began the year 1757 with joy and thanksgiving, happily unconscious of the heavy sufferings which a God, infinitely wise and righteous in all his works, in the sequel permitted to assail them, doubtless to try their faith and constancy. The wife of brother Schuman having unexpectedly departed this life, while he was at Paramaribo on concerns of the mission, he found it necessary to visit Europe in 1758. Thus Pilgerhut was left without an ordained minister, and the two missionaries who resided there, and had hitherto assisted in the ministry, did not think themselves authorized to baptize or dispense the Lord's Supper. And an ordained minister, who was expected from North America, did not arrive, as he could find no ship bound for Surinam. This proved injurious to the spiritual course of the congregation. To add to their discouragements, a contagious disease broke out the following year, and raged for many months, spreading consternation and death throughout the whole country. Not less than forty of the Christian Indians died within one year; and as numbers had left the settlement, and many of those who remained were confined by illness, divine service was often attended by no more than ten or twelve persons. This distress was further augmented by a dearth of provisions in the Berbice territory.

When brother Schuman returned, in the spring of 1760, he found the congregation greatly diminished, and the whole country in the most deplorable situation. Nearly one half of the Dutch colonists, and also the governor, had been carried off by the prevailing epidemic. His arrival, however, revived the faith of the missionaries, and diffused new life through the congregation. But their joy was of short duration; for in less than six months after his return, it pleased the Great Head of his church to call him to his eternal rest. His removal appeared an irreparable loss to the mission; and the wound inflicted by this event, was opened afresh a few weeks after, when two active young brethren, who had come with him from Europe, likewise finished their earthly pilgrimage.

The contagion still raged with unabated violence, and the famine became so general, and rose to such a pitch, that the Indians for months had nothing to sustain life but wild roots and fruits. The missionaries indeed obtained a scanty supply from Paramaribo; but their fare was exceedingly frugal, and it occasioned frequent attacks of illness. In consequence of these calamities Pilgerhut was almost deserted, and this settlement, which a couple of years before contained nearly four hundred inhabitants, was at the end of 1762 reduced to twenty-two.

Still the missionaries were determined not to abandon their post; but, in hope of better times, patiently to persevere in their labours. Towards the end of February 1763, however, an event occurred which would have rendered it the height of presumption to remain there any longer. In the night preceding the first of March and the following day, they were alarmed by the discharge of cannon, and in the evening they received authentic intelligence that all the Negroes had risen in rebellion, murdering several white people, and obliging the rest to fly.

The insurgents had already cut off all communication with the fort by land or water. The next day, hearing that the rebels were within a few miles of the settlement, they resolved to proceed without loss of time to Demarary. They effected their escape by water in two companies; the missionaries Beutel and Climan, together with the wife of the former and the widow Bambay, still remaining at Pilgerhut, in order, if possible, to retain possession of it. But for the sake of safety they spent the night in the wood. The fugitives encamped in a thick forest on the banks of a small river, about nine miles from Pilgerhut. Of the subsequent events, Beutel, one of those who had remained in the settlement, gives the following relation:

"March 5th I went to Matare to learn the disposition of the Negroes towards us. They told me that *they* would not harm us, well knowing that the Brethren had not done *them* any hurt; but they could not be answerable for the more embittered Negroes, who threatened to murder *all* the white people, and intended to come to Pilgerhut that day. On receiving this intelligence we penetrated farther into the wood, and encamped there. Here we were visited by seven Negroes, whose looks were rather savage: but they departed in peace, after taking two of our best guns, promising not to injure us, as we were *good* people. We, however, thought it most prudent now to join the rest of our brethren. Upon this some of the missionaries immediately proceeded to Demarary, where they met with a kind and hospitable reception. Climan, Vester and myself went once more to the settlement to fetch away such of our things as had not been taken by the Negroes, and on the 2d of April we commenced our final emigration.

Having at length arrived at Demarary, Mr. Finnet very kindly provided us with the necessary accommodations on his estate; and the Christian Indians who came with us, likewise, found here the needful means of support."

During this insurrection the fort had been burnt, and the whole country laid waste. The Brethren lost property to a very considerable amount; but they regretted nothing so much as the loss of the Arawak Grammar and Dictionary, which had been compiled with immense labour by the late brother Schuman.

Thus terminated the once flourishing mission on the Rio de Berbice. Most of the missionaries returned to Europe; and Climan and Vester, who still remained in Demarary, shortly after finished their early career. The few Indian converts who had come with them from Pilgerhut, went afterwards to the settlement which had been begun a few years before in the territory of Surinam.

SECTION II.

Sharon on the Saramacca.

The reader will recollect that the establishment begun by the Brethren in the territory of Surinam on the river Cottika, was abandoned in 1745. However, the idea of commencing a mission in this district was not entirely relinquished, and events soon occurred which rendered it very desirable to make new efforts in these parts. The land belonging to Pilgerhut was found insufficient for the maintenance of the many Christian Indians who resided there. This led to their frequent dispersion, which proved detrimental to their progress in Christian knowledge and practice. The directors of the missions being desirous of removing these impediments, sent two brethren, C. Daehne (who had been in the country before, but had returned to Europe,) and Mark Ralfs, to Paramaribo, for the purpose of inquiring into the practicability of forming one or more missionary settlements in the territory of Surinam. They arrived on the last day of the year 1751, hired a private lodging, and worked at their trades, with a view to watch a favourable opportunity for effecting their purpose. Through the friendly interference of Mr. Loesner, they found in the present governor, Van der Meer, a kind friend and benefactor, who was willing to promote their design. They had, however, to wait till the year 1756, before they could obtain the consent of the government in Holland, together with a renewal of those privileges which had been conceded to the Brethren in 1740.

Every needful preparation being thus made, two married missionaries who had formerly resided in the country and understood the language, together with five unmarried brethren, left Holland, and arrived in Surinam in November. They were accompanied by Nicholas Garrison, formerly a naval captain, who had volunteered his services to navigate the rivers and assist in surveying the land granted to them. They entered upon this business before the end of the month, and succeeded in surveying and laying out a considerable tract of land for two settlements; the one on the river Corentyn, and the other on the Saramacca. The hardships and dangers attending this undertaking were almost incredible, but God often helped them in the most wonderful manner.

When they arrived in the mouth of the Corentyn, Grabenstein, one of the missionaries, grew so ill, that they were obliged to sail up the river with all possible expedition to bring him to the house of the postmaster, where he expired in a few days. Captain Garrison, though he had made many long and perilous voyages, was often thrown into the greatest perplexity. He writes himself: "When we reached the mouths of rivers with which I was totally unacquainted, we were frequently in the most imminent danger of suffering shipwreck, and of losing our provisions and every thing else on board. That we escaped these disasters I ascribe not to my own skill, nor to any human aid, for there was none within our reach, but to the invisible agency of divine Providence. All the brethren, except Daehne and myself, were sick. Our difficulties were not a little increased, as we had to transact our business in the rainy season, which this year was uncommonly severe. In measuring the land we had constantly to wade in water, and more than once Daehne and I spent forty-eight hours in heavy rain in a small canoe."

Amidst many and great difficulties, and by means of indefatigable exertions, they succeeded in taking possession of a large piece of land, capable of supplying a numerous congregation of Indians with the means of subsistence, the soil being very fertile, and fit for the cultivation of sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, &c. besides cassibi, which is their daily food. Early in spring, 1747, the missionaries began to build and plant, and called the place Sharon.

Desirable as the situation of the new settlement was, its erection was in the beginning attended with various difficulties. In consequence of their incessant labours in building houses and improving the land, the missionaries fell sick one after the other. For five or six months they could reap nothing from their own plantations; and the Indians who resided with them were, as yet, too few in number to obtain much by the chase or by fishing. They were under the necessity of procuring most of their provisions from Paramaribo; and, till they got a boat of their own, this was not easy, for the Negroes who carried them had to cross an extensive swamp, where, in the rainy season, they were obliged to wade up to the middle in water. In the sequel they obtained a little sloop of their own, and some of the Indians were always found willing to go with her and fetch provisions. On one of these voyages, as they were returning to Sharon, a Spanish ship, cruising along the coast, sent a boat to their vessel to plunder; but one of the Indians, who could speak Spanish, answered their questions with great freedom, adding, "You must take none of these things; they belong to the Brethren on the Saramacca, who teach us the way of salvation; they want these things, and our Creator knows and sees all you are doing." These remarks, flowing from the lips of an Indian, reached the consciences of these rude people, and they returned to their ship without taking any thing.

The missionaries considered themselves more than compensated for all their external trials by the hopeful prospect, that a numerous congregation of believing Indians would be collected in this settlement. Among its first inhabitants who had come from Pilgerhut and other places, grace, simplicity and brotherly love prevailed, and the work of the Spirit of God evidenced itself in young and old, not excepting even the children. Visits from the neighbouring heathen likewise became very frequent, among whom were many of the Carribbee tribe. These came in companies of from ten to twenty at a time, and listened with eagerness to the conversations of the missionaries and their assistants. Several, after a short time, returned, took up their abode at Sharon, and received the seed of the Word in a good and honest heart, bringing forth the fruits of righteousness; while others, who could not be admitted into the settlement, formed small colonies in the vicinity.

Suddenly, however, this bright prospect was darkened by a gathering storm. The establishment of the Brethren on the Saramacca was exceedingly disliked by the Bush-Negoes, who lived in the adjacent woods, and whose habitations were safe asylums for runaway Negro slaves. But the flight of the latter was rendered very difficult by the many villages now building by the Carribbees on the Saramacca, and who lay in wait for the fugitives, as government allowed them fifty florins for every runaway slave they seized. The Bush-Negroes, therefore, resolved to destroy Sharon, hoping thus to compel the Indians to leave the country. Some of these marauders were occasionally seen lurking about the settlement, but they precipitately retreated into the woods on discovering any Carribbees, of whom they stood greatly in awe. They, however, watched their opportunity; and having received certain information that all the Carribbees had emigrated, in consequence of a scarcity of provisions, a number of them advanced towards Sharon, lying for some days concealed in the woods. On Sunday, January the 25th, 1761, as the congregation was returning from divine service, the Negroes sallied forth, and with a hideous noise commenced an attack, using both fire-arms and bows and arrows. They killed three aged Indians in their huts and took eleven prisoners, but were afraid to approach the mission-house, as they observed persons with guns stationed in the inside. They, therefore, placed themselves behind trees, from whence they fired at the house, whereby one of the missionaries was wounded in the arm. Our brethren, however, maintained their post till the enemies succeeded in setting fire to the premises. In making their escape, one had his forehead slightly grazed by an arrow. The Negroes did not pursue them; but, having plundered the settlement, retreated with precipitancy, afraid of an attack from the Carribbees, some of whom were now returning. The fugitive missionaries went first to the plantations on the Coropina, and then proceeded to Paramaribo. Thither they were accompanied by some of their converts, the rest took refuge in Ephrem and other places.

The missionaries Schirmer and Clive, with a company of Indians, soon returned to Sharon; and as no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the Bush-Negroes, others followed in a short time. For the sake of greater security, the governor sent an officer with fourteen men to the settlement; but their presence proved no edification to the Indians, and was attended with many inconveniences. In other respects, too, the situation of the missionaries was extremely distressing. The house they inhabited was in a most ruinous state; frogs and toads crawled on the floor, and bats and other creatures took possession of the roof, which was but imperfectly covered. They were frequently in want of the necessaries of life; and the few Indians living with them being often sick, were consequently unable to hunt, or fish, or fetch provisions; and the soldiers, without ceremony, took the fruits of their plantations. For several weeks both missionaries were so ill that they could not leave their hammocks, and had nothing to live upon but bread and water. Towards the end of the year, however, their courage was considerably strengthened by the arrival of three missionaries from Europe; but how inscrutable are the councils of God! Two of them departed this life in a few days after their arrival, and in less than twelve months two of the survivors likewise entered into the rest which remains for the people of God.

Hitherto the Christian Indians, alarmed by false reports of meditated attacks from the Negroes, had often fled into the forests; and being thus deprived of the instruction of the missionaries, were rather declining in their religious profession. But by the grace of God they were brought to serious reflection; and in the year 1762 most of them returned, and with penitent tears besought their teachers to take them anew into their care. This request, which was most readily granted, served to animate their zeal and revive their fainting hopes.

Thus Sharon once more assumed the appearance of a promising station; and its Indian inhabitants, about sixty in number, enjoyed peace and rest; and walking in the comforts of the Holy Ghost, were edified. Peace being established between the government and the Bush-Negroes, the missionaries indulged the pleasing hope, that many of the Arawaks who had formerly been baptized, but were scattered in the wilderness during the late troubles, would now return. In this hope, however, they were disappointed, as the fear entertained by the Indians of the Negroes rather increased after peace had been made. For, in spite of their professions of friendship, their conduct when visiting Sharon was not the most conciliatory. Some secret enemies, hoping to accelerate the ruin of the settlement, tried by false reports to terrify the Arawaks still more. Many of the inhabitants left the settlement and fled into the woods. Their dwellings being soon occupied by others, the missionaries did not relax in their exertions; but, both by their instructions at home, and by frequent visits through the country, endeavoured to diffuse the glad tidings of grace and redemption through the blood of Christ.

It was not long, however, before they were threatened with new dangers from the Negroes, which seemed to render the occupation of Sharon, as a missionary settlement, very precarious. Besides this, vast swarms of large ants had almost totally destroyed their plantations, and thus deprived them of the principal means of subsistence. These and other circumstances led to the final relinquishment of this station in 1779.

A few years before the evacuation of the settlement, brother Schirmer had departed this life and entered into the joy of his Lord, after having for the space of fourteen years endured hardships as a good soldier of Christ on this difficult post. In October, 1776, brother Christopher Lewis Schuman, son of the late missionary of that name, arrived at Sharon, principally with a view of devoting himself to the service of the Carribbees. His attempts in this respect, however, proved unsuccessful; but he zealously served the mission in many other ways.

SECTION III.

Hope on the Corentyn.

In order to take possession of the land surveyed on the river Corentyn, as mentioned in the preceding section, brother Daehne went thither in April, 1757, accompanied by a few Indians, who assisted in clearing a piece of ground and building a hut; but in a short time they all went away except one, called Christopher; and even he, falling sick a few months after, was obliged to return to his friends. Thus the missionary was left alone in this horrid wilderness, the haunt of tigers, serpents of enormous size, and various reptiles, whose bite or sting is venomous. He had not been long here before he was seized with a fever; but by the timely assistance of brother Schuman, who had a slight knowledge of medicine, and who immediately hastened to his relief, he recovered. An account of the hardships and dangers he encountered in this solitary abode, as well as of the almost miraculous preservation of his life, will be read with the greatest interest in his own words.

"The Indians," says he, "who were continually passing by, often inquired into the reason of my building a hut in this lonesome place; whether I did it by my own or the governor's authority? I told them I did it for their sakes, to make them acquainted with the true God, the only Saviour. They answered, 'The Indians have determined to kill you.' At length, the soldiers at the fort sent me word that I was not safe, and invited me to come and live near them. I thanked them for their care, but determined to stay where I might be favoured to gain if it were but one soul for Christ.

"One evening, being unwell and going to lie down in my hammock, upon entering the door of my hut, I perceived a large serpent descending upon me from a shelf near the roof. In the scuffle the creature stung or bit me two or three times in the head; and, pursuing me very closely, twined herself several times round my head and neck.* Supposing that this would be the occasion of my death, and apprehending that the Indians would be charged with it, I wrote with chalk upon the table, 'A serpent has killed me.' But, on a sudden, that promise of our Saviour to his disciples was impressed upon my mind: 'They shall take up serpents, and it shall not hurt them' (Mark xvi. 18); and, seizing the creature with great force, I tore her loose, and flung her out of the hut. I then laid down to rest in the peace of God.

"There was also a tiger, who, for a long time, kept near my hut, watching, perhaps, an opportunity to seize its inhabitant. He roared dreadfully every evening; but I made a large fire near the hut before I went to bed; however, as my fire often went out, it would have been but a poor defence if the Lord had not protected me.

"In November, the Carribbee Indians resolved to put their threats against me into execution. One day, as I sat at dinner, about fixty of them arrived in canoes, and surrounded my hut. This was indeed a frightful sight. Some were armed with swords, other with tomahawks. I immediately went out to them, and bid them welcome in the Arawak language. They answered in a surly tone, saying I should speak the Carribbee language. I told them I could not speak it. Upon this they began to speak with each other, every now and then addressing me, to find out whether I understood them or not. Perceiving that I did not even guess their meaning, they called their Arawak interpreter, and asked me who had given me leave to build on their land. I answered, 'The governor; and that I had a writing under his own hand to prove what I said.' They then asked what views I had in coming hither? Upon this I went up to their chief, and said with great freedom, 'I have brethren on the other side of the great ocean, who, having heard that many Indians that are ignorant of their Creator live on this river, out of love to them have sent me hither, to tell you of your Creator's love to you, and what he has done to save you; and more of my brethren will come hither for the same purpose.' He asked, 'Whether I was a clergyman, a Frenchman, or a Dutchman? I answered, 'I came from Holland, but was sent by my brethren, who loved them, and wished to do them good.' He then said, 'Have you never heard that the Indians intend to kill you?' I answered, 'Yes; but I cannot believe it. You have among your Indians some who have lived with me, and they can tell you that I am a real friend of the Indians.' 'Yes,' replied he, 'I have heard so; and they say that you are a different sort of Christian from the white people in general.' I then said, 'I am your friend; how is it that you are come to kill me?' He answered. 'We have done wrong.' Upon this every countenance seemed altered, and the party dispersed. The chief remained with me, and inquired whether other people would come to live here; and when I assured him that none but my brethren would come, he was pleased, and behaved very kindly. When he was going away, I perceived that he had some cassabi in his pouch. I asked him for it, as his people could get more, and I was here alone and in want, adding 'If you should at any time pass by, and be hungry, I will also give you something to eat.' He immediately gave orders to give me some cassabi, some fish, and drink, and then took leave, saying he would often come to see me. Thus our Saviour delivered me from them, and preserved me amidst daily dangers; so that at the close of the year I had great cause to thank and adore him in the dust.

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* Probably one of those serpents which, though their bite is not poisonous, by twisting themselves tightly round the body of their prey, break its bones, and thus quickly extinguish life.

"I entered into the year 1758 with a confident heart, and felt the peace and presence of God. I was busily employed in clearing the ground and felling trees; and when weary, I frequently desired the Indians passing that way to lend a helping hand, which they did with pleasure. Once, while gathering wood for fuel, some large black ants fixed upon my hand, and by their stings gave me such excruciating pain that for some time I was almost senseless. These creatures are nearly two inches long, and quite black. The Indians are as much afraid of them as of serpents. As to externals, this was for me a year of great want. I frequently rose in the morning without knowing whether I should taste a morsel all day; but God ordered it so, that sometimes when I could scarce bear the excess of hunger, some Indians, who were willing to divide their mouthful of cassabi with me, arrived."*

During the whole year he was occasionally visited by Warau Indians, which afforded him an opportunity of preaching the gospel to them; and this always animated him afresh to labour, in hopes of better times. Some of them also promised to come and live with him. In consequence of his incessant bodily labours, often beyond his strength, he was attacked with sickness, which was increased by the insalubrity of the climate and his mean and scanty fare. His fellow missionaries in Paramaribo, being informed of it, immediately despatched brother Boemper to his assistance. It was sometime before he could procure a conductor, for the Indians are in general afraid of going near a sick person, and had moreover been terrified by a report that the devil lived with Daehne. They, therefore, did all they could to dissuade brother Boemper from venturing to go to so dangerous a person. However, he at length prevailed, and arrived, to the great comfort of Daehne, whose health was soon restored.

Having spent nearly two years in this solitary abode, he was in 1759 relieved by three missionaries. These built a church and dwelling-house, and laid out plantations, giving the name of Ephrem to the new settlement. They diligently visited those Indians, who, after leaving Pilgerhut, had become residents in this part of the country; and some of them came to live in the settlement. Many Carribbees and Waraus also visited them; and they had the pleasure to observe that their testimony of Christ and his salvation evinced its divine power on the Indians, whose tears manifested the emotion of their hearts. This, amidst many external difficulties and hardships, encouraged them to labour in hope.

But their faith and patience were put to a fresh and severe trial. The rebellion of the Negro slaves in Berbice, in 1763, rendered the whole country along the banks of the Corentyn unsafe, and forced their converts to retire into the interior. After awaiting the issue for some time, the missionaries removed to Paramaribo, and their house was occupied by soldiers. The rebellion of the Negroes being suppressed in 1764, they returned to their post. They found their former dwelling nearly in ruins; and as the situation of Ephrem was very unhealthy, being frequently exposed to inundations, they abandoned that place, and moved about twelve miles higher up the river. Here they found a piece of land well suited for plantations, and a good house, which had been built for a magazine. This they purchased of government; and, after making some needful alterations, moved into it in 1765. Its situation being at no great distance from the river Mepenne, whither most of the Indian converts had fled during the disturbances, led them to hope that many of their scattered sheep would again be collected, and restored to the fold of the good Shepherd, and in this expectation they gave it the name of Hope.†

In process of time, many of those Indians who had been baptized by the Brethren, found their way to this new settlement. They erected huts for themselves, and at a convenient distance laid out their fields. Some of them had grown rather wild, yet the remembrance of the grace they had formerly enjoyed was not totally obliterated; and, being now revived by the instruction of the missionaries, a pleasing change was soon effected. The Brethren also neglected no opportunity of informing the other Indians of their residence in the country, and inviting them to come and hear the Word of God. They likewise paid occasional visits to the heathen, some of whom embraced the gospel and were added to the church. Thus the congregation at Hope continued for several years in a pleasing course; and though the increase in point of number was not considerable, yet the grace of God was often strikingly experienced. At the close of the year 1783, the number of Christian Indians belonging to the settlement amounted to one hundred and sixty-seven persons.

During subsequent years the prospect become rather discouraging. The naturally roving disposition of the Indians, which had always been a great impediment to the mission, gained fresh ascendancy. At one time no less than twenty men of the baptized left Hope, and removed to a considerable distance; and those who still remained spent most of their time in their planting-grounds, and were often four, eight, and even twelve weeks absent from church; nor was it always possible to visit them. This was injurious to their progress in Christian knowledge and practice; many, in fact, seemed to lose the little knowledge they had obtained, and sunk into a state of supineness and indifference to the gospel. Few of the heathen paid any regard to the instructions of the missionaries, and the Arawak nation was rapidly decreasing in number, many being carried off by the small-pox and other epidemical diseases.

This was the state of things at Hope in 1789, when brother John Jacob Gottlob Fischer arrived there. He appeared remarkably qualified to labour among a people like the Indians. Endowed with a vigorous constitution and an active and enterprising mind, improved by study, he was capable of enduring much bodily fatigue, and of devising and executing plans for the mental improvement of the converts. With astonishing facility he acquired, in a few months, sufficient knowledge of the Arawak language, to preach in public: and even earlier than this, he had commenced a school with the children, in which he taught reading and writing: and one of the boys in a short time made such progress, that he could be employed in copying, and could assist in teaching the rest. In a few weeks he had thirty scholars, who were eager to learn; and those parents who lived at a distance, permitted their children to remain in the settlement, that they might obtain instruction. The zeal with which he engaged in this and other schemes, animated the sinking courage of the other missionaries. He hoped by these means to infuse more steadiness and activity into the character of the Arawaks, thereby rendering them more susceptible of moral and intellectual improvement, and thus to facilitate their advancement in spiritual knowledge.

In order to induce the Christian Indians to forsake their roving dispositions, which they always excused by alleging the infertility of the soil on the Corentyn, Fischer went to a neighbouring chief on the Aulibissi Creek, where there was good planting-ground, to inquire whether he would permit the Indians of Hope to plant in his territory. He immediately consented, and pointing to a considerable tract of forest-land, said: "This land God has given to me, as he gave that of Hope to thee, and thus I am the rightful possessor of it. Now, as I have not created it, and thou canst use it, I freely deliver it over to thee; and thy people may come and clear it as soon as they please." He then, in very kind terms, addressed the Indians who accompanied brother Fischer, assuring them that no devil, or evil spirit, haunted the land. In consequence of these arrangements several families built huts in the settlement, so that in 1793 it contained one hundred and fifty-one inhabitants; besides whom about one hundred baptized Arawaks lived scattered in the vicinity. New life from God was also perceptible in the congregation.

As this appears to have been the most flourishing period in the mission at Hope; some remarks, may very properly be introduced in this place, on the settlement and improvement of its Indian inhabitants in the arts of civilized society. Brother Hans Wied, at that time superintendent of the South American mission, gives the following description of this place in the year 1794.

"Hope is situate on the left bank of the Corentyn, as you ascend from the sea. The opposite bank is high and sandy: but on this side the soil is loamy and not very fruitful. The woods, except where paths have been cut by the natives, are rendered almost impenetrable by an immense quantity of Busch-Tau. In the neighbourhood of the settlement the wood is cut down and rooted up; and plantations of coffee, bananas, and cotton, together with a considerable portion of pasture ground, amply reward the industry of the Christian Indians.

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* Per. Acct. Vol. I. p. 327—331.

† In Dutch *Hoope*, by which name it is often mentioned in the reports of the missionaries.

"The missionaries' dwelling stands about forty feet distant from the river, and the ascent to it is by a range of nineteen steps. It is built, partly in the Indian, and partly in the colonial style. Its front is of weather-boarding, and the two sides and back are constructed with a double row of palisades, placed close together. The partitions inside are made in the same manner, and every part covered with a plaster, made of chalk and charcoal, of a bluish hue. All the floors are made of clay, mixed with chalk. The rooms of the brethren Fischer and Loesche have ceilings of strong laths, lying horizontally; but the hall, which is spacious and serves for a dining-room, as also the church, which is comprised in the same building, have no covering except the roof. This is made, in the Indian manner, of large leaves fastened upon laths, and all the beams and rafters are secured by Busch-Tau. Behind the dwellings are the Negro-house, kitchen, store-house, and stables, so constructed that, in the rainy-season each may be approached under cover. Next to the mission-house, to the right, down the river, stands brother Voegtle's house, built by his own hands in the Indian manner, extremely neat and furnished with a gallery. About one hundred yards from the dwellings of the missionaries, on each side, most of the houses of the Indian brethren and sisters are ranged in regular rows, along the bank, so that the mission-house and church, which stands nearly in the middle, divide the settlement into two parts. Close to the houses on either side is a well made foot-path, leading to the woods. Some of the Indian houses are not built in the row, but in the gardens, and nearly hid among the fruit-trees. At the back of the settlement runs a fence, to prevent the cattle from entering the garden-grounds. The most considerable gardens belonging to the Indians, namely, their cassabi plantations, which afford them the chief part of their sustenance, are at Aulibissi, on the opposite side of the Corentyn, about an hour and a half's walk from Hope. The school is situated behind the mission-house, and is an airy Indian building.

"The employment of the Christian Indians at Hope consists chiefly in cultivating their fields and gardens, in weaving mats, and in cutting and preparing timber. One or two of the missionaries accompany them into the wood, where they fell trees, cut planks, and make shingles. A large quantity of the latter, as likewise many bundles of hammocks made by them, are sold at Berbice, and the produce applied towards the purchase of necessaries for themselves and their families. They are thus constantly kept in a state of useful industry."*

Goods cannot be conveyed to Berbice in any other way than by water, and as the missionaries for a long time could not afford to have a large vessel, they frequently ran great risks with their small canoes or coryars. At length they purchased a large boat, in which the brethren Fischer and Kluge, and four Indians, set out for Berbice in August 1795, but the voyage proved very unsuccessful. Having proceeded a considerable way, the boat, all of a sudden, became leaky, and the water gained upon them so fast, that she sunk before they could run her aground. They first clung to a cask fastened to the boat, and then to the mast, part of which was above water; and thus remained eight hours exposed to the most imminent danger in the open sea, till after midnight they succeeded in getting on shore, by means of a small coryar; and reached Hope in safety. Meanwhile the Indians continued their exertions with undiminished diligence, and prepared other articles to send to Berbice, in which they were assisted by a German called Vogt, whom the missionaries engaged for that purpose, and with whose conduct and diligence they had every reason to be satisfied.

Besides the daily school for the children, they began in 1796 a Sunday school for adults. Sixty men and women attended at the opening of it, and showed great diligence and eagerness to learn.

Hope being situated on the frontiers between Surinam and Berbice, was exposed to many difficulties, in consequence of the war between Holland and Great Britain, the latter having taken possession of Berbice in 1796. Brother Kluge, returning from Paramaribo in their own vessel, laden with provisions, was captured by an English privateer, and plundered of all the stores. The privateer carried him and his Indians to Berbice, where he was taken very ill; but by the kind attention of some friends, with whom he lodged, he soon recovered; and, after paying a considerable sum to ransom the vessel, returned to Hope. In the sequel the English treated the missionaries with great civility, permitting them to continue their voyages from one colony to the other without interruption.

Shortly before the British had possessed themselves of Demarary, a circumstance occurred peculiarly trying to the Indian congregation. A gang of run-away Negroes commenced a rebellion in that colony, and committed the most horrid murders and outrages. The Dutch government having resolved to quell this insurrection by means of Indian auxiliaries, the governor wrote a letter to the missionaries at Hope, desiring them to exhort their Indians to join the rest of their nation and the military, in the expedition against the Negroes. They convened the congregation and communicated the governor's letter, but, as they were acknowledged an independent people, they left them to their own free will as to the steps they would choose to take. The Indians hereupon held a council, the result of which was, that they declared they had no mind to join in the war against the Negroes, especially as their own country would be left exposed if they were all to march off into a distant part; but if Berbice were attacked, they should then think themselves bound to oppose the incursion of the enemy. This resolution they sent to the post at Auleara; but were answered, that it could not be considered as their own act and deed, because they depended on the will of their teachers, and would surely go, if the latter advised them to it. The Indians were indeed watching the missionaries, and expected to have a decisive opinion from them; but they carefully avoided any interference, and daily offered up prayer and supplication, that the Lord would avert the storm. Upwards of twenty of the men having returned from their work in the wood, another council was held, during which the women stood without and wept. The result was, that three of them agreed to go to the war. As the European officers had reckoned upon fifty warriors from Hope, they were greatly disappointed at seeing only three arrive; and several of them, and also some parties of Indians, came to Hope and made some disturbance. However they did not succeed in their endeavours, for not one more would join them. On the 23d of July the warriors passed by in two canoes; one carrying twenty and the other thirty-four men. The missionaries then reported the whole transaction to the governor, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied with their conduct. In about two months the Indians returned, having stormed a camp of four hundred rebel Negroes, and either killed or dispersed them. Many Demarary Indians and soldiers were killed, but none of this country.

Amidst these outward perplexities the missionaries had cause to rejoice at the success which attended their labours in the gospel. The congregation at Hope, which hitherto had been chiefly collected from the Arawaks, now began to obtain an increase from another tribe called Waraus.

The character of this tribe is marked by a greater degree of levity than that of the other Indians in Guiana. Their habits are more depraved and dissolute. They are more addicted to stealing, excessively superstitious and indolent. Their mental capacities appear less than those of other Indians; and though, by living among the Arawaks and understanding their language, they had had frequent opportunities of hearing the gospel, yet they paid little attention to it, but seemed less fit for the kingdom of God than the former. The greater, therefore, did the power of the gospel appear in the awakening and conversion of some of this tribe. Thirty-six became inhabitants of Hope in the year 1796.

An epidemical disease prevailing about this time, many heathen came to Hope to consult the missionaries. These gladly gave them the best advice and assistance in their power, and improved these visits for commending to them the gospel, as the most effectual antidote against the fear of death. It was gratifying to them to observe the beneficial influence of religion on their converts in this season of affliction, not only as it appeared in the tranquil state of their minds, but as it meliorated their temporal condition; for they enjoyed much better care and attendance in sickness than the heathen; and it was ascertained by indubitable facts, that in epidemical diseases eight heathen died for one Christian Indian.

During the years 1797 and 1798 they had to encounter various difficulties. A scarcity, little short of real famine, afflicted the country. A prodigious swarm of large ants having nearly destroyed their plantations, the missionaries were obliged every day to seek, and almost beg, their morsel of cassabi, and after all to pay an enormous price for it. They were in total want both of bread and meal, as well as meat and butter, and no game could be obtained. This distress was afterwards lessened, as government permitted them to travel to Berbice on concerns of the mission.

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* Per. Acct. Vol. I. p. 419.

While this scarcity continued, several alarming reports were circulated of hostilities having commenced among some of the Indian tribes. In consequence of these rumours many Arawaks and Waraus left their habitations, and fled for safety to the settlement at Hope, bringing their goods with them. All the Indians on the other side of the Corentyn fled, and mostly took refuge with our brethren. Even those at the post, who were stationed there for the defence of the country, came to the settlement. To inspire the people with some degree of courage, the missionaries dispersed all the men, who had arms, in regular bands, to keep watch, and to prevent any one escaping; and all the coryars, or boats, were brought on land. Thus, at the beginning of 1797, there were upwards of two hundred fugitives in the settlement. Many of them cleared ground for building and planting in the vicinity. In a few months, however, tranquillity was restored, and they again quitted that part of the country, without having received any apparent benefit from their intercourse with the Christian Indians.

But now a disaster of a far more distressing nature befel the mission. In March 1798 a ship was wrecked near the mouth of the Corentyn. The captain and another gentleman, who gave themselves out to be Americans, came to Hope. The missionaries immediately sent intelligence of this to the postmaster of Auleara, who, after examining into the business, permitted them to convoy these gentlemen to Berbice, whither they were bound. The day after, therefore, brother Fischer set out with them, and the next morning came up with the crew, belonging to the wrecked vessel. Fischer, having taken an inventory of the goods saved from the ship, returned to Hope; and the unfortunate company, consisting of twenty-four persons, pursued their voyage to Berbice in one of their own sloops and in the barge belonging to the mission, being accompanied by seven Indians. It was now discovered that they were not Americans, but English. In consequence of this the postmaster of Nieukeur was obliged to go to Paramaribo, whither brother Kluge accompanied him, to lay a circumstantial account of the whole occurrence before government. A fortnight after Adjutant General Roux arrived at the settlement, to examine into the affair. After his return to Paramaribo, an order was sent from government requiring that Fischer and his family should immediately leave the country. This was a most afflictive dispensation, both to the missionaries and their converts, who came in crowds to lament the removal of this useful man from the mission. However, as suspicions were entertained that, on discovering that the pretended Americans were British subjects, Fischer had assisted in secreting part of the cargo of the stranded ship, which according to the laws of war belonged to the government, our brethren viewed it as a special favour, that this occurrence did not lessen the benevolence of the governor for them and their establishment, and that he continued to them the permission formerly granted, of carrying their goods for sale to Berbice.

The number of inhabitants at Hope was in the meantime considerably increased. At the close of 1799 it amounted to near three hundred persons; and besides them, there were many others, who were benefitted by the ministry of our brethren, though they still lived scattered in the woods. But in the following years the number was greatly diminished, many being carried off by the small-pox, and others, yielding to their naturally roving disposition, retreated for some time to Aporocreek, so that at the end of 1801, only one hundred and forty-six persons resided at Hope, and one hundred and seventeen baptized Indians were living dispersed in the country.

In August, 1806, Hope was visited by a dreadful calamity. One afternoon, while the missionaries were setting together taking some refreshment, a fire broke out, which ran with such rapidity along the thatched roofs of the houses, that in a short time every building in the settlement, not excepting the church and the mission-house, became a prey to the flames. Only the walls of the church, which were made of planks, remained in part standing, but all the tools, and implements of gardening and husbandry, together with the tackle and rigging of their boat, the stores of the Indians, and various other articles and provisions, were consumed. Fortunately, however, they saved their books and manuscripts, most of their clothes, and some gun-powder and two barrels of flour. And no one received any personal injury. This calamity was rendered still more distressing, as there was reason to suspect that the fire had been kindled by incendiaries. Several attempts of the same kind had been made the preceding days, but being timely discovered, the design had been frustrated.

About two years after, the missionaries were under the necessity of quitting Hope. Most, if not all, of those Indians belonging to that congregation, who were truly converted in heart, and walked worthily of the gospel, were by means of an epidemical disorder, in a short period of time, called into eternity, and departed this life rejoicing in their Redeemer. None, therefore, were left, who by their example led the rest to serious reflection, or, at least, to orderly behaviour; but a spirit of resistance and enmity to the gospel became predominant.

This suspension of the mission on the Corentyn having occasioned deep regret in all our congregations in Europe, the brethren in Paramaribo were commissioned to avail themselves of the first opportunity that might offer, to collect the scattered remains of the Arawak flock, and to endeavour to renew the mission. Several of the Indians themselves, who occasionally came to Paramaribo, expressed a wish that the labours of the brethren among their nation might be renewed; and declared that many of those who, by their dissolute and refractory conduct, had contributed to the dispersion of the congregation, repented of what they had done, and would now put a higher value upon the instruction given them, if the mission were re-established.

As soon, therefore, as it was practicable, brother Langballe and his wife paid a visit to the Indians in those parts. They found the former settlement at Hope quite forsaken, and overgrown with bushes. About three miles higher up, on the Berbice side of the river, they met with a considerable number of baptized Indians, who formerly lived at Hope, and had made a settlement there. They were received by them with great cordiality, and staid with them three weeks. Every day brother Langballe held a meeting, and spoke with them on the necessity of faith in Christ and true conversion. They listened with great attention and apparent devotion to his discourses; several of them expressed their sorrow at having no teacher now residing amongst them, and their earnest desire, not only to be favoured again with opportunities of hearing the Word of God, but to live in conformity to it. Brother Langballe at that time could do no more than make a regulation among them to meet together and read the New Testament. He encouraged them to turn anew with their whole heart to Jesus, and to forsake all heathenish practices, and help to build each other up in the faith. He and his wife then visited the other baptized, who lived dispersed on the Ziporotu and Mepenne rivers. Many of these poor people bewailed the loss of their teachers, and expressed their sincere wish that missionaries might again come and dwell among them. According to the best information brother Langballe could procure from those whom he visited, he found that of the former inhabitants of Hope, one hundred and ninety-seven persons were still living. He himself had spoken with seventy-seven of the baptized.

Encouraged by these promising appearances, two missionaries, William Christian Genth and John Hafa, who had lately arrived in Surinam, proceeded, in June 1812, to the Corentyn, where they found a house ready for them, having been built, in expectation of their arrival, by one of the Christian Indians. It was about three miles distant from the seite of the old settlement. With the assistance of some Negroes they had brought with them from Paramaribo, they soon cleared a piece of ground for planting, and enlarged their dwelling, so as to accommodate the Indians with a meeting-room. Thirty of the baptized resided about a mile from them, and diligently attended divine worship. In process of time two or three Indian families came to settle with them, and others promised to follow; but that awakening and true conversion of the heart, which the Spirit of God alone can effect, were still wanting.

Their labours remaining unproductive of fruit, the missionaries left the station on the Corentyn, and removed to the river Neukeer, there to preach the gospel to the Negroes on the neighbouring plantations, being followed by five converted Arawak Indians. Brother Genth fixed his residence on an estate called Good Intent, about four miles from the river; the proprietor provided him with a dwelling-house and a garden, and a building to serve for a meeting-house. This place lies in the centre of eight cotton plantations, from which the

Negroes were allowed to attend divine service without molestation. Brother Hafa settled on another estate near the coast, on the river Copaname. This was the state of things in 1817.

SECTION IV.

Bambey on the Surinam.

The government at Surinam having in the year 1761 made peace with the free Negroes, living on the river Surinam, and wisely judging that their conversion to Christianity would, more than any thing else, tend to make them peaceable, and put a stop to those depredations and cruelties which they had formerly committed, made application to the Brethren to send missionaries to instruct them. In consequence of this application, the Brethren, in the year 1765, sent the missionaries Lewis Christopher Daehne, Rudolph Stoll, and Thomas Jones to Paramaribo; who set out from thence for Sara Creek, on December 7th. Their goods had been previously conveyed up the river by a boat carrying soldiers, and they themselves arrived there on the 12th.

About the same time Mr. Doehring had been sent by government as agent to the free Negroes, to distribute presents among them, and do every thing in his power to engage their friendship. He was likewise commissioned to introduce the missionaries to the chiefs, and to recommend them to their favour. In this view he invited all the chiefs to a conversation in his tent. A good many free Negroes came with them, to whom Mr. Doehring presented the above mentioned brethren, informing them of the purport of their coming, namely, to make them acquainted with God their Creator and Saviour; and added "Whatever you do to these men, whether good or bad, I shall consider as done to myself." The Negroes unanimeusly promised to treat them in the best manner.

The missionaries intended to travel further into the country, but as the Negroes had not room in their boats for the accommodation of all, brother Stoll was obliged to return, with part of the baggage, to Victoria, and wait for another opportunity. This separation gave them much concern. However, as no plan could be devised, the brethren Daehne and Jones went with the Negroes, and arrived December 21th; the former on the Senthea Creek, with Abini (father to John Arabini who became a worthy member of the congregation at Bambey), and the latter with Samsam on Doose Creek. It was by no means their wish to reside at two different places, but Samsam, who was a chief, and with whom brother Jones had travelled, kept him by force. This did not arise from particular regard, or attachment, to the missionary, but solely from ambition, that he might likewise have an European residing with him, which the Negroes esteem an honour. January 1st, 1766, however, brother Jones found an opportunity of disengaging himself from his ungracious host, and rejoining his fellow missionary, Daehne, on the Senthea Creek. Samsam continued for some time to be very troublesome, by insisting on having one of them as a resident in his house; and when he found them resolute in their determination of dwelling together, kept back their goods, and either applied them to his own use, or suffered them to spoil. They felt their loss very severely. However, on the 2d of February brother Stoll arrived from Victoria with the remainder of their baggage.

The meeting of all appointed to the same work gave them great joy; but, it was soon turned into grief, by the unexpected departure of brother Jones into eternal rest, on the 7th of the same month. The two remaining brethren at first suffered great hardships and poverty, and lived in a small miserable hut, near the dwelling of two old Negroes, till Abini, becoming sensible of their distress, built a small house for them. In a short time, however, they lost likewise this friend and benefactor. He was shot in a battle between the combined force of the Saramacca Negroes and the white people and Matuari Negroes. Before he went to the battle, he is said to have presented his son, John Arabini, to the missionaries, with words to the following effect: "that he did not know what sort of people the Brethren were, nor the cause of their abode in the country, but believed God had sent them."

In August the same year Cujo, afterwards called Joshua, brought his son Scipio to brother Stoll, and requested him to teach him to read and write. With this boy the missionaries began a school, which was afterwards increased by some other young people; but only two stayed, and at their pressing request went in the sequel to reside with the missionaries, and, having received a real sense of the love of God in their souls, were baptized and admitted to the holy sacrament.

Arabini, who was chosen chief in the place of his father, proved a real friend and protector to the missionaries. Having, in the course of a year, acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to render themselves intelligible to the inhabitants of the village, they informed them of their reason for coming to the country, namely, to make them acquainted with the true God, the Creator and Redeemer of man. This excited the jealousy and opposition of the idol-priests, and especially of the old women, who terrified their superstitious countrymen by representing to them that their gados (or gods) were angry with them for turning to the Gran-gado (the great God) of the white people. Not satisfied with thus deterring the Negroes from having any intercourse with the missionaries, they even plotted their destruction. But as they were ignorant of their murderous design, they continued to hold their family devotions with their doors open, hoping that some of the savages might be attracted by curiosity to attend. They were, however, warned against going out of the house at night, and they themselves make the following remark in their report of 1767: "Our situation is even more dangerous than we are aware of; but we depend on him who is the sure defence of his servants, and is mightier than all. If it please him, we are willing to be made a sacrifice. May he only preserve to us the feeling of his peace." But as Arabini maintained a good understanding with the Dutch government, who had recommended the missionaries to his protection, none of their enemies ventured to do them any personal injury.

Brother Daehne having returned to Europe in 1768, the service of the mission devolved upon Stoll, the missionary sent to his assistance being confined by illness for a whole year. As no entrance could be gained among the adults, brother Stoll continued the school with the children, and for their use translated select portions of the New Testament. He had the pleasure to observe that his labours were not altogether lost on their juvenile minds.

The missionaries had hitherto resided in a Negro village on Senthea creek, where their situation was often rendered extremely unpleasant, by the wild and rude behaviour of the inhabitants, who frequently spent whole weeks in rioting and drunkenness, especially when there was a sacrificial feast or a funeral. They, therefore, did not regret the removal of most of the Negroes to Sebonne creek. Thither they followed them, and settled on a small piece of land, procured by Arabini, at a short distance from the village. Arabini also built a house for them, which they inhabited in February, 1769, and from the great number of bamboo canes growing there, called their settlement Quama. The same year brother Kersten and his wife arrived from Europe to serve in this mission. They indulged the hope that the services of a sister would be of essential benefit, as the brethren, owing to the influence of Arabini's grand-mother, could gain no access to the Negro women. This idolatrous old woman, whose opinions were venerated as of divine inspiration, was a sworn enemy to the mission.

Among the adults, Arabini was hitherto the only one on whose mind the testimony of the gospel made any visible impression. Notwithstanding his being exposed to constant ridicule and opposition, he continued to protect and befriend the missionaries, and as he boldly avowed his sentiments respecting the doctrines of the gospel, others were induced to go and hear for themselves. Thus in May, 1770, a considerable number of men attended the preaching, listened to the discourse with great silence and apparent devotion, and even came again in the evening, requesting to hear more of the word of God. In the sequel, also, there was no want of hearers, though as yet none of the women ventured to come, being afraid of exasperating their gods by their attendance. Though the impression made upon their hearers could scarce be considered as a real awakening, yet it greatly encouraged the missionaries to persevere in their labours of love.

While most of their hearers received the seed on stony ground, or among thorns, or by the way-side, it fell, in the case of Arabini, on good ground. This man evidently increased in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and boldly confessed the doctrine of the gospel. The missionaries, therefore, felt no hesitation in admitting him to holy baptism. This sacred rite was performed on the 6th of January, 1771, in presence of most of the male inhabitants of the village. The missionaries viewed it as an auspicious circumstance, that the most respectable chief of the nation was the first who became obedient to the gospel, hoping that his public profession of Christianity would produce a salutary effect on his countrymen. In this, however, they were disappointed. His baptism mightily incensed the heathen, especially the idolatrous women, and they opposed the effects. likely to result from this occurrence with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Instigated by them, the captain of a neighbouring village, foaming with rage, and armed with a gun and sabre, entered the mission-house, sharply reprehending the missionaries for committing the heinous offence of persuading Arabini to forsake the gods of his ancestors, and turn to the God of the white people. But their undaunted confession of the truth and the testimony of Arabini himself concerning the blessed change wrought in him, subdued the fury of the captain, and he calmly returned to his own house.

Arabini remained faithful to his profession, and, being much respected as the chief of the nation, often prevented disorders and mischief, and averted harm from the missionaries. They esteemed him as a faithful follower of Christ, and appointed him as an assistant in preaching the gospel to his countrymen. This office he discharged with zeal and activity.* The impression made on the rest of their hearers was very transient. Hitherto they had performed divine service in their own house, but in 1772 they built a chapel. As they could get but very little assistance from the Negroes, they were obliged to do most of the work themselves. Brother Kersten, in his report, makes the following just remark: "A missionary ought to understand something of several arts and trades. Though we are but two, it is well for us that we can make a shift to do a little of the work of a tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, farmer, basket-maker and smith, and besides preaching the gospel to the Negroes, can even serve them as physicians and surgeons."

In 1773 the Negroes, from superstitious motives and love of change, left Quama; and the missionaries were obliged to follow them lower down the river to the little Quaffa-dam. They called their new residence Bambey, which, in the language of the country, signifies *only wait*, or *have patience*. By giving it this name they intended to remind each other, that the gospel ought to be preached with patience and perseverance, and in confident expectation of the help of the Lord. The constant recollection of this was peculiarly necessary at this time, as their situation was by no means encouraging. In 1773 only one Negro was baptized, and the addition to their congregation, two years after, amounted but to three. Several missionaries, who came to assist in the work, departed this life shortly after their arrival; and in 1777 brother Rudolph Stoll likewise fell asleep in Jesus. The removal of this worthy and zealous servant of Christ was felt as a severe affliction by the free Negroes, among whom, to this day, he is held in respectful remembrance. He had served this mission, amidst many difficulties and hardships, for more than eleven years.

He was succeeded at Bambey by brother Christopher Lewis Schuman. Being, in consequence of the death of his assistant, soon left alone, and having suffered much from severe illnesses, he was obliged to return to Paramaribo. His successor, brother Hans and his wife were both called away from this stage of life, in about a month after their arrival, and within six days of each other. After a vacancy at Bambey of five months, brother Schuman returned. In subsequent years sickness and the death of several missionaries occasioned continual changes; but the Negroes were always thankful when a new missionary arrived.

The year 1780 was distinguished by some encouraging events. The number of believing free Negroes amounted as yet to only seven men, for hitherto the women had not only refused to listen to the gospel, but opposed the conversion of the men by all the arts in their power; but this year three adult women were baptized, one of whom was the wife of Arabini, and besides them three men and two children.

The most animating to the missionaries, on these occasions, was the change wrought in the sentiments of the heathen. They remark concerning this: "After the baptism of Arabini, the Negroes by their very looks menaced us with destruction; but now they appear affected, their superstitious notions are shaken, and they allow, that those who are baptized, are delivered from the foolish dread of their gados."

Arabini greatly facilitated their labours by his zealous endeavours to awaken the attention of his countrymen to the things belonging to their peace. After one of the missionaries had delivered a disclosure, he generally added a short exhortation of his own, expressed in a manner well calculated to arrest the attention of his countrymen. Once he addressed them thus: "You acknowledge me for your chief, and therefore ask my advice in all important concerns, and I freely tell you my mind. You know I have often told you how good it is to live in peace with the white people, and that it is not good if it be broken through our fault. But when I tell you that you wage war against him who has made you and the whole world, and who, out of love to us, has come down from heaven to redeem us from all iniquity by his own blood and death, you pay little attention to my discourse. God hath sent teachers to make these things known to us: I beseech you, reflect seriously on these great truths." On another occasion, when the subject of the sermon had been the final judgment, Arabini overhearing some of the heathen converse together and remarking, that then they would hide in the wood, or kill themselves, stepped forward and thus addressed them: "The Lord will know where to find you, even those who have died many years ago; *all*, *all* must appear before him; and those, who have loved him in this world, he will bring with him into eternal joy, but all the rest he will consign to the torments of everlasting fire." Some replied, that as so many would share in the punishment, it would not be so severe to each individual. Arabini shrewdly answered: "Try the experiment, and all of you put your fingers together into the fire, let us see whether each individual will not feel the same degree of pain as if he were alone." Struck dumb by this remark, the whole assembly broke up with a heavy sigh.

In 1785 the Negroes again changed their place of abode, and moved further down the river to the mouth of the Wana creek; whither the missionaries followed them the next year. They called this place New Bambey.

Amidst many difficulties they continued their labours on this new station with persevering zeal. They made occasional visits to the neighbouring villages, sowing the seed of the word in faith, and in hope that God would at some future period give the desired increase. The progress of their few converts in evangelical knowledge and Christian practice was slow, and often impeded by the many temptations which were daily thrown in their way. Though the missionaries in a considerable degree succeeded to wean them from the lying vanities of their former lives, yet these were so deeply rooted in their hearts, that wholly to eradicate them required constant care and vigilance. Here again Arabini's firm and decided opposition to every thing of a superstitious nature was of great use. On the death of one of his relations, who had been a zealous idol-priestess, he gave strict orders that no pagan rites should be performed at her funeral. The heathen, however, availing themselves of his absence, pretended that the deceased was unwilling to be removed, and it was necessary, first, to inquire who had been the cause of her death. They were proceeding to institute this inquiry, when Arabini arrived, and, by laying hold of the bier himself, convinced the heathen that the corpse could be removed, and thus confounded the sorcerers. This was a most fortunate circumstance, for their custom on such occasions is shocking to humanity. The sorcerers pretend they have discovered the murderer, and, fixing on some miserable wretch, apply the most cruel tortures to extort a confession of the alleged crime from him, and then put him to death in a most barbarous manner.

By degrees, however, the savages themselves became ashamed of this superstitious and cruel practice. In 1791 a woman pretended that she had repeatedly dreamed that a man came to her with a fire-brand in his hand, which she interpreted as a sure indication that he was a sorcerer and poison-mixer, and consequently ought to be burned. A council was convened to decide the fate of this unfortunate man. Arabini, (who, as captain of the village, presided at this consultation,) with the unanimous approbation of all the counsellors, declared: "They could pay no attention to such absurdities, and, if no other evidence of the guilt of the accused person could be adduced than foolish dreams, no one should dare to do him the least injury." Upon the whole, the pagan inhabitants of the village, though they showed no disposition to be converted, laid no further impediments in the way of their believing countrymen, but evinced a spirit of toleration and liberality, when preparing for any religious solemnity, and were even ready to assist them. They, however, expected the same liberality from the Christian Negroes, and expressed displeasure when they refused to assist them in their idolatrous festivities."

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* The following anecdote shows the power of conviction on the mind of Arabini, at an early period. Soon after the arrival of the missionaries in the country, and before he had avowed himself a convert to Christianity, having often heard them declare that the idols of the heathen could neither help nor hurt them, he went one morning to the river where the crocodile, or alligator, who was the god of the village, had his haunt. On seeing the creature, he addressed it thus, (holding his loaded gun in his hand:) "I intend to shoot thee. Now, if thou art a God, my bullet will do thee no harm; but if thou art a creature, it will kill thee." He then fired his piece and shot the animal dead. Alarmed at this, the idol-priestesses sacrificed a cock to appease the wrath of the pretended deity.—Per. Acct. Vol. II. p. 96.

In subsequent years the prospect became more exhilarating. The missionary Wiez, in a letter, dated May, 1793, writes: "We enjoy many happy days with our small congregation of believing free Negroes. Our Saviour leads them to more steadfast faith in his precious atonement, and grants them a gradual increase in the knowledge of themselves and of his great love to sinners. By means of the conversations of the Christian free Negroes, who are stirred up to declare the truth to their countrymen, the gospel spreads more and more in the upper country, or highlands. Two heathen from those parts have been baptized." A man, who at his baptism was called Paul, evinced particular zeal. He had formerly been a zealous idolator, and had never resided with the missionaries. Yet it was chiefly by his means that the awakening in the highlands commenced; and it was at his house that those who desired instruction used to meet for religious exercise and edification.

The missionaries also made frequent excursions to the highlands, and found many attentive hearers in every village where they preached. They remarked it as a singular fact, that in those villages, where the heathen sorcerers had formerly had the greatest influence, the gospel now appeared to make the deepest impression. Many of the highlanders expressed a wish, that some of the brethren would settle among them, and a spot of ground was chosen for the building of a house and chapel. This, however, could not be executed. Frequently there was only one missionary at New Bambey, who consequently could not be absent; and the roving disposition of the free Negroes, who are never long stationary in one place, threw insurmountable obstacles in the way of its execution. For no European constitution can bear the excessive fatigue and other hardships unavoidably connected with moving to and fro through the forest. Many valuable lives of missionaries have formerly been sacrificed in the attempt.

The missionaries, therefore, were obliged to content themselves with occasional visits to the highlands. These visits were for some years chiefly undertaken by three of the native assistants, who were much better able to endure the difficulties of these journeys than Europeans. Their simple, but zealous testimony of Jesus and his atonement found ready entrance in several places, and led to true conversion of heart. Thus, when a missionary could pay a visit in those parts, he found the way in a great measure prepared. He was not only welcomed with joy by the free Negroes, who came in numbers to hear him, and often, after listening for nearly two hours to a sermon, would request him to continue his discourse; but also discovered in some of them such evident signs of repentance and change of mind, that he felt no hesitation in admitting them to holy baptism.

In 1793 a death occurred at New Bambey, the attending circumstances of which made a salutary impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, especially the young people. Brother Wiez gives the following account of it: "August 30th the Negro Cornelius, who had been out hunting, was brought home very ill. He was yesterday bitten in the leg by a rattle-snake and suffered very great pain, the swelling having spread above the hip. In the following days the poison spread further, and the offensive smell, occasioned by its effects, rendered it very unpleasant to be with him. September 16th, being in great torment, both of body and mind, he sent for me. He seized my hand with eagerness, and held me fast; confessed that ever since his baptism he had frequently committed sin, and declared that he now felt forsaken of God, and expected soon to be cast into everlasting darkness.

"His parents and younger brother, who were baptized, and the former assistants in the mission, were present and exceedingly affected. I encouraged the patient to turn with confidence to Jesus, our compassionate Saviour, who had received gifts for man, yea for the rebellious also. But he refused comfort, and without reserve accused himself before all who visited him, as a miserable, perishing sinner, adding, that the Lord would not now receive him, as he had behaved too wickedly.

"On the 18th he again sent for me. He was in the same state of despondency, and entreated me, and the Negroes present, to pray for him, that he might receive mercy, which we did, kneeling round his bed; and he himself prayed most fervently and incessantly. When I visited him the day following he received me with joy, and said that he had obtained forgiveness of his sins, and felt the peace of God in his heart; and that he now greatly desired soon to depart and be with Christ. He then addressed the company present to the following effect: "Ah! my friends, abide in Jesus; give him your whole heart; and do not turn again to the ways of sin; look at me and consider how things have gone with me! I am a great sinner, but I have obtained mercy and pardon! yea, most assuredly every thing has been forgiven me; I have obtained mercy! Ah! join me to praise and thank our Saviour!" On the 26th he departed this life rejoicing.

"This man was the eldest son of our assistant Andrew, and was under strong convictions when a boy. The best hopes were entertained of his prosperity, and, in 1784, he was admitted to the class of candidates for baptism. However, he deviated from the path of truth, and got entangled in the snares of sin. God then made use of various extraordinary means to bring him to reflection. Once, when fishing, he was bitten by a poisonous fish, and it was with difficulty that his life was preserved. He showed signs of repentance, for a season, which, however, did not last. Some time after he was attacked and bit by a wild-boar, and again lay dangerously ill. He then confessed it to be a chastisement for his unfaithfulness, and seemed disposed to forsake his heathenish connexions, and turn with his whole heart to the Lord. But, alas! by degrees his good resolutions again vanished. Last year, when hunting in the woods, a tyger sprang upon him and tore him in a shocking manner. He now was brought to more solid reflection, and expressed a great desire to be truly converted. January 6th he was baptized, and for a short time appeared to be seriously awakened. Yet he did not remain faithful to the grace received, but seemed gradually relapsing into his former habits. When, therefore, the above mentioned accident happened, he immediately cried out: 'This is of God, and a just judgment, which will cost me my life.' "*

Besides attending to their regular occupation of preaching, keeping school, and instructing their converts more fully in the way of the Lord, the missionaries were diligently employed in translating. Wiez revised the translation of the four gospels, to which he added a version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, and revised and enlarged the hymn-book in use among them. And, though the increase of their congregation was not rapid, yet they had frequently a considerable number of hearers, and no year elapsed without the admission of one or more heathen to baptism. From the commencement of the mission in 1771, to the end of the eighteenth century, fifty-nine heathen had been baptized, of whom seventeen had died in the faith; there were then forty-nine persons belonging to the congregation.

For several succeeding years no material change took place in the affairs of this mission, but in 1810 dark and heavy clouds seemed to rise in that quarter, and even to threaten the extinction of the light of the gospel. The missionaries remark: "If ever the power of Satan was any where manifest, it is among the free Negroes at Bambey. He exerts it by a host of diabolical emissaries, by sorcerers and old witches, with their lying fables and predictions, and by other heathen, who, having been excited to enmity against the government, seem determined to expel the missionaries from the country, because they are appointed to transact affairs between the Negroes and government. If it thereby becomes necessary to give up this agency, by which the station has hitherto been maintained, we cannot much longer support a mission in this wild country. The rebellious spirit, now prevailing among the free Negroes, has also more or less influence upon our small flock of Christian Negroes, and we can find but few, and those chiefly among the old people, who are to be depended upon as sincere and faithful to their convictions. John Arabini finds his influence and authority as captain inadequate to resist the overwhelming torrent of wickedness and rage of the enemy. Nothing but Almighty power can do this, and overcome and cast out Satan."†

This wild and ungovernable spirit began afterwards gradually to abate, and the baptized became sensible of the loss they would have sustained, if things had proceeded so far as to oblige their teachers to leave them. Several came and penitently owned their defection, expressing a sincere wish to be again restored to true spiritual life. The missionaries, therefore, took fresh courage, and, trusting in the grace and support of our Almighty Saviour, resolved still to hold out at their difficult post, and brother Maehr and his wife being left alone at Bambey, he resigned the office of agent for the government among the free Negroes. Hereby the maintenance of that station became more difficult, and, without the prospect of much eventual success, greatly increased the general expense of the missions; and as brother Maehr's wife suffered much from illness, and no assistance could, under existing circumstances, be speedily expected from Europe, it became necessary to suspend the mission in this quarter, at least for some time.

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* Per. Acct. Vol. II. p. 65. † Per. Acct. Vol. V. p. 79.

Of all the stations occupied by our missionaries in South America, this may be justly deemed the most difficult. The roving disposition of the free Negroes, and their superstitious and idolatrous habits, militated most strongly against the success of the gospel. And the unhealthiness of the climate was a constant source of severe trials to the missionaries. They were not only frequently confined by sickness, but many departed this life almost as soon as they had arrived. Those, who survived the seasoning fever, were often debilitated in their constitution, and seldom could hold out many years, without occasional visits to Europe or North America to recruit their health. These frequent changes, besides other disadvantages, were attended with this, that but few of the missionaries acquired a competent knowledge of the Saramacca language.

To the hardships, connected with the situation of the missionaries at Bambey, must likewise be reckoned the difficulty of conveying provisions and other necessary articles from Paramaribo. The boats which brought them were frequently upset and the whole cargo lost, by which the missionaries suffered very serious privations for many weeks. Equal difficulties, and even dangers, attended their voyages to this unfrequented and sequestered spot, which, lying in the midst of a horrid wilderness, is almost secluded from any intercourse with European settlements. The reader may form some idea of the toils and perils of such a voyage, by the following extracts, copied from the journal of two of the missionaries, travelling from Paramaribo to Bambey in September 1797.

After briefly narrating the events of their voyage up the river, till they had reached the last European plantation, brother Langballe, the writer of the journal, thus proceeds: "We now with good courage and fine weather prepared to encounter the difficulties before us in the wilderness. Having turned the point of a large island, the whole breadth of the first cataract, called Kanwatra, opened to our view. Although it cannot be reckoned among the largest in the world, yet a person unaccustomed to such a sight, is seized with sudden surprise and shuddering, in making up against an immense fall of water, three hundred paces in breadth, and rushing over huge stones. We kept as close as possible to the left bank, where the stream was so rapid, that though eight Negroes pulled with all their might, the coryar* often stood still, and they were obliged to get into the water and drag it forward with their hands. Having reached a little cove, they landed to recruit their strength before they proceeded up the cataract. This can only be done by keeping close under the brushwood near the shore, and by managing the boat with the greatest care and exertion. About five we gained the top of the first cataract, and soon arrived at the foot of the second, called Alisu Banja, which has steeper falls or steps than Kamwatra, and is consequently more dangerous to pass. As it was too late to venture on this work to-day, our Negroes landed and found some old huts, where we resolved to take up our night's lodging. These huts were open on all sides, with a flat roof made of palm-leaves. We made a fire before our hut, and prepared our supper of some victuals we had brought from Paramaribo, and, as it was the third day since we had taken any thing warm, it proved the more relishing.

"At six o'clock the next morning we left our safe cove to ascend the cataract. As we would not venture into the boat, the Negro boy Joseph attended us with an axe, and we proceeded by land, cutting our way through the wood. About eight we reached the great cataract, Kapassi Creh. The noise of its fall was so loud that we could not hear our own voices; and the agitation of the waters, occasioned by the rushing of the torrent over huge stones, is perceived at a great distance. We again ascended through the woods, leaving the Negroes to force the boat along. The river is very broad here; but in every direction full of rocks. About noon we passed a small cataract, Allutta Ganse, and at two o'clock another, called Lokusse. We also ran upon one of the many low rocks which lie concealed under the water; but, by God's mercy, received no injury. We took up our quarters for the night upon a small island overgrown with trees. We could not construct night-huts, but, the weather being fine, fastened our hammocks to the trees. Feeling rather feverish, I exercised myself by walking, in hopes it would relieve me. In a while we heard distant thunder, and the Negroes, perceiving the approach of rain, made a small covering of tassa leaves, and fixed it on four posts. In about half an hour a violent storm arose, and was soon succeeded by such a heavy shower, that, though I was in a great perspiration, I was forced out of my hammock, and took shelter under the covering. We were in all ten persons, and obliged to stand very close together. The thunder, lightning and rain increased, and all our fires were put out, excepting one brand, which the Negroes preserved to kindle a new fire when the rain should cease. Brother Maehr and I were placed in the middle, and as long as the roof kept out the water I fared pretty well, the Negroes standing close to keep off the wind. But after some time the rain forced its way through the roof, and we and all our things were thoroughly soaked. The Negroes expressed great concern for me, and about ten I felt so weak and weary that I was obliged to lie down dripping wet in my hammock, which had been again fixed under a tree. However, having sufficient covering, I kept warm, and in the morning felt much better, for which I gave thanks to our gracious Saviour.' Brother Maehr being more inured to hardships, continued in good health and spirits.

"The next day we passed several cataracts. It is astonishing to see what these people will do, sometimes rowing, sometimes jumping into the water and pushing the boat forward; at other times they are obliged to swim and drag it along."

Having encountered the danger of ascending upwards of twenty of these cataracts (or ledges of rocks across the whole breadth of the river), the travellers arrived safe and in good health at Bambey, after a voyage of seven days from the time they left Paramaribo, and of five days through the wilderness.*

SECTION V.

Paramaribo.

At the time when the Brethren were invited to begin a mission among the free Negroes, brother Kersten, who has been mentioned in the preceding section, was commissioned by the directors of our missions to inquire into the practicability of serving the Negro slaves in Paramaribo with the gospel. This had been the pious desire of the Brethren from the very commencement of their missionary labours in Surinam; but, for several years, serious obstacles impeded the execution of this design.

At that period, the proprietors of slaves, and many other European residents in Paramaribo, were so strongly prejudiced against the Brethren, that they were prohibited by government admitting any of their neighbours to their family devotions, the privileges obtained from the Surinam Trading Company being exclusively intended to grant liberty to them to propagate the gospel among the Indians residing in the wilderness. The circumstances of their other establishments in the country, however, required that one or more brethren should reside in the capital, to serve as agents to the mission. In this view, Kersten and some other brethren lived there and established the business of tailors, in which they employed hired Negroes as journeymen and apprentices. The Lord blessed the labour of their hands, so that in 1767, they were enabled to purchase a house, with a large piece of ground adjoining, which they laid out in a garden and burying-place. By degrees the prejudices against them subsided, and they gained the esteem of both high and low, and also of the government.

After patient waiting, the brethren Kersten and Rose had, at length, in the year 1768, the joy to perceive a desire excited in three of their Negroes to be instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. For this purpose they came every evening, when their daily work was finished, to Kersten, who could speak with them in their own language. These instructions were continued by Rose, during the absence of Kersten among the free Negroes. Two or three other brethren, who were sent to the assistance of Rose, fell asleep in Jesus soon after their arrival in the country. Amidst these distressing occurrences the Lord preserved the courage of brother Rose, and gave him pleasing tokens that his labour was not in vain. Two of the slaves, whom he had instructed in Christianity, closed their earthly pilgrimage in a very happy frame of mind, confidently relying on the atonement of Jesus, and filled with assured hope of life and immortality. During their sickness they cheerfully testified their faith in our Saviour.

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* A coryar is an open boat without sail, propelled solely by rowing.

* Per. Acct. Vol. II. p. 424.

In 1776, brother Kersten returned to Paramaribo to undertake the general superintendence of the Surinam mission. In July the first Negro slave was baptized, and the following month seven more were, by this solemn rite, admitted to the church of Christ. These transactions were performed without the least molestation, either on the part of government or the proprietors of the baptized Negroes.

Meanwhile, two brethren had arrived from Europe as assistants in the mission. One of them commenced the business of a baker, in order to lessen the expenditure of the general missionary fund. Besides the building required for this establishment, their premises were further enlarged by the erection of a chapel, in 1778, and the year after government granted to the mission a piece of land, without the precincts of the city, for a burying-place.

The eagerness of the Negroes to hear the gospel, and its saving and converting influence on their souls, became more and more evident. There were in general about two hundred at the preaching, and scarce a month passed without the baptism of one or more; so that by the end of the year 1779, their congregation consisted of one hundred and one, besides forty who were receiving special instruction, with a view to their admission to the sacred rite of baptism.

The conduct of the Christian Negroes clearly evinced, that their profession of the gospel was something more than a cold assent to certain truths, and a formal observance of the external ordinances of religion. The sincerity of their faith was repeatedly put to a severe trial. Of this the following may serve as a proof. Governor Texier, who had always shown himself a sincere friend to the Brethren, before his return to Europe, in 1780, gave several public entertainments to the gentlemen of the colony. On these occasions he requested from the proprietors of estates the service of such of their slaves as had been baptized. One day, while the heathen Negroes were diverting themselves at a dance, the governor went up to a female slave, whom he had known as a celebrated dancer, but who had now joined the Christian Negroes, and with a view to try the sincerity of her profession, offered her a present if she would join in the dance. But she remained firm to her purpose; steadfastly refused taking any part in the merriment, and at last asked him whether he did not know, that at her baptism, she had changed her name from Kea to Elizabeth, and was no longer the same person. The governor, much pleased with her firmness, replied in a friendly manner: "Yes, I know it, and you do right; keep in this mind till the end of your life, and it will be well for you."

Two Negro women, on another occasion, met with a still harder trial of their sincerity. Their mistress, a so-called Christian, insisted on their joining in some necromantic tricks; but they declared that, on embracing the Christian faith, they had abjured all heathenish superstitions, and therefore could no longer take part in them. Their mistress, hereupon threatened them with the severest punishment, if they persisted in their refusal. Undismayed by this, they gave each other a reciprocal pledge, rather to suffer death itself, than deny the Lord, by again practising pagan sorceries.

An example of fortitude no less striking, was exhibited by a mulatto boy, only sixteen years of age. His master, who was a Jew, being informed of his baptism, threatened to have him bound and flogged. The boy courageously answered: "*That* you may do; but you cannot thereby rob me of the Lord Jesus, and the grace he hath imparted to me in these days." Fortunately this poor lad met with a protector in an attorney, who had hired him, and by whose interference the Jew was prevented from doing him any injury.

Though these facts plainly indicate, that the animosity against the Brethren, or rather against the gospel which they preached, had not entirely subsided; yet, in general, their endeavours for the conversion of the Negroes, and the consistent conduct of the baptized, gained daily more esteem, so that most proprietors were pleased when their slaves attended the preaching. Exceptions in this respect were very rare, and if at any time a case occurred, in which a master inflicted stripes, or other ill treatment, on his slaves for their attendance at the Brethren's chapel, the Lord enabled them to bear such injuries with patience, and even to rejoice that they were deemed worthy to suffer stripes for the name of Jesus.

A visitation to the mission in this country being deemed necessary, brother Liebisch, one of the directors of the missions, proceeded to Paramaribo in 1790, and during his stay succeeded in making several regulations and arrangements, which promised to promote the missionary cause in these parts.

The war, which in the sequel broke out between Great Britain and Holland, rendered the situation of the missionaries very precarious. They were for many months cut off from all communication both with Europe and North America; provisions became scarce, and rose to an enormous price; and what was still more distressing, no assistants could come to them, though their accumulated and increasing labours required the accession of several missionaries. These difficulties, however, were considerably lessened after the English had taken possession of the colony.

Notwithstanding these external impediments, their exertions for the spiritual benefit of the Negro slaves were crowned with success. Many were awakened and embraced the gospel; so that in 1800, the baptized Negroes amounted to three hundred and fifteen, besides a considerable number of catechumens, and regular hearers at their chapel in Paramaribo.

As an additional instance, to those already related, of the unhealthiness of the climate, and the devotedness of heart to God and his cause, required of persons who engage in missionary labours in this country, it may here be mentioned, that in 1805, brother Nischke departed this life in the short space of a week after his arrival.

Such occurrences, which were by no means unfrequent, not only proved very afflictive to the surviving missionaries, but greatly augmented their labours; for the Lord continued to prosper their work in a remarkable manner. In a letter, dated August the 30th, 1814, the missionaries remark: "The work of God among the Negroes in Paramaribo continues to increase, and we have great reason to rejoice and take courage, when we see such marked proofs of the divine blessing upon our feeble ministry. Sometimes, indeed, occurrences happen which gives us much pain, when people who have begun well, turn again aside and follow the world and the will of the flesh. We mourn over all those whom we are obliged, on that account, to exclude from our fellowship.

"Our monthly prayer-days, as likewise the communion-days, are always distinguished by a particular experience of the grace and love of our Saviour towards his flock. Since the commencement of the year, forty-four adults and eight children have been baptized; forty-four have been made partakers of the Lord's Supper; eight adults and eight children have departed this life. There is also a continual accession of new people, who fill the vacancies occurring in this division, by the baptism of others. The meetings, on Tuesday and Friday evenings, for the reading of the Bible, are frequented by many hearers, particularly by strangers, whose behaviour is marked with such attention and devotion as one could hardly expect from people naturally restless and noisy."

The benefit derived by the Negroes from their attendance on the meetings for reading and expounding the Holy Scriptures, was greatly increased by the generous donation from the British and Foreign Bible Society, of Dutch Bibles and Testaments, as it enabled them to read over at home and meditate upon those portions of holy writ which they had heard read and explained in the chapel. At the same time, the directors of our missions provided for the instruction of the children by publishing for their use a Summary of Christian Doctrine in Negro-English. Since then they have likewise published the Harmony of the Four Gospels, in the vernacular dialect of the Negroes. This increased the eagerness, not only of the children, but also of many adult persons, to learn to read, in which several attained considerable proficiency.

According to the latest intelligence received from that quarter, ninety-one persons were baptized in 1815, and the number of the congregation amounted to six hundred and sixty-three, of whom five hundred and fifteen were communicants.

SECTION VI.

Sommelsdyke.

The missionaries in Paramaribo did not confine their labours to the regular ministry of the gospel in their own chapel in that city; but by frequent visits to the circumjacent plantations, endeavoured to diffuse the knowledge of God and our Saviour among the slaves in every part of the colony.

Government, approving of their laudable exertions, in the year 1785, consigned to them a piece of land on the river Commewyne, where a fortification had formerly stood, called Sommelsdyke. After taking possession of this ground, which contained about fifty acres, thickly overgrown with wood, and one entire swamp, the missionaries were obliged to spend much time and money in clearing and draining it, before they could erect the necessary buildings. Having in some degree accomplished this by the aid of hired Negroes, the missionaries, L. Haidt and Corn. Clausen, moved thither in April 1786; but both of them in a few weeks finished their earthly pilgrimage, probably owing to the heavy damps rising from the land, which was not yet sufficiently drained. Two brethren from Paramaribo undertook the service at this station, till brother Wiez and his wife arrived there in September, from Bambey.

In a religious point of view the prospect was very cheering. Their sermons were in a short time attended by upwards of a hundred and fifty hearers, among whom were Negroes from several adjoining estates. Before the end of the year, above forty had been baptized, and the number of the regular catechumens amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty.

Difficulties, however, were not wanting. Some proprietors of estates knew so little of the gospel, that they considered its diffusion among the slaves as perfectly useless, and on this account would scarcely permit their attendance at church, much less promote the good cause; though they treated the missionaries, as neighbours, with every mark of civility. Other gentlemen commended the exertions of the Brethren, but refused permission to their slaves to go to Sommelsdyke, requiring that the missionaries should come and preach to them on their respective plantations, in which case they promised to give their Negroes sufficient time to receive religious instruction; and when baptized, allow them occasionally to go to church. The chief reason for these restrictions must be sought for, not so much in aversion to the gospel, as in the difficulty attending their visits to Sommelsdyke. They could not get there any way but by water. These little voyages were often dangerous; and at times, when the slaves obtained permission to go, they could not procure a boat to carry them. These circumstances obliged the missionaries to spend most of their time in visits to the different plantations.

In March, 1778, an event occurred which increased the difficulties just mentioned, and impeded the progress of the mission. One day twelve Negro women and one man went in an old crazy boat to Sommelsdyke. The harder they found it to obtain permission to go, and to procure a conveyance, the more eager were they to improve the opportunity; numbers pressed forward, and thus the boat was too heavily laden. They, however, reached Sommelsdyke without any accident; but on their return the boat sunk. Three Negro women were drowned; the rest saved themselves by swimming. One of the women who could swim, ventured three times into the water to assist others; but during her last effort her strength was exhausted, and she lost her own life while endeavouring to save that of others.

Notwithstanding all the hindrances thrown in their way, the missionaries had the joy to see the work of conversion proceed in stillness, yet with evident marks that it was the work of *God* and not of *man*. At the close of 1789, though within that very year a considerable number had been carried off by the small-pox, upwards of a hundred baptized Negroes belonged to Sommelsdyke, besides many others who were enjoying regular instruction in the saving truths of the gospel.

On the one hand, the missionaries in subsequent years still met with occasional obstructions to their benevolent exertions from the stewards on some of the estates; but on the other hand, they had many clear proofs that the Lord smiled on their labours, and that if *he* is pleased to prosper the work of his servants, no human opposition can prevent its progress. The congregation at Sommelsdyke consisted, in 1816, of one hundred and four baptized Negroes, besides a number of catechumens. Many circumstances related in the preceding section, might be repeated here, as they affected the missionary cause at this station no less than in Paramaribo.

On February 25th, 1816, the British ceded the colony to the Dutch. The new governor, agreeably to the express instructions he had received from the king of the Netherlands, promised his protection to the missionaries. It is only paying a just tribute of gratitude to the late English governor, general Bonham, to acknowledge the very kind attention he uniformly evinced towards them, and the lively and generous interest he took in the mission.

We shall close the history of the missionary labours of the Brethren in South America, with enumerating the number of missionaries employed, and of heathen converted by their means, from the beginning of the mission in this country to the commencement of the present century, comprising a term of sixty-five years. During this period, one hundred and fifty-nine brethren and sisters had served the mission; seventy-five of them had departed this life in the country; sixty-three had returned to Europe, and twenty-one were still actively engaged in the Lord's service, on the different stations in Guiana. During the same period, there had been baptized by them, eight hundred and fifty-five Indians; fifty-nine free Negroes, and seven hundred and thirty-one Negro slaves and mulattoes, making a total of one thousand six hundred and forty-five persons. Of this number, six hundred and fifty-eight had died in the faith of the gospel; five hundred and ninety-four were still living and enjoying the instruction of the missionaries, and the remaining three hundred and ninety-three had forsaken the fellowship of the believers.

CHAPTER V.

MISSION IN THE WEST INDIES.

SECTION I.

Danish West India Islands.

With an attempt to instruct the Negro slaves in these islands, the Brethren commenced their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen. They began their labours in the year 1732, when brother Leonard Dober, accompanied by brother David Nitschman, left Herrnhut and proceeded to the island of St. Thomas. Many pious individuals, with whom they became acquainted on their journey, raised very strong objections against their undertaking. Similar objections were repeated in Copenhagen; and the most appalling representations made to them of the difficulties and dangers to which they would expose themselves. But they were not intimidated; and the unshaken trust which they reposed in the help of the Lord, who they believed had called them to this work, at length induced several persons of distinction to interest themselves in their behalf. Some counsellors of state bade them farewell in these words: "Go, then, in the name of God; our Saviour chose fishermen to preach his gospel; and he himself was a carpenter, and was called the son of a carpenter."

They arrived at St. Thomas on the 13th of December, ignorant in what manner and place they might obtain a livelihood; but God had provided for them. A friend in Copenhagen had, without their knowledge, written to a well disposed planter in the island, who received them into his house; and brother Nitschman, engaged in his trade as a carpenter, soon earned a sufficiency for their maintenance.

Immediately on their arrival they made inquiry for Anthony's sister Anna, and her brother Abraham. They received the testimony of salvation by grace, through faith in Jesus, with demonstrations of heartfelt joy. It was not long before other Negroes visited them, and earnestly begged for instruction. This greatly animated the missionaries, who, when observing the eagerness with which the poor slaves listened to the word of reconciliation, gladly endured reproach and poverty.

Many months had not elapsed before they were obliged to separate, as brother Nitschman, who had only accompanied his friend, returned to Europe in April 1733. The faith of the latter was put to a very severe trial, being now left without any visible means of support, as he could not follow his occupation of a potter, owing to the want of clay of a proper quality. Yet he did not lose his courage; and in a few weeks governor Gardelin, who was a pious man, made him the offer of being steward of his household. Dober accepted it on condition that he should be permitted to instruct the Negroes whenever his master did not require his services. But he soon found that this situation left him too little leisure for the prosecution of his missionary calling; and, therefore, in 1731, requested his dismission. He now hired a small room in the village of Tappus, and by watching on the plantations, and other services, earned a scanty livelihood, which enabled him to pay his rent, and procure bread and water; for he seldom had any thing better. His serenity of mind, however, did not forsake him; and he had it now in his power to devote all his time to the instruction of the Negroes.

The year 1733 was signalized by very distressing occurrences in the Danish West Indies. Famine and contagious diseases carried off many people in St. Thomas. About the same time the Negroes in the island of St. Jan revolted, took possession of the fort, and cruelly murdered all those Eupeans who had not time to effect their escape. The rebellion continued above half a year, and the atrocities committed by the insurgents, spread consternation through the other islands, and both the white population and the Negroes were kept in constant terror of each other.*

These events rendered the labours of brother Dober doubly difficult; but, while he was thus struggling with poverty, and oppressed with many anxious cares, fourteen brethren and four sisters were on their way, partly destined for missionary service in St. Thomas, and partly designed to begin a colony in the island of St. Croix.

Two months after the arrival of this company, brother Dober returned to Europe, having been chosen elder of the congregation at Herrnhut, in the place of brother Linner, who had entered into the joy of his Lord. After his removal, those brethren who had come out to succeed him in his labours, in a short time falling victims to the climate, the mission in St. Thomas suffered a temporary suspension.

With a view to renew it, brother Frederick Martin and another brother, arrived in March, 1736, in St. Thomas. The former was in an eminent manner qualified for the work of a missionary, and endowed with peculiar talents for instructing the Negroes. The catechumens, left by brother Dober, greatly rejoiced at his arrival. Their number was daily increasing, so that in a few months upwards of two hundred attended his instructions. On several of these the gospel displayed its converting power; and on the 30th of September, three men were added to the church by holy baptism, as the first fruits of the Negro slaves in this island. The benign influence of the gospel began to evidence itself in a very striking manner, in the altered behaviour of many of those Negroes who attended the meetings. This was acknowledged by several proprietors, and induced them to favour the mission. One of them assisted the missionaries, who still lodged in the village of Tappus, to purchase a small plantation, of which they took possession in August, 1737, and gave it the name of Posaunenberg.

On the other hand, adversaries were not wanting, who opposed the work in every possible way, and rigorously forbade their slaves all intercourse with their teachers, thereby aiming at the total ruin of the mission. By false accusations, they at length succeeded so far, that, towards the end of October, the missionaries were thrown into prison. But the Word of God was not bound; the awakened Negroes continued to meet together for edification, and sometimes assembled in great numbers under the windows of the prison, where they joined in singing and prayer. These meetings likewise afforded their teachers an opportunity of testifying to them of the grace of God in Christ Jesus. Concerning this period, brother Martin writes: "Since our arrest, the Negro congregation is daily increasing; and our Saviour strikingly manifests the power of his grace among them. By our confinement, some white people are brought to serious reflection. I believe the Lord will make it a blessing to the whole island. Even in the fort some good has been done. There is scarce a soldier now who ventures to defame us, though at first they were wicked enough so to do. I cannot describe what the Lord is doing. May he enable us to be a light to our fellow-men; and may he make us more faithful, more active and useful in his service, whether we remain in prison or are set at liberty. I am determined, through the grace of God, to persevere, waiting on him to overule all for his own glory. Be of good courage; many hundred persons in St. Thomas are praying to the Lord for our deliverance."

While the missionaries were in confinement, and before they could transmit any intelligence of their situation to Europe, Count Zinzendorf resolved to visit St. Thomas. He took two brethren and their wives with him, to serve in the mission, and arrived in the island by the end of January, 1739. He immediately waited on the governor, requesting the liberation of the missionaries. This was granted the next day, accompanied by an apology on the part of the governor for what had happened. He also made certain proposals relative to the continuance of the mission; but they were of such a nature that the Brethren could not accede to them, and therefore resolved to appeal to the king himself.

Count Zinzendorf was filled with astonishment at the extent of the work in which the missionaries were engaged. For by this time the number of the Negroes, who regularly attended the preaching of the gospel, amounted to eight hundred. They assembled every evening, as soon as their daily labour was done, and the count frequently addressed them himself. Having in a solemn manner delivered a farewell charge to them, the baptized followed him into the village. On their way they were attacked by some white people with sticks and drawn swords, and dispersed. Hereupon the white people proceeded to the Brethren's plantation, beat and wounded the Negroes who were there, and, during the absence of the missionaries, forced their way into the house, breaking and destroying all the furniture. The governor expressed his strong disapprobation of this outrage, and promised restitution of the damage they had sustained. The count declared that he desired no restitution, but only protection for his brethren, and liberty to preach to the Negroes. Notwithstanding the interference of the governor, similar acts of violence were soon again committed, and even the missionaries themselves were maltreated. For a while, therefore, it became necessary to keep the meetings in the wood, and appoint watchmen to guard the congregation against any sudden attack; but in a few weeks these outrages were suppressed.

Before the count's return to Europe, the Negro men gave him a petition to be presented to the king of Denmark, praying for liberty to be instructed in religion; the Negro women also gave him a similar petition to the queen. These documents, seconded by a written representation from the count himself, had the effect, that an order was passed at the Danish court, dated August 7th, 1739, securing liberty and protection to the Brethren in preaching to the Negroes.

In 1747, brother Martin paid a visit to Europe, and, having presented a memorial to the king of Denmark, obtained a new royal rescript in favour of the mission, by which every thing relative to its uninterrupted continuance, was regulated according to the wishes of the Brethren.

Two years after, bishop Johannes Von Watteville, held a visitation in the three Danish islands, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the mission, and assisting the brethren employed in it with his advice and counsel. He found that the labour of the missionaries had been less prosperous for some time; comparatively few had been admitted to baptism; many of the baptized had been discouraged by a too rigid exercise of discipline, and some of the missionaries had been disheartened and nearly lost their hopes. It was, therefore, resolved to treat all those who had withdrawn with kindness; and in every case, when their professions appeared sincere, to receive them again into fellowship. The consequence was, that a new awakening arose, which extended to the yet unbaptized catechumens, and by degrees spread through the whole island. Every evening the meetings were frequented by two or three hundred, and on Sundays by eight or nine hundred. On one Sunday no fewer than three hundred and eighty Negroes requested to have their names enrolled among the catechumens; the whole number of whom, in a short time, amounted to nine hundred, not including from two to three hundred children. During bishop Watteville's stay in the island, which lasted two months, above a hundred persons were baptized. Among these were several old, blind and lame people, who came from a considerable distance. Hitherto the missionaries had been scrupulous about the baptism of infants, but they now came to a resolution to baptize the children of believing parents as soon after their birth as convenient.

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* The rebellion was not suppressed till the governor sent a strong force of mulattoes to the island. The rebels finding resistance vain, resorted to the following horrid expedient, in order to avoid being made prisoners. One after the other suffered himself to be shot by the ringleaders, and when they had completed their murderous work, they shot themselves.—*Risler*, Part II. Sec. 2. p. 14.

The governor, and most other gentlemen in this and the two adjacent islands, behaved with great politeness to bishop Watteville, and gave the Christian Negroes the testimony of good conduct, requesting that the vacancies, occasioned by the deaths or removals of missionaries, might be filled up as soon as possible.

Among those zealous servants of God, who about this time were called to receive the reward of their labours, was brother Frederick Martin, who entered into the joy of his Lord in 1750, after zealously serving the Negroes with the gospel for fifteen years, and that during the most difficult period of the mission.*

After the return of bishop Watteville, the mission in this island continued in a flourishing state. In 1753, the missionaries changed the name of their plantation from Posaunenberg to New Herrnhut; and, having purchased an estate on the opposite side of the island, called it Nisky. In both these places they published the glad tidings of salvation to great numbers of eager hearers; and upwards of an hundred were annually added to the church by baptism. They had also a small meeting-house in the village of Tappus, chiefly for the convenience of the sick and infirm. They likewise preached on several estates, and many hundred children, living dispersed through the whole island, were diligently visited and instructed by brother Ronner. They were greatly assisted in their labours by the native assistants, of whom they had twenty-four, whose private exhortations, no less than their public testimonies of the gospel, were often strikingly blessed to their countrymen. Most of the planters became convinced that the instruction of the Negroes tended to their own advantage, and therefore gladly promoted their baptism and attendance at church, requesting the missionaries to visit them frequently. Government also, both at home and abroad, acknowledged the beneficial effects of their labours, and whenever required, was ready to afford them protection.

In order to trace the beginning of the missionary establishments of the Brethen in the adjacent Danish islands, it is necessary to go back a few years in the narrative.

In the year 1733, the West India and Guinea Company at Copenhagen made a purchase of the large and fine island of St. Croix, which had been abandoned by the French for the space of forty years; and, having remained so long uncultivated, had become a perfect wilderness. The Lord Chamberlain, Count De Pless, who had kindly patronized the mission to Greenland, possessed six estates in this island. With a view to the cultivation of these lands, and the instruction of his Negroes, he applied to Count Zinzendorf for two brethren as overseers on each of his plantations. The request was no sooner made known to the congregation at Herrnhut, than several brethren and sisters offered themselves to form a colony in St. Croix, in hopes of thereby obtaining an opportunity for preaching the gospel to the slaves. Count Zinzendorf indeed had serious objections to this scheme, fearing lest the colonists, by the unavoidable cares and labours of a temporal nature, which the situation required, should be diverted from their chief object; but as the majority of votes was in favour of the measure, he acquiesced. Out of those who offered themselves for this undertaking, four married couple and ten unmarried brethren were selected; some of whom were destined for the mission in St. Thomas.

After a most perilous voyage, and a short stay in St. Thomas, the colonists arrived in St. Croix about midsummer in 1731, taking twelve Negroes with them to assist in the cultivation of the lands. But the insalubrity of the climate, added to their incessant labours, in which they exerted themselves beyond their strength, soon impaired their health; they all fell sick, and before the end of the year ten of them finished their mortal race. In 1735 their places were supplied by eleven persons; and Doctor Grothaus, a celebrated physician in Copenhagen, without the knowledge of the Brethren, went thither also for the purpose of assisting them with his medical skill; but he died almost immediately on his arrival. In other respects, too, the colony did not answer; the survivors therefore (being only nine out of twenty-nine,) partly returned to Europe, and partly proceeded to St. Thomas, to assist in that mission.

Though the colonizing system in St. Croix was thus relinquished, the Brethren did not altogether give up their exertions for the conversion of the Negroes. The missionaries in St. Thomas occasionally visited this island, especially brother Martin, whose testimony of the gospel never failed to arrest the attention of the Negroes, and create an earnest desire in them to be regularly instructed; and this desire was not a little increased by such slaves as had been awakened in St. Thomas, and were from time to time sold to proprietors of estates in St. Croix.

When this intelligence reached Europe, several brethren offered themselves as missionaries for this island. Among these we notice, in particular, Albinus Theodore Feder, a student of theology, who, being properly ordained, was confirmed by a royal rescript, and furnished with a mandate for his protection against lawless people; and Christian Gottlieb Israel. Israel was born of poor parents, educated in the orphan-house at Herrnhut, and afterwards learnt the business of a weaver. His constitution was very delicate; he was lame and mostly walked with a crutch; but he was imbued with an ardent and noble spirit, and neither his bodily infirmity nor any representations could damp his missionary zeal. After a voyage of about eight weeks, these two brethren landed on the island of St. Eustatia in January, 1740. Hence they sailed for St. Thomas in an English sloop. The captain being unacquainted with the passage, the vessel struck upon a rock, and was wrecked early in the morning of the 17th. The sailors took to the boat, and left the missionaries with the vessel upon the rock. A row of stones, about a foot distant from each other, lay across from the rock to the beach. Feder let himself down with a rope into the sea, in order to get on shore, hoping thus to obtain assistance for his lame brother. But the fury of the waves threw him into the sea, to rise no more. Israel was now left alone on the rock. The wreck of the vessel for a while skreened him against the dashing of the waves; but being soon entirely broken to pieces, he was every minute in danger of being washed into the sea. In the afternoon some people threw a rope to him, by which he was dragged on shore. Mr. Von der Pol hospitably entertained him at his house, and procured him a passage to Tortola; from whence he sailed to St. Jan, and finally arrived in St. Thomas on the 18th of February.

Besides brother Israel, George Weber and his wife moved to St. Croix in 1740, to commence a regular missionary establishment in that island. A year or two after, brother Martin being there on a visit, succeeded in purchasing a small estate for the Brethren, of which they took possession in the beginning of 1741; and in July the same year he baptized two men and two women, being the first Negroes in this island who were added to the Christian church.

During the first years of their abode here the missionaries had to encounter various difficulties. The unhealthiness of the air and the hard labour, to which they cheerful submitted in order to lessen the expense of the mission, occasioned the deaths of many in a short time after their arrival. And this was rendered doubly afflictive, as in case of the departure of an ordained missionary, who had been confirmed by the king, impediments were thrown in the way of his successors, if they had not by name obtained the royal confirmation. In the sequel, however, these obstacles were removed; and since then our brethren have been uniformly protected in the enjoyment of their privileges. No missionary, however, was stationed here for a constancy till the year 1753, when brother Ohneberg moved hither.

A few years after the mission in St. Croix had regularly commenced, the attention of the Brethren was directed to the small island of St. Jan, likewise belonging to the crown of Denmark. Previously to this, they had occasionally visited on the island, as some of their converts from St. Thomas had been sold to proprietors on it. But in 1741, a circumstance occurred which gave a new impulse to their exertions. Jens Rasmus, a pious man, and overseer on a plantation, had formed an acquaintance with the Brethren in St. Thomas, and begun to preach to the Negroes under his care. At his request, brother Martin and other missionaries from St. Thomas assisted him in this labour of love, and occasionally abode some days, or even weeks, in the island, instructing the slaves. Their testimony of Jesus and his atonement, was, amidst difficulties of various kinds, attended with blessing. The work here was for a number of years cared for by the missionaries in St. Thomas, till brother J. Brukker, in 1751, took charge of it, residing on an estate purchased some time before, and called Bethany.

The Brethren had thus, by the grace of God, succeeded in extending their benevolent labours to the three islands under the dominion of Denmark. The great Head of his church, in whose name and strength they had begun the work, and by whose blessing on their exertions they had achieved much during the first year of poverty, opposition and manifold hindrances, did not forsake this vineyard, nor those who laboured in it, in the times of comparative ease and tranquillity, which now succeeded.

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* It is worthy of notice, that near fifty brethren and sisters, employed in the missionary establishments in the three Danish islands, had departed this life within seventeen years.—*Risler*, Part II. Sec. 2. p. 52.

As soon as St. Croix and St. Jan had been supplied with resident missionaries, the good effects of it became visible in the larger auditories which attended the preaching of the gospel, and the increased number of those who were engrafted into the church by holy baptism. In St. Croix the number annually baptized amounted to upwards of a hundred, and in St. Jan it exceeded fifty. In the former place, the missionaries resided for some time on one of the Company's plantations, called Princess, till they found means of purchasing an estate of four acres, on which they erected a church and dwelling-house, and called it Friedensthal.

In 1755, these islands were ceded by the West India and Guinea Company to the king, who appointed a governor-general for all the islands. This gentleman fixed his residence in St. Croix, and on every occasion showed himself the friend and protector of the mission. This was peculiarly manifest during an insurrection of the Negroes, which had for its object the massacre of all the white inhabitants, on Christmas night, 1759. Some malicious people accused several of the Negroes baptized by the missionaries of being implicated in the conspiracy; but their innocence was fully proved by the delinquents themselves. On this occasion the governor acted towards them like a father. By his advice, they omitted the large assemblies of the Negroes while the commotion lasted; and did not begin them again till they had obtained his permission; and in order to authorize the meetings and encourage the Negroes in their attendance, he himself and some other gentlemen were present. Not long after he had a fresh opportunity of evincing his good will towards the mission. An order having been issued that no Negro should be seen in the streets or roads after seven o'clock in the evening, he exempted from this restriction all those who attended the meetings of the Brethren, and could produce a certificate signed by one of their teachers.

In consequence of the war in 1760, all intercourse with the English colonies was prohibited. This occasioned great scarcity of provisions, which was the more severe as it succeeded a long continued drought. Many Negroes perished with absolute hunger. Though the missionaries had but a scanty supply themselves, they did not suffer any of their Negroes to be in real want, and even assisted to the utmost of their ability those on other plantations.

Of the internal state of the mission at this period, the Brethen employed in it give the following report: "By the preaching of the gospel, many a slave of sin has attained to knowledge of his misery, and to the enjoyment of grace in the blood of Jesus; on which account we cheerfully devote soul and body in his service, to help to gather in the reward of the travail of his soul from among the heathen. In this we are obliged to conform to their circumstances, and must in general employ the night for their service. The baptized are increasing in self-knowledge and becoming more grounded in the faith. What neither law nor the most rigorous discipline of their overseers can accomplish, is effected by the doctrine of Christ's sufferings. Of this the masters are, for the most part, so fully sensible, that they are pleased when their slaves go to our church. The children have their separate meetings, and are visited from time to time; but as they are very early employed in all kinds of labour, we cannot attend to them with that care we could wish."

This pleasing state of the mission continued in subsequent years. The Buffals (*i. e.* Negroes newly imported from Africa), in particular, manifested a great desire of hearing the Word of God and being saved.

In 1765, two disastrous events occurred. By the carelessness of other people, the mission-house at the west-end of St. Croix, lately erected, took fire and was burnt down. In St. Jan the church was thrown down by a storm; but to the great joy of the Negroes, who had been obliged to meet in the open air, and to forego the celebration of the Lord's Supper, it was rebuilt the next year.

In 1767, seventeen slaves, belonging to the congregation in St. Croix, were carried to Eustatia. Here they were visited the following year by a missionary, and exhorted to constancy and faithfulness; and some regulations, tending to their edification, were made among them.

The number of communicants in St. Thomas had so much increased, that it was found necessary to administer this ordinance, not only at New Herrnhut, as had been the case hitherto, but also at Nisky, where a new church had been erected. The re-building of the mission-house and the erection of a church at the west end of St. Croix, were also completed, and brother Melchior Schmidt and his wife moved thither in May, 1771. This place received the name of Friedensberg.

The following year was a period of much distress, but also of many mercies. In the night of the 31st of August, a hurricane of unusual violence did considerable damage in all the three islands, but particularly in St. Croix. The newly built house in Friedensberg was moved out of its place and greatly injured; and in Friedensthal the church, the dwelling-houses, and all the offices, were blown down. The missionaries and their families, who had sought an asylum in the cellar, were for several hours kept in constant jeopardy of their lives, but were mercifully preserved. This tempest was succeeded by a general scarcity, famine and sickness. Great numbers died, especially of the Negroes. Within a few months several brethren and sisters, employed in the mission, were removed to a better world. This greatly augmented the labours of the survivors; but they were powerfully strengthened and encouraged in their work by the pleasing progress of the mission. These external distresses seemed to awaken a new desire in the Negroes to attain to a knowledge of those things which belonged to their true peace. New people constantly flocked to the preaching: and though in Friedensthal it was held for nearly a whole year in the open air, till the new church was built, the auditory mostly amounted to a thousand or upwards; and many were every month added to the church by baptism.

A company of six missionaries, sailing for these islands in 1776, suffered shipwreck on the 30th of November off Walsey, one of the Shetland isles. But being very near the shore, they were all saved except one sister, who, falling in among the wreck, could not indeed be disentangled from the rigging. The proprietor of the isle, John Bruce Stewart, treated them with great hospitality, till they found an opportunity to go to Norway. From thence they proceeded the following February to St. Thomas.

Being on the 21st of August, 1782, fifty years since the beginning of this mission, and also of the missionary labours of the Brethren in general, this important event was in all the three islands celebrated with joyful solemnity. From the reports of the missionaries at that time, it appears, that within this period they had baptized eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-three adult Negroes and two thousand nine hundred and seventy-four children; of these, two thousand three hundred and eighty-one adults and nine hundred and seventy-five children had died. And of the missionaries and their assistants, their wives and children, one hundred and twenty-seven had entered into eternal rest during these fifty years.

To accommodate those Negroes who lived at too great a distance from Bethany to attend the meetings regularly, the Brethren, in the above-mentioned year, bought a house and a piece of ground in another part of the island of St. Jan. In this place, which was called Emmaus, a church was soon erected, and a missionary appointed for its service. Not only the slaves, but many of the white inhabitants in the neighbourhood, rejoiced at this establishment, declaring that they would diligently improve the opportunity thus afforded them, to join in divine worship.

The directors of the missions, considering that a visitation to these islands, by one of their number, might in various respects prove beneficial, brother John Loretz undertook this important mission. He arrived in St. Croix early in the year 1781, and spent several weeks here and in St. Thomas in making himself acquainted with all the circumstances of the mission, and in deliberating with the missionaries and the native assistants on the best means of promoting the great work in which they were engaged. Among other measures, it was resolved to bestow more time and labour in translating select portions of the holy Scriptures into the vernacular tongue of the Negroes. Brother Auerbach, who had occupied his leisure in this way, undertook the translation of the Sundays' Gospels and Epistles, the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, and the catechism entitled Summary of the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. A severe attack of fever so debilitated brother Loretz, that he found himself unable to visit the island of St. Jan. He, however, obtained all the necessary information from the missionaries, which enabled him, on his return, to give to the directors a full report of this interesting mission in all its branches.

During this year, the Brethen experienced another encouraging proof of the benevolence of government. In consequence of a rumour, that the slaves at the west end of the island of St. Croix were plotting another rebellion, many were put into confinement, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting the Negroes from being seen in the streets after six o'clock in the evening; containing a clause, by which all those Negroes who were going to the mission church in Friedensberg were exempt from this restriction.

In 1781, the mission in these islands sustained a very serious loss, in consequence of the departure of brother Martin Mack. He had joined the church of the Brethren in 1731. A few years after he went to America, assisted the late Reverend George Whitfield in the erection of Nazareth, and took an active part in the building of Bethlehem. Afterwards he was employed for almost twenty years in the mission among the North American Indians, during a period of persecution and many dangers. In 1762, he came to the Danish West Indies as superintendent of all the missionary establishments of the Brethren in these islands; and during the space of twenty-two years, spent all the energies of his body and mind in the zealous discharge of the important duties of his office. His fellow-labourers loved and esteemed him as a man of tried integrity and unabating ardour in the noble cause in which he was engaged, and who had grown gray in the service of his Lord. The governor-general, besides many private gentlemen, honoured his funeral with their presence, as the last testimony of respect they could give to one whose memory will be held in deserved veneration as long as the inhabitants of these islands shall feel the value of the gospel, and know how to appreciate the services of those who spend health and strength, yea life itself, in its propagation.

After the decease of this faithful servant of Christ, it was found more expedient to commit the general superintendency of the mission not to one individual, but to a committee, consisting of one or more missionaries from each settlement. The advantages of this regulation were soon apparent. New zeal and activity on the part of the missionaries, and new attention to the gospel on the part of their converts and hearers, became manifest. Many were baptized; those who had been of long standing in the church were excited to be more diligent in making their calling and election sure; even such as had been excluded on account of misconduct, were led to serious self-examination; and on giving evidence of sincere repentance, were restored to the fellowship of the believers.

At the same time difficulties, which occasionally impeded the pleasing progress of the mission, were not wanting. In one instance, the increasing number of Roman Catholic proprietors diminished the auditories of our missionaries. For these gentlemen not only employed their slaves till a late hour on Saturday evening, but even obliged them to work on the Lord's day, and thus deprived them of the bare possibility of attending the church. Some of these masters required their slaves to bring them a stipulated sum of money every week, which they must earn in the best manner they could. Money being scarce at that time, they had but a poor chance of earning much; and this tempted many Negroes to resort to dishonest and fraudulent practices, in order to avoid punishment, which was most rigorously inflicted if they failed in their payment.

In the year 1797, the mission was again visited by one of the directors from Europe, brother John Renatus Verbeck. During his stay at New Herrnhut, in St. Thomas, he observed that the increase of this congregation had not, within the last years, been so great as formerly. This apparent declension was the natural consequence of the long period during which the gospel had been preached in this island, whereby almost every plantation was supplied with a number of Christian Negroes. The island of St. Croix, which is the largest and most populous of the three, still presented the widest field for missionary exertions. St. Jan, the least in natural extent, contained also a comparatively small number of converts.

Brother Leupold and his wife, together with a single sister, destined for the service of this mission, and who were sailing for St. Thomas in 1798, had on the 11th of October the misfortune to be captured by an English privateer and carried to the island of Tortola. Here they suffered much distress, being kept five days without food, except once, when they found an opportunity of buying some fish. They were left whole days without a drop of water. Their ignorance of the English language increased their difficulty, till, through the kind interference of a German captain, they obtained permission to go with another vessel to St. Thomas.

In the performance of their frequently arduous duties, the missionaries made daily experience, that "the joy of the Lord was their strength." The power of the gospel evidenced itself in their converts by enabling them to "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour" by a conduct generally consistent with their profession. This the more strongly attested the reality of their faith, as attempts were not wanting to seduce them from their steadfastness. Some impious masters even resorted to acts of cruelty, to tempt them to the commission of sin, and in other instances the poor creatures were most severely punished for the slightest fault; but the grace of God enabled them to bear the one with Christian meekness and patience, and resist the other by "taking the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation." Influenced by the precepts of the Word of God, they meekly submitted to the galling yoke of slavery, and not unfrequently recognized a gracious Providence overruling it for the salvation of their souls. Thus an old Negro once remarked: "Though I was kidnapped in my native country, and thievishly sold, yet I feel no resentment against those who did it; for I believe I was brought hither by the will of God; and I cannot be sufficiently thankful to our Saviour, that he has deemed me worthy, in preference to many others, to hear his Word, by which I have learned to know the way of salvation."

M. von Malleville, hitherto commandant of St. Thomas, being appointed governor-general in 1796, fixed his residence in St. Croix, being the seat of the government. But the pleasure of the missionaries in having this sincere friend in the island, was of very short duration. October 11th, he was seized with an apoplexy, and on the 22d departed this life in confident reliance on the atonement of Jesus. Agreeably to his request, his remains were interred in the burying-ground of the mission at Friedensthal, a funeral oration having been previously delivered in the Dutch Calvinist church (in which he had been educated), by the incumbent. All the inhabitants of these islands lost in him a man of strict probity, who made it his constant and zealous care to promote their true welfare. The missionaries in particular were deprived of a sincere and active friend, who, in close fellowship of spirit with them, grounded all his hopes for time and eternity on the merit of Christ. It must here be added, that our brethren have continued to enjoy the benevolence of succeeding governors, and, in general, of all the proprietors; and, if different sentiments were entertained by any, they were ashamed openly to avow them.

Of the growing respect for the missionaries and their labours, two gratifying instances occurred about this time. In 1795, they were requested to supply the vacancy which had occurred in the Dutch church at Christianstadt, in St. Croix, by performing divine service in the same, till the arrival of the new minister in 1796. Two years later, the heirs of Count Schimmelman made some regulations on their estates, by means of which the missionaries could commence a regular school with all the Negro children on those plantations. In St. Jan, likewise, the children were sent to Emmaus for instruction. Their eagerness and progress in learning were highly satisfactory to their teachers.

Among those of the Christian Negroes who during this period finished their race of sorrow and suffering here below, and entered into the joy of their Lord, the aged man Benjamin deserves to be particularly mentioned. He belonged to the Mandingo tribe, his father being a Mahomedan teacher; and in this religion he had educated his son, who remained in his native country till he was more than twenty years old. On his arrival in the West Indies, he instructed his countrymen in the religion of his forefathers, using every effort to propagate and maintain the Mahomedan faith. At length, however, he yielded to the testimony and influence of the gospel, was baptized in 1779, and in 1796 closed his earthly pilgrimage in a joyful hope of entering, not into a heaven of sensual delights, but into the true paradise of God.

Hitherto these islands had remained undisturbed by those political commotions which during this period agitated nearly the whole of Europe, and spread terror and perplexity even to distant parts of the globe. But early in the year 1801, this tranquillity was interrupted, in consequence of hostilities having commenced between Great Britain and Denmark. In March an English fleet appeared off the coast of St. Thomas, and arrangements were made to repel force by force. The commandant, however, deeming resistance useless on account of the superior number and strength of the British, resolved to capitulate. The capitulation was signed that very evening by both parties, and early on the 19th the fort was surrendered with the usual formalities. The islands of St. Croix and St. Jan also surrendered without resistance. Thus the effusion of human blood was happily prevented; nevertheless the mission was not wholly exempt from the burthens and troubles attendant on war. The price of provisions was greatly enhanced, the correspondence with the different settlements and with Europe was interrupted, and even their daily meetings were for a time suspended.

The establishment at Friedensberg, in St. Croix, felt the effects of the war most severely, the mission-house being occupied as an hospital for the British troops. Part of the missionary family went to Friedensthal, the rest were kindly lodged on a neighbouring plantation. For some time the regular service was continued in the chapel, and attended by crowded auditories; but the smell of the sick and dying becoming daily more offensive, rendered this no longer either safe or practicable. After the lapse of two months, the hospital was removed to the west end of the island.

Towards the close of the same year, the mission was deprived of one of the most intelligent and useful native assistants, who for more than fifty years had walked worthily of his calling by the gospel, namely, the Negro Cornelius, who entered into rest in the year 1801. This man was in many respects distinguished among his countrymen, which will render the following brief sketch of his life interesting.

About fifty years ago he became concerned for the salvation of his soul, and felt a strong impulse to attend the preaching of our missionaries, and their private instructions. However, he could not at once forsake his heathenish customs. It happened once that he attended a merry-making of his countrymen. Even into this house of riot the good Shepherd followed this poor straying sheep. The late brother Frederic Martin passing by, and being made attentive to the uproar, looked in at the door and immediately espied his scholar Cornelius. He beckoned to him to come out; and in a friendly, but serious and emphatic address, represented to him that it was not becoming for one who had declared that he would give his heart to our Saviour, to attend such meetings as these. "Here," said the missionary, "the devil has his work, and you have assured me that you will not be his slave. But now I discover that your heart is still in his power, for you love the vanities of the world and the company of the children of disobedience, in whom he rules. It would, therefore, be better that you left off coming to our meetings and to the school." This offended him greatly, and he thought, "What is that to the white man, and what do I care for him." However, his amusement was spoiled for that time; he went home much displeased, and resolved never more to visit the missionaries or attend their meetings. But his heart was not at rest, and his convictions grew so strong that he could not sleep at night. The address of the missionary sounded continually in his ears, and made so strong an impression upon him that he altered his mind and visited him. Being received, not, as he feared, with displeasure, but with great cordiality, he was exceedingly affected, and with tears described the distress of his mind during the preceding days.

In 1749 he was baptized, and ever since remained faithful to the grace conferred on him. He had an humbling and growing sense of the depravity of his heart, but he also made daily progress in the knowledge and grace of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

God had blessed him with a good natural understanding. He had learned the business of a mason well, and had the appointment of master-mason to the royal buildings, in which employment he was esteemed by all who knew him, as a clever, upright and disinterested man. He laid the foundation of each of the six chapels belonging to our mission in these islands. He was able to write and speak the Creole, Dutch, Danish, German and English languages, which gave him a great advantage above the other Negroes. Till 1767, he was a slave in the royal plantation, which afterwards belonged to Count Schimmelman. He first purchased the freedom of his wife, and then laboured hard to gain his own liberty, which, after much entreaty and the payment of a considerable ransom, he effected. God blessed him and the work of his hands in such a manner, that he could also by degrees purchase the emancipation of his six children.

In 1754 he was appointed assistant in the mission. After his emancipation, he greatly exerted himself in the service of the Lord, especially among the people of his own colour; and spent whole days, and often whole nights, in visiting them on the different plantations. He possessed a peculiar talent for expressing his ideas with great clearness, which rendered his discourses pleasing and edifying as well to white people as to Negroes. Yet he was by no means elated by the talents he possessed. His character was that of an humble servant of Christ, who thought too meanly of himself to treat others with contempt. To distribute unto the indigent and assist the feeble was the delight of his heart, and they always found in him a generous and sympathizing friend and faithful adviser.

While thus zealously exerting himself in promoting the salvation of his countrymen, he did not neglect the concerns of his family. We have already seen how sedulously he cared for their tempopal prosperity, in working hard to purchase their freedom. But he was more solicitous for the welfare of their souls. God blessed his instructions, and he had the joy of seeing his whole family share in the salvation of the Lord. Being found faithful, they were employed as assistants in the mission.

The infirmities of old age increasing upon him, he ardently longed to depart and be with Christ. A constant cough and pain in his side checked his great activity, caused occasional dejection of mind, and seemed at times to shake his faith and fortitude. He now and then complained of a declension of his love to the Lord Jesus; and once, while meditating on that text, "I have somewhat against thee because thou hast left thy first love," he exclaimed: "Ah! I too have left my first love!" A few days before his end, being visited by one of the missionaries, he said, "I ought to have done more, and loved and served my Saviour better. Yet I firmly trust that he will receive me in mercy, for I come to him as a poor sinner, having nothing to plead but his grace and righteousness through his blood." His children and several of his grandchildren having assembled round his bed, he addressed them in the following very solemn and impressive manner:

"I rejoice exceedingly, my dearly beloved children, to see you once more together before my departure, for I believe that my Lord and Saviour will soon come and take your father home to himself. You know, dear children, what my chief concern has been respecting you, as long as I was with you; how frequently I have exhorted you not to neglect the day of grace, but to surrender yourselves with soul and body to your Redeemer, and to follow him faithfully. Sometimes I have dealt strictly with you, in matters which I believed would bring harm to your souls, and grieve the Spirit of God, and I have exerted my parental authority to prevent mischief: but it was all done out of love to you. However, it may have happened, that I have sometimes been too severe. If this has been the case, I beg you, my dear children, to forgive me; O forgive your poor dying father."

Here he was obliged to stop, most of the children weeping and sobbing aloud. At last one of his daughters recovered herself, and said, "We, dear father, *we* alone have cause to ask forgiveness, for we have often made your life heavy, and have been disobedient children. The rest joined in the same confession. The father then continued: "Well, my dear children, if all of you have forgiven me, then attend to my last wish and dying request. Love one another! Do not suffer any quarrels and disputes to arise among you after my decease. No, my children," raising his voice, "love one another cordially: Let each strive to show proofs of love to his brother or sister, nor suffer yourselves to be tempted by any thing to become proud; for by that you may even miss of your soul's salvation, but pray our Saviour to grant you lowly minds and humble hearts. If you follow this advice of your father, my joy will be complete, when I shall once see you all again in eternal bliss, and be able to say to our Saviour, 'Here, Lord, is thy poor, unworthy Cornelius and the children whom thou hast given me. I am sure our Saviour will not forsake you; but I beseech you, do not forsake *him*.'" He fell gently asleep in Jesus on the 29th of November, being, according to his own account, eighty-four years of age.

The sovereignty of these islands being soon again ceded to the crown of Denmark, no events occurred for a series of years, either in the internal course, or the external affairs of the mission, remarkably distinguishing its history from that of preceding periods. The missionaries continued their labours with their usual activity, and had many proofs that the doctrine of "Christ crucified is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation to every true believer, whether bond or free."

During this period they were enabled to realize a wish they had long entertained, of forming a third settlement on the island of St. Croix. This settlement, which was called Friedensfield, from its central situation, proved a great convenience to many old and infirm Negroes, who were frequently deprived of the means of grace in consequence of the great distance of the other stations.

In 1811 the missionary J. G. Haensel returned to St. Thomas from a visit he had made in Europe. One of the first services he performed for the dissemination of gospel knowledge, and which gave him peculiar delight, was to distribute a number of Testaments in the Spanish language to those of that nation who frequently visit St. Thomas from Porto Rico. Concerning this distribution he remarks: "As the worthy British and Foreign Bible Society had been pleased to place that trust in me, I felt happy in having so early an opportunity of fulfilling their kind intentions. I had much enjoyment in performing this act of benevolence. The gloomy countenances of the Spaniards, which in general seem to indicate rather a sullen disposition, brightened with an expression of gratitude, of which their tears gave further evidence, and they declared their regard and love for their benefactors in the warmest terms."

The following year a breach was made in the missionary family at Friedensfield on St. Croix, the Lord permitting his faithful servant, brother Netz, to enter into eternal rest, after having laboured in this part of his vineyard for nineteen years. His brethren speak of him as peculiarly gifted for missionary labours. His discourses were admirably adapted to the capacity of the Negroes, and instances were not wanting, which sufficiently proved, that the Lord laid a special blessing upon his testimony, which was singularly calculated to awaken sinners, and magnify salvation by grace through faith in Jesus.

The voyage of a company of missionaries, in 1813 and 1814, was attended with peculiar hardships and dangers. They were partly destined for the mission in Greenland, and partly for that in the Danish West India islands, and all sailed from Copenhagen, in March, 1813, on board the Hualfisken, bound for Leith in Scotland. In the channel between Scotland and Norway they were discovered by Captain Cathcart of the Alexandria frigate, who sent an officer on board demanding the ship's papers, and ordering the Danish captain to attend on board the frigate. To the no small consternation of himself and the passengers, the license was declared to have expired, and all the crew were put on board the frigate, and an English lieutenant, a midshipman and twelve sailors took possession of the Danish vessel. The captain, however, was suffered to remain, an explanation having been given that the ship was certainly bound for Leith. The ship was ordered to Gothenberg, but unfavourable weather rendered all their attempts to reach that harbour ineffectual; and, after encountering several perils, they were obliged to cast anchor at Marstrand, where they were detained till the 10th of April.

Their situation was rendered peculiarly distressing, as they could not even send a letter to the Brethren's minister at Gothenburg, or to any of their friends; all intercourse with the land being strictly forbidden. In other respects, their detention on board was rendered as comfortable as possible. Brother Ramsch (one of the missionaries going to the West Indies) remarks, "We should not do justice if we did not bear testimony to the kind and generous conduct of all the English officers we had to do with; I might quote a variety of instances, in which they showed every readiness to make our situation as little irksome as possible."

While lying off Marstrand some of them were ordered to Gothenberg to undergo an examination. They were treated with much kindness, and only such questions put to them as tended to prove the truth of the captain's report.

This unexpected occurrence so protracted the voyage to Leith, that the missionaries, destined for the West Indies, could not sail with the spring convoy. They therefore spent the summer in the Brethren's settlement at Fulneck, in Yorkshire.

In November, 1813, they set sail from Portsmouth; their company, consisting of the brethren Ramsch and Schaerf, with their wives and two other sisters.

On this voyage likewise they were exposed to imminent danger. January the 10th, 1814, they were chased by an American privateer. Captain Lennon informed them, that he considered it his duty to defend himself, and immediately prepared for action, assigning a place of safety for them in the hold. A fierce engagement now commenced. The English ship mounted only six guns, with twenty-two men and boys; the American had fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men. Thrice he attempted to board, but met with such steady and determined resistance from Captain Lennon, that, after a contest of more than four hours, he was obliged to sheer of with considerable damage, and the loss of several killed and wounded. The English ship had one killed and eleven wounded; the captain had his hat shot through and received several contusions.

The terror of the missionaries, during the fight, may more easily be conceived than described. Their gratitude and joy were so much the greater, when they not only found they had been graciously delivered from the threatening danger, but before the close of another day, saw themselves in the midst of their brethren and sisters in St. Croix.

A month had scarce elapsed after the arrival of this company, when brother J. G. Haensel, of St. Thomas, entered into everlasting rest. He was sixty-four years of age; and it may be truly said of him, that he had grown gray and exhausted his strength in his endeavours to bring the heathen to the fold of the good Shepherd. He had served the missionary cause in Tranquebar and Nicobar in the East Indies, for eighteen years, and, after a short rest in Germany, he laboured for the same period in the West Indies; so that thirty-six years of his valuable life had been devoted to the glorious work of evangelizing the heathen.

After the departure of this faithful servant of God, the missionaries continued to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the Negroes in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, and to teach their converts to observe all things whatsoever Jesus hath commanded. And the Lord blessed their labours for the conversion of the Negroes, many of whom were in subsequent years added to the church by baptism.

While thus zealously attending on their ministry, their divine Master was pleased to exercise their faith by a severe trial. Towards the end of the summer of 1817, a contagious fever prevailed in these islands, which was peculiarly fatal to Europeans, carrying off great numbers, and likewise extending its ravages to the missionary settlements. Most of the missionaries suffered from it; and in less than five weeks three brethren and two sisters, finished their earthly pilgrimage, and entered into the joy of their Lord.

SECTION II.

Jamaica.

Several respectable gentlemen in London, who possessed considerable estates in Jamaica, had with much zeal and expense supported various measures for the instruction of their Negroes in Christianity, but without any apparent success. Becoming acquainted with the Brethren and their successful labours in St. Thomas, they requested the directors of our missions to send some missionaries to instruct their slaves, adding, that it would be particularly gratifying to them if the Rev. Zacharias George Caries, whose sermons they had themselves attended with acceptance and profit, should be found willing to engage in this service.

Brother Caries readily consented, and, with two other brethren, sailed for Jamaica in October, 1754. On their arrival every thing favoured their undertaking. The promoters of it generously cared for their external support, and erected a house on a piece of land given by them for the use of the mission, and which was called Carmel. They also encouraged the Negroes to attend the preaching of the gospel, allowing them the necessary time and liberty. They came in great numbers, and, at the end of the first year, the missionaries computed their regular hearers at about eight hundred, of whom twenty-six had been baptized. Besides preaching on the three estates belonging to the promoters of the mission, brother Caries was invited by several other gentlemen to instruct their slave Negroes also. He met with but little opposition from the white people; even those who at first were rather hostile in their views, changed their sentiments almost as soon as they heard and conversed with him. Indeed they attended his sermons in such numbers (in many cases with evident blessing to themselves), that he found it necessary to preach separately to them and the Negroes.

In this prosperous state the mission continued for two or three years. There were two regular stations, namely, at Carmel and Emmaus, and preachings were kept on three other plantations, the Bogue, Island, and Mesopotamia. The number of catechumens amounted to four hundred, and that of the baptized to seventy-seven. More labourers being now required, some brethren arrived from Europe and North America in 1757 and 1759. But differing in opinion from their predecessors, and conceiving that the Negroes had been too hastily admitted to baptism, they treated them with greater strictness, and prolonged the time of the probation of the catechumens. This discouraged the poor slaves; many of them withdrew and even absented themselves from the public preaching; the harmony of the missionaries was interrupted and their zeal in the cause paralyzed. In 1759 brother Caries returned to Europe with brother Nath. Seidel, who had been sent over on a visitation, whose endeavours to revive the sinking cause were but partially successful; and several years elapsed before the mission recovered the detriment it had sustained.

Amidst these disheartening circumstances, it was an encouragement to the missionaries to find, that none of the slaves belonging to the five plantations, where they had regularly preached the gospel, were implicated in the rebellion of the Negroes in 1760. On the contrary, they were often in danger of being surprised by the rebels, till the latter were driven to seek an asylum in the woods and mountains.

In 1764, and the following years, the prospect again assumed a brighter appearance. Brother Frederic Schlegel, having arrived in order to take the general superintendence of the mission, was enabled, by divine grace, to restore harmony among the missionaries, and reanimate their drooping zeal. This had the effect that those Negroes, who had formerly been baptized, returned, and the smothered embers of the divine life in their souls were rekindled, so that the missionaries could employ some of them as assistants in preaching to their countrymen. By degrees the number of their hearers increased, and they found opportunities of declaring the gospel in some new places, and even of visiting the Negroes who live in the mountains. In the year 1767 one hundred and thirty-one were admitted to holy baptism, and the following year very nearly the same number.

After the decease of brother Schlegel, who entered into rest in 1770, the promising revival in this mission received a fresh check. The eagerness of the Negroes to hear the gospel subsided, and even some of the baptized relapsed into paganism. It ought here to be mentioned, that the labours of the missionaries were, through necessity, almost wholly restricted to the slaves belonging to a few plantations. In subsequent years an oppressive scarcity of provisions, and in 1778 fears of an hostile attack tended still further to impede the progress of the work.

Things remained in this languishing state for several succeeding years. Even at the Bogue, which still presented the greatest field for usefulness, the auditory seldom consisted of more than sixty people, and never amounted to a hundred. Consequently the annual addition to the church, by new converts from the heathen, was very small. Nothing could have encouraged the missionaries to remain at their post, but the consideration, that in the sight of God *one* human soul is of infinite value.

The insalubrity of the climate exposed them to frequent indispositions and often rendered a change of missionaries necessary. Thus brother Samuel Church, who, from the year 1787, had, with great faithfulness, superintended the affairs of this mission, found himself necessitated to return to England in 1792.

Brother Nathaniel Brown and his wife, on their voyage from Philadelphia to Jamaica, in 1797, were captured by a French privateer off Cape Nicola Mole in St. Domingo, and carried to Jean Rabel. They were kept prisoners for a fortnight, but treated with great civility, and, after due examination, set at liberty and suffered to proceed. An American merchant procured them a passport from the governor, and on the 7th of August they sailed with an American brig, which was engaged as a flag of truce, and in a few hours reached the Mole. Proceeding under convoy with several vessels, they arrived at Kingston, in Jamaica, on the 4th of September. During their stay in this town they experienced much kindness from the methodists, especially from the Rev. Mr. Fish.

The slow progress of this mission was still further impeded, about this time, by the rebellion of the maroons (slaves, who have eloped from their masters and live in the mountains, where they occupy several villages,) and the consequent introduction of martial law. Tranquillity was disturbed, all business was at a stand, and every person obliged to bear arms. From the last, however, the missionaries were exempted; and their places of abode were at a considerable distance from the theatre of these disturbances. They were likewise preserved from those depredations and murders which were committed by the runaway Negroes in 1798. And, what more particularly excited their gratitude, was that they observed a greater attention to the gospel in many of the slaves.

About this time some gentlemen in London, who had considerable possessions in this island, applied to the Brethren for one or more missionaries, to be sent out for the special purpose of instructing the Negroes belonging to their plantations, taking upon themselves their entire maintenance so as not to trench upon the general fund, the resources of which were barely sufficient to defray the expenses of the more promising fields cultivated by the Brethren. In order to meet the wishes of these gentlemen, the brethren Joseph Jackson (who was born in this island, his father having formerly laboured in this mission), and Thos. Ellis, and their wives, went in the spring of 1800 to Jamaica. On their arrival they found most of the resident missionaries ailing. Brother Howel and his wife were gone to North America for the recovery of their health, and brother Brown, after the decease of his wife, had returned to Pennsylvania. The services of the new missionaries, therefore, were immediately needed in the old settlements; and in this they acquiesced the more readily as the requisite arrangements for their accommodation had not yet been made in those places for which they were properly destined.

In subsequent years appearances became rather more hopeful, and the attendance of the Negroes, especially at Union and Elim (two new stations), was encouraging. Noticing the celebration of the anniversary of this mission in 1804, it being fifty years since its commencement, our brethren remark: "Though we cannot exult over a very abundant harvest of souls which these fifty years have produced, or even over present prospects, yet we find sufficient cause of gratitude to the Lord, for having preserved a seed in Jamaica also, which in his own good time may grow up into a rich harvest. It appears from the church register, that from the commencement of this mission, to the present date, nine hundred and thirty-eight Negroes have been baptized."

A few years after the mission sustained a very serious loss by the departure of brother Joseph Jackson, who fell asleep in Jesus, on December 9th, 1808, in the fortieth year of his age. The loss of such a man was the more to be deplored, as his natural and acquired endowments, joined to great urbanity of manners, and fervent zeal in the Lord's service, qualified him for more extensive usefulness in the church of the brethren.

The time for which the missionaries had long waited and fervently prayed, seemed now to have arrived, when the gospel would run and be glorified even in Jamaica. A greater desire was evidently excited among the Negroes to become savingly acquainted with the truths of Christianity. They attended the preachings in greater numbers, and evinced more earnestness in seeking to attain a right understanding of what they heard. For the attainment of this end the missionaries found a regulation, which they made in 1812, very useful, in meeting their people, especially the catechumens, in classes. Concerning this they remark: "It is pleasing to see the eagerness with which the Negroes come to this meeting. We are chiefly occupied with asking questions and explaining texts of scripture. They are all anxious that they may not come behind in proper answers, and, therefore, never stay away but from urgent necessity. We find that this mode of instruction makes a more lasting impression upon their minds than a regular sermon."

Among the new people, who about this time sought for instruction in Christian doctrine, was a Mahomedan, who had come twelve miles to visit the missionary. He introduced himself by saying: "Massa, I would have you know that I want to come to you to be baptized. I am a Mahomedan, and in my country we also believe in Moses. But I think my faith is now old and not the right one; I wish to come to Jesus Christ; I have one wife, and she is of the same mind. We have prayers together; and always pray to Jesus Christ. Did we not live so far off, we should have come before now and begged you to baptize us."

October 4th, 1812, a violent hurricane, followed in a few days by a smart shock of an earthquake, which continued half a minute, did very considerable damage in the island, and plunged the Negroes into great distress, as all their provision-grounds were destroyed. Brother Lang, in a letter dated Carmel, March 15th, 1813, writes: "Whenever we visit them in their huts they cry out, "Massa, hunger kill we;' and indeed they look so lean and emaciated, that we cannot behold them without pity. It will be two months before the plantain and Indian corn become fit for use. Were it not for our coffee planters, who, when coffee fell so much in price, planted plenty of a certain fruit, growing in the ground, which the storm cannot carry away, the poor people would absolutely be in danger of starving."

In June, 1815, brother Ward and his wife arrived from England, having been appointed for the service of this mission. Soon after their arrival they took the charge of the instruction of the Negroes on Island and Windsor estates, and fixed on Williamsfield as the most convenient place for their residence. On Island there were some baptized Negroes, the gospel having been occasionally preached there for many years, but those belonging to Windsor were ignorant heathen. The difference between them was striking, and appeared even in their manners and customs. The missionary soon found that his labours in these places were attended with the divine blessing. His auditories were, in general, large and very attentive, and many desired more special instruction, that they might be prepared for receiving holy baptism. The endeavours of the missionaries at Carmel were equally successful. Brother Lang writes: "The number of our hearers is on the increase, and the preaching of the gospel evinces its power on the hearts of the Negroes, which also appears in their moral conduct. Some walk in true fellowship of spirit with our Saviour, and have received the assurance of the forgiveness of their sins; others are mourning on account of sin, and seeking salvation in Jesus. Of the latter class there are about two hundred. One Sabbath, lately, a Negro from an estate, about fifteen miles from Carmel, brought me a stick, marked with seven notches, each notch denoting ten Negroes, informing me that there were so many Negroes on that estate engaged in praying to the Lord. About twenty of them attend divine worship at Peru: they are all unbaptized, but desirous of receiving holy baptism. The awakening spreads, and we entertain hopes that our Saviour will now gather a rich harvest in Jamaica."

Of the new stations, Elim and Peru were the most flourishing. The attornies and overseers on these estates, no less than the proprietors in England, promoted the endeavours of the missionaries by every means in their power. This indeed was now the case on all the plantations.

In the spring of 1816, however, some gentlemen endeavoured to obstruct the work, and for a short time intimidated the Negroes, so that the preachings were less numerously attended. Complaints were even lodged against the missionaries before the governor, but being unsupported by evidence, he was too just to condemn them without proof. And as an application on their part to be heard in their defence was not attended to, they determined to be quiet and commit their cause to God. In a little while the storm subsided and they could undisturbedly continue their labours.

The situation at the Bogue being, on several accounts, unfavourable for a missionary settlement, a new house and other necessary buildings were erected at a short distance from the former. To this place, which they called Eden, the missionaries removed in the summer of 1816. Here, and at the three stations of Mesopotamia, Carmel and Williamsfield, they continued their labours for the conversion of the Negroes. Besides this they preached regularly on the plantations of Elim, Peru, Union, Two-mile-wood, Island and Windsor.

SECTION III.

Antigua.

The missionaries residing in St. Thomas had long directed their attention to those islands in the West Indies, which belonged to the crown of England, hoping to find means of preaching the gospel also in them. The paucity of their number, however, and the frequent deaths which occurred among them, rendered this benevolent design abortive for a considerable time. At length, in 1756, brother Samuel Isles, who had spent eight years in St. Thomas, went to Antigua. On his arrival he waited on the governor, and showed him the act which had been passed in 1749 in favour of the Brethren. Some gentlemen patronized him, giving him permission to preach on their plantations. The following year he had the pleasure of performing the first baptismal transaction in this island on a Negro woman. In the sequel proposals were made to him for building a place of worship for the Negroes. This was effected in 1761, on a piece of ground, in the town of St. John's, bought for the purpose of forming a missionary establishment.

For several years the progress of the work was rather slow. Brother Isles and his two assistants, John Bennet and William Lister, continued to preach the gospel wherever a door was opened. On the one hand they met with no remarkable opposition, and on the other they saw no very striking effects attend their labours. Samuel Isles finished his race in 1764, having spent eight years in the service of this mission, during which period only thirty-six Negroes had been baptized. His successors did not relax in their endeavours, but sowed the seed of the gospel, in hopes of a fruitful harvest at some future period, for as yet the prospect was very discouraging, their congregation in St. John's having been reduced to fourteen members, and few of the heathen showing any inclination to attend the church.

This was the unpromising state of things when brother Brown arrived there from North America in May 1769. It pleased the Sovereign Lord of his vineyard to crown the zealous exertions of this missionary with signal success. Imbibing a measure of the spirit of his divine master, Brown was not content with addressing the Negroes in public, but followed them into their huts, and in private conversation earnestly and affectionately entreated them to attend to the things belonging to their peace. Besides performing the regular services in the town, he preached on two plantations in the country. The auditories increased; many heathen were converted, and in less than two years the baptized amounted to upwards of eighty. These invited their friends and acquaintances to go with them to church, and many, who came at first from mere curiosity, were by degrees so powerfully awakened, that they never absented themselves except in cases of the most urgent necessity.

This increase of their congregation rendered the enlargement of the chapel necessary. On this occasion the Christian Negroes, in a very pleasing manner, evidenced the influence of the gospel on their minds. When they came to the meetings, on week-day evenings, each brought a few stones or other materials with him. A baptized Negro, who was a mason, with the help of a few others, did all the masonry, and others did the carpenter's work, and completed the whole building in their free hours, after their daily tasks were done. And those, who could not assist in the labour, provided victuals for the workmen.

Difficulties were not wanting. The brethren, who had hitherto assisted brother Brown, were obliged to leave the island on account of ill health, and brother Ben. Brookshaw, who arrived there in 1771, and whose qualifications for the work were of the most promising kind, was called home by the Lord the following March; and as sister Brown likewise departed this life, her husband was for several months left quite alone.

In 1772 they suffered from a calamity of a more public nature. The island was visited by a violent hurricane, which did great damage, threw down one of the houses on the mission-settlement and considerably injured the rest. By the mercy of God the chapel, in which the missionaries and many Negroes had taken refuge, remained standing.

This calamity, however, appeared to make a salutary impression on the Negroes, teaching them the importance of knowing that Lord who is "a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest." A new awakening arose among the slaves, which, like a fire from the Lord, spread in every direction. The auditories at the mission-chapel increased every year; so that in 1775 the number of the stated hearers amounted to two thousand; and not a month elapsed without an addition to the church of ten or twenty by baptism.

The missionaries therefore found it necessary, not only to erect a new and more spacious place of worship in St. John's, but also to endeavour to obtain a second establishment, in some other part of the island, in order, more especially, to accommodate those Negroes who lived at a distance from the town. The building of the new chapel was completed in 1773, and the following year they purchased a piece of ground called Bailey-hill, at no great distance from the town of Falmouth, and in the neighbourhood of several plantations, on which many of their converts resided.

In 1778 a severe famine prevailed, which plunged the Negroes into the greatest distress; many were found lying quite exhausted in the fields, and not a few perished with hunger. Some managers were so cruel as to give to the cattle the food, which the proprietors had ordered for their slaves. Contagious diseases followed, and thefts and robberies became frequent, whereby many industrious Negroes lost all their little property. Under these heavy circumstances the power of divine grace was strikingly exhibited in the conduct of the Christian Negroes. They not only refrained from all unlawful means of helping themselves, but bore their sufferings with exemplary patience, never resenting the injuries done them, nor taking revenge on those who robbed them. One of them, when returning from his work in the evening, and finding that thieves had been in his house, said, with a very placid mien: "Well, they have not been able to rob me of my greatest treasure, the grace of my Saviour. They are more to be pitied than I am."

The situation of Bailey-hill having been found very inconvenient, on account of the great acclivity of the hill, the missionaries were glad to meet with a more convenient place at no great distance. Thither they removed in 1782, and called it Gracehill. Their congregations here and in St. John's now amounted to two thousand and sixty-nine baptized Negroes, and with the catechumens and regular hearers nearly to double that number.

The external circumstances of the mission continued rather difficult. Hard labour, sickness, famine and depredations were trials, which the Christian Negroes shared in common with others. Frequent apprehensions of a hostile attack from the French, who took the island in 1782, but restored it to Britain the following year, and the necessary preparations of defence had an injurious influence. The baptized Negroes were exposed to persecution and oppressive treatment, both from their heathen fellow-slaves and from some of the managers. A Negro, who accompanied his master on a voyage, was captured by the French and carried to Gaudaloupe, where he suffered severe imprisonment. His Christian behaviour drew the attention of the jailor; who, on learning that the prisoner was baptized, gave him more liberty, and even promoted his return to Antigua.

One of the greatest trials the missionaries occasionally felt, was the removal of some of their converts to other islands, where they had no opportunity of hearing the gospel. In such cases, however, they had frequently the pleasure to hear that the Christian Negroes kept together, and by prayer and mutual edification, encouraged each other to remain faithful to their baptismal engagements. By these means they often proved a blessing to their unconverted countrymen, and it occurred more than once that some of the latter, when transported to Antigua, immediately sought fellowship with our brethren.

After the restoration of peace, in 1783, the Negroes evinced a growing desire to hear the gospel. Baptismal transactions were numerous and frequent. In St. John's sixty adults were, by this sacred rite, in one day embodied in the church; and that congregation received, in one year, an accession of upwards of four hundred new members; and the congregation at Gracehill was, within the same period, increased by more than three hundred persons. The number of apostates was comparatively small.

These very large additions rendered it necessary to celebrate the Lord's Supper in two divisions at St. Johns. For as yet the missionaries had been unsuccessful in their endeavours to obtain a piece of ground, in a convenient situation for a third settlement. To obviate, in some degree, the difficulty experienced by many of the Negroes, who lived at a considerable distance, in attending the regular service in the settlements, the missionaries preached at stated times on several adjacent plantations. This measure was in general approved by the proprietors and managers. In one place a Negro, one of the native assistants, built a chapel at his own expense, sufficiently large to accommodate four hundred hearers.

In 1790 this mission sustained a very heavy loss by the removal of brother Brown. This missionary, who for twenty-two years had laboured with indefatigable zeal in this part of the Lord's vineyard, and been instrumental in the conversion of many hundred Negroes, began to feel a declension, not only of his bodily health, but also of his mental faculties. His wife, likewise, besides general debility, had entirely lost her sight, and thus was incapacitated from attending to the female Negroes, and from rendering any other assistance to the mission. They, therefore, retired to Bethlehem in North America. Brother Samuel Watson succeeded Brown in the superintendence of the mission; but was removed to a better world in 1792, in the 47th year of his age, after having, with exemplary faithfulness, served the cause of God in this island upwards of sixteen years. More than two thousand Europeans and Negroes joined the solemnities of his funeral, as the last proof they could give of the esteem which all ranks attached to his memory. His place was supplied by brother Henry Christian Tschirpe, hitherto minister of the Brethren's congregation in Berlin.

In the night between the 18th and 19th of August 1795, a violent hurricane, accompanied with tremendous thunder and a severe shock of an earthquake, raged, and did very considerable damage in the island. The fences and out-houses in the two missionary settlements were totally destroyed, and the dwelling-houses were much injured; but the missionaries gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God in protecting them from all personal hurt.

The following year they succeeded in accomplishing the long projected measure of forming a third settlement. They made a purchase of a small piece of ground in Old Road Town, lying near the coast, and at the distance of thirteen miles from each of the two other settlements. Having repaired an old house standing upon the premises, they used it both for a dwelling and a meeting-room, till a regular chapel could be built. This place received the name of Grace-bay; and brother J. F. Reichel and his wife removing thither early in 1797, it proved a great convenience to many Negroes, especially the aged and infirm. A congregation consisting of six hundred Christian Negroes, who had formerly belonged to St. John's or Gracehill, was immediately collected, and many, who had never been at church before, now began to attend the preaching of the gospel at this station, were solidly awakened by the Spirit of God, and joined the fellowship of the believers.

Many instances, evidencing the benign influence of the gospel on the sentiments and conduct of the Christian Negroes, and of the increasing esteem entertained for the Brethren's labours by most of the planters, continued to occur. The following, selected from a number of others, will serve to corroborate this assertion.

Richard, one of the native assistants, closed his earthly pilgrimage in his ninety-ninth year. Even in that advanced age he was very lively and active, and much respected by his proprietor. A rather singular circumstance paved the way for his conversion. He and another slave once endeavoured to promote a dance, in order to keep the Negroes from going to church. But this scheme was defeated, for all the rest declared "they preferred going to church." This irritated Richard and his comrade. They, however, resolved to go to the meeting to see and hear for themselves; when the Lord opened their hearts, so that they both seriously attended to the things which were spoken by the missionary.

Joseph, another Negro, who died about this time, had been baptized in the church of England, but afterwards joined the Brethren. Having obtained his freedom, he engaged as valet to a gentleman. His master often entered into familiar conversation with him, and once addressed him thus: "Joseph, you are a fool to be always going to Gracehill, for you were baptized in the English church." The Negro replied: "I *was* a fool when I gave the clergyman money to baptize me, though he never instructed me in the doctrine of salvation; this I have been taught in Gracehill. You, sir, are a great gentleman and a Christian, and yet you never go to church; but I will tell you, I would not change with you, though I am but a poor Negro. *Me* you cannot hinder from going to Gracehill; but I entreat you, sir, do not hinder your *slaves*."

The happy departure of a slave terminated his sufferings in this life. Being lame, and consequently useless, he had to endure extreme misery. His black brethren esteemed him highly on account of his faith and love to Jesus, and would gladly have helped him, but his unmerciful master would not permit it. He was found lying dead on a rock, and the Negroes were not allowed to make a coffin for him, even at their own expense.

Inhuman behaviour of this kind, however, became more and more rare: on the contrary, the planters, in general, knew how to appreciate the worth of their Christian slaves. A gentleman, having lost a Negro of this description, requested the missionary to hold a funeral discourse for him, and with tears in his eyes added: "His equal for fidelity and every other virtue, is scarce to be found in the whole island; and if Almighty God does open the gates of heaven to *any* man, it will surely be to this old and venerable Negro."

Another gentleman once declared "I esteem and love the Brethren, because they preach the gospel in its purity, and in a truly apostolical manner. My regard for them is founded on the experience of thirty-six years. I well remember the time, when not only white people were afraid of the Negroes, but when even the latter could not trust each other, and murders were quite common. But, when the missionaries began to preach the gospel, it displayed its power, and changed the hearts of the slaves."

To the same effect another planter expressed himself, remarking, "Formerly we could hardly procure ropes enough on a Monday, for the purpose of punishing those slaves who had committed crimes on Sunday; twenty, thirty, and even more were frequently hung; but since the gospel has been preached to them, scarcely two are hung in a whole year, and these for the most part are strange Negroes, who have not been long in the island."

In process of time the missionaries observed, with grief, that the eagerness of the Negroes to hear and obey the gospel was rather declining; yet they still found abundant cause of acknowledging the goodness of God in making them the happy instruments of removing the galling fetters of sin from the heart of many a poor slave. And though in their attendance on the means of grace they did not always exhibit that earnestness which their teachers so much desired, yet on Sundays and festival seasons the auditories were crowded. Thus the congregation of St. John's, on Easter Monday 1804, consisted of nearly three thousand people; and during the preceding week they had, besides their regular evening services in the chapel, held meetings on thirty-four estates in the neighbourhood of that settlement for contemplating the passion scenes of our Saviour.

Towards the close of 1802, the island was visited by a very dangerous epidemic, which chiefly affected the white inhabitants, and carried off several hundred persons. At that time, however, death did not enter the dwellings of the missionaries. But some months before they had lost one of their number, brother Luke Turner. His departure was the more afflictive to his fellow-labourers, as he was still in the prime of life, and had been only two years on the island. But in that short period he had given sufficient proofs of his zeal in the Lord's service, and by his modest and unassuming character gained the esteem and love of all who knew him. The physician, with tears in his eyes, bore testimony to this. Addressing one of the brethren he said: "For these many months, sir, we have not lost one white patient. However, your friend is best prepared for it, though he cannot speak. His very countenance shows the peace of his heart and the rest of his soul. He will be rewarded in heaven. Look at his Christian composure, his end will be as his life, easy and mild. I pity you, that you should lose a man of such a character."

The first months of the year 1805 were a period of much anxiety, as an invasion from the French was almost daily expected. The presence of their fleet in these seas kept the inhabitants constantly on the alert. The colony was under martial law, and all business at a stand. On March the 10th the town of St. John's was suddenly thrown into the utmost consternation, and people were flying in all directions, a report being circulated that the enemy had landed on Johnson's point, and were marching to the town. This fortunately proved a false alarm; and the island was preserved in peace.

In 1808 a trial of a more private nature, but truly distressing to the cause in which they were engaged, befel the missionaries. Nearly all of them suffered from severe illnesses, and that much about the same time, which rendered the duty of those who remained tolerably well, doubly arduous; and, if the Lord had not made their strength equal to their day, the regular service of their numerous congregations must have been still more interrupted than it was. On this occassion brother J. C. Schnepf closed his useful life; and brother Sautter and his wife went to North America, for the recovery of his health. Through the mercy of God the change of air proved beneficial, and they returned the following year.

It had long been the wish of the missionaries to commence a regular school with the children, but their state of servitude had hitherto put an insurmountable barrier in the way. All they could do, therefore, consisted in holding a separate meeting with the children on Sundays, and occasionally also on other days. These meetings were frequently attended by several hundreds, and even by a thousand young people. On these occasions the missionaries adopted the catechetical mode of instruction, giving them texts of Scripture and short hymns to learn, which they repeated at the next meeting. The prejudices, entertained by most planters, against the Negroes learning to read, which had always been the most formidable impediment, began gradually to subside. The missionaries gladly availed themselves of this favourable change, and in 1810 commenced a regular *Sunday-school* at St. John's, adopting the Lancasterian method of instruction. They were kindly assisted by a worthy young man, belonging to the Methodist society.

The school was opened on the 3d of June with eighty scholars, but their number in a short time increased to seven hundred. The parents of the children, no less than the children themselves, received this instruction with joy and gratitude. The progress of the latter both surprized and delighted their teachers. They remark, that the Negroes evinced a great regard and love for the Word of God, and used to steal time from their hours of rest to learn to read, in order to peruse the holy Scriptures. This rendered the present of Bibles and Testaments, sent to them by the worthy British and Foreign Bible Society, doubly valuable.

At Gracehill, where the duties of the missionaries in preaching in the chapel and on several plantations left them no time on the Lord's day for keeping school, they endeavoured to obviate this disadvantage in some measure, by devoting one day in the week to the instruction of the young. The school commenced on the estate of Mr. G., a gentleman who had always shown himself a zealous promoter of the intellectual and moral improvement of his Negroes. It began with sixty scholars, who attended three hours in the forenoon, and the same time in the afternoon.

The situation of Grace-bay being rather unhealthy, the missionaries made a purchase of a small estate on the *Manchineel* hill, to which they removed in 1811. The congregation belonging to that place, including the catechumens and children, then consisted of twelve hundred and sixteen persons.

Very early in the morning of October 1, 1812, the missionaries were roused from sleep by tremenduous gusts of wind, the prelude to a hurricane which raged with unabating violence for several hours, accompanied with heavy thunder and vivid lightning, and a smart shock of an earthquake. Considerable damage was done to the fences, out-houses, and roofs of the three settlements. Happily, however, the chapels and dwelling-houses remained standing, and none of the missionary family suffered any personal injury. The whole year was a very heavy period. Owing to the dryness of the season and the war with America, provisions rose to an exorbitant price; and Indian corn, the common food of the Negroes, was scarcely to be procured at any price. Famine and disease prevailed among whites and blacks. More than two hundred of the congregation at St. John's finished their earthly career.

But, amidst all difficulties, the faith and courage of the missionaries were sustained and animated by repeated proofs that God not only cared for their temporal wants, but most graciously prospered their exertions for the conversion of the Negroes. If at times they found cause to lament over the luke-warmness, and even the actual apostacy of some of their people, their joy was so much the greater, when, through the faithful care of the good Shepherd, some of these strayed sheep returned to the fold. Among these was the Negro Mich. Burke, who had been baptized in 1791, but some years afterwards left the fellowship of believers. At length, after many wanderings, he came back to the missionaries, and, having given satisfactory evidence of true repentance and a real change of mind, was re-admitted to the congregation in the beginning of 1812. Now he could not find words to bemoan his wicked conduct, or to extol the mercy of our Saviour in again awakening him from the sleep of sin, and not suffering him to be eternally lost. On one occasion he said: "Oh! how much happiness have I lost, which I cannot now regain. Through the tender mercy of the good Shepherd I am brought back to the fold, and plucked as a brand out of the burning; but I have lost much. Tell my brethren and sisters to take warning by me, and not to depart from our Saviour and his people, but hold fast the grace which they have received. O tell every one from me, to hold fast what they have got." About midsummer he departed this life, relying on the grace of God in Christ Jesus.

SECTION IV.

Barbadoes.

The island to which, in the order of time, the Brethren next directed their attention, was Barbadoes. Two brethren went thither in 1765; but one of them departed this life almost immediately, and the other withdrew from their connexion. A third, who was sent to supply the place of the first, in a short time followed him into eternity. Thus the undertaking was suspended till 1767, when Brother Benjamin Brukshaw, a native of Cheshire, resolved to go thither by himself, and renew the mission. He arrived in the island in May, and immediately waited on the president of the council and the resident clergy, all of whom approved of his design, and wished him God's blessing for his labours. These he began at Bridgetown, preaching to the Negroes and visiting them on their plantations. Many proprietors favoured the undertaking, encouraged their slaves to hear the gospel, and attended themselves.

In August brother J. Bennet came from North America to assist in the work. As the number of their hearers was constantly increasing, they purchased a small house and fitted it up both for dwellings and a meeting-place. The Negroes, not only attended divine service on the Lord's-day, but frequently visited the missionaries during the week; so that they were often employed from morning till night. The gospel found entrance into the hearts of some, and on the 10th of September 1768 a Negro woman was baptized, being the first fruit of this mission. Soon after five others were added to the church by this holy ordinance. Many planters, perceiving the good effects following the labours of the missionaries, invited them to preach on their estates.

This encouraging prospect, however, did not long continue. It soon appeared, that many Negroes had attended the preaching from mere curiosity; these, therefore, as soon as the novelty ceased, intermitted their attendance. Among the few stated hearers little of vital godliness was to be discovered; so that the missionaries found little freedom to admit any to baptism.

After the removal of brother Brukshaw, who in 1771 went to Antigua, and the decease of brother Bennet in 1772, the mission was involved in very distressing circumstances. Pecuniary and other difficulties oppressed it from without, and dissensions among the missionaries themselves disturbed its internal peace, and injured the work in which they were engaged. At length only one missionary was left on the island; and thus, neither the public preaching of the gospel, nor the instruction of the few baptized and the catechumens, could be properly attended to.

The following year brother John Angerman arrived and renewed the work with zeal and courage, and not wholly without success; but he finished his earthly career in 1775. His fellow-labourer continued, amidst many difficulties, to sow the seed of the Word, in hopes of a plentiful harvest at some future period, for as yet the prospect was far from encouraging.

About this time the brethren occupied two stations. Brother Meder and his wife lived in a hired house near Bridgetown, and another missionary and his wife, together with an unmarried brother, resided in the mission-house in the parish of St. Thomas. In both these places they suffered severely from the hurricane, which raged in October 1780. Their houses and out-buildings in both places were thrown down. In vain did they seek an asylum in other houses, for they shared the same fate. With the utmost difficulty they escaped being buried under the ruins, and were obliged to weather the storm in the open air, without shelter of any kind, and lost nearly all their provisions and property. The mission was thus thrown into new difficulties.*

No very promising change took place for several subsequent years. Few Negroes, except those who had formerly been baptized, and who did not exceed twenty in number, attended the preaching. They were indeed ready enough to *assent* to the truth of what the missionaries told them; but secret enmity to the gospel lurked in their hearts, and they appeared to be in an awful manner under the influence of the power of darkness. The planters also, with few exceptions, now changed their opinion and disapproved of their slaves becoming Christians.

In the year 1790 the prospect became more cheering. The auditories increased, and sometimes amounted to a hundred and fifty: a small number indeed, when compared with the crowded congregations in Antigua and the Danish West India islands; but in Barbadoes even *this* increase was hailed with feelings of joy and gratitude. Their zeal and hope were still more enlivened by observing the saving power of the gospel in several heathen Negroes, who were admitted to baptism, and the consistent conduct of those who had long been members of the church. By degrees more of the planters became favourably disposed towards the mission, and it was treated with respect by the government.

The situation of the mission-house in the parish of St. Thomas had long been considered as an obstacle to the prosperity of the mission. For some years the dwellings of our brethren had been in a ruinous condition, and the situation was unhealthy, as there was no proper road leading to it, and inconvenient, as the members of the congregation resided mostly at a considerable distance. Measures were, therefore, taken in 1794 to obtain a new place for their residence. This was accomplished by the purchase of a small estate, containing four acres of ground, with a large house upon it. In July brother Hofeman and his wife moved thither, and the other missionaries soon followed. They found it a very eligible situation, being in the midst of populous estates, and much nearer to the town than their former residence. They called it Sharon.

Brother Hodgson and his wife, who had for some time served the mission in St. Kitts, receiving in 1797 an appointment to Barbadoes, on their way to that island from Antigua must have been lost at sea, as no intelligence was ever received, either of them, or of their fellow-passengers on board the packet in which they sailed.

The following year brother Waller and his wife and sister Mary Grant, on their passage from Bristol to Barbadoes, suffered shipwreck off Kinsale in Ireland, the vessel striking on a rock, about two hundred yards from the shore. They were for four hours in constant fear of being swallowed up by the waves, till, by the ebbing of the tide, they found it practicable to reach the land. Scarcely, however, had they escaped the fury of the water, when a gang of robbers, with knives and hatchets, rushed upon the whole ship's company, threatening their lives, and plundering the wreck. Fortunately a party of soldiers at that instant made their appearance, and fired upon the depredators, by which five of them were killed. During this horrid scene the passengers effected their escape, but could save nothing of their property, except the clothes they had on. The ship was entirely lost. The methodist minister at Kinsale, and several members of his congregation, showed the missionaries much kindness, and supplied them with the needful articles of clothing. In January 1799 they sailed in a vessel from Cork, and had a very pleasant and expeditious voyage to Barbadoes.

Since the building of the new chapel at Sharon the missionaries had in general pretty large and attentive auditories, and a gradual increase to the number of baptized, which in 1800 amounted to upwards of one hundred and sixty. In succeeding years no change of any moment occurred in this mission. Compared with the labours of our missionaries in other islands, their exertions here were crowned with little success; but knowing that "their judgment was with the Lord and their reward with their God," and considering the value of one human soul, if gained for Christ by the preaching of the gospel, they were encouraged to proceed in the path of duty.

In 1812 an event occurred, which threw all the inhabitants of the island into the utmost consternation, and which was occasioned by the eruption of mount Soufriere. The reader will find an interesting account of this phenomenon, as far as its effects were felt in Barbadoes, in the following letter, written by brother Ganson, one of the missionaries:

"Having had no rain for a long time, April 30th in the evening, about ten o'clock, the sky looked extremely dark, and we expected heavy rain in the night, which being much wanted, created great joy. However, on May 1st, early in the morning, a most extraordinary and awful phenomenon presented itself, to the great alarm of all the inhabitants. At day-break about five o'clock, the horizon to the south appeared remarkably light. At six thick clouds had covered the whole sky, from whence issued, not indeed the long expected fruitful rain, but showers of a substance resembling dust, or ashes, but which were particles of volcanic matter. It now grew so excessively dark, that the like had never been seen nor heard of before. It reminded me of that awful darkness, when all nature seemed to shudder, and the sun hid his face at the expiration of the Son of God upon the cross. In this state of awful uncertainty, we looked up to our Almighty Father and Preserver, and he filled our hearts with peace. At seven o'clock our whole family was called together, and, during a solemn feeling of our helplessness, we exhorted each other to faith and trust in God our Redeemer, offered up fervent prayer for ourselves and our fellow-men, and were richly comforted by a sense of his divine presence. This inexplicable and utter darkness continued till about half-past twelve o'clock. About one, a little light from the sun's rays appeared, to the great comfort of every human being in the island. About three o'clock many Negroes from far and near assembled together in our church, forming a large congregation, to whom a discourse was delivered on the text, "The works of his hands are verity and judgment; all his commandments are sure;" (Psalm cxi. 7.) concluded with fervent prayer.

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* The hurricane lasted twenty-four hours. Trees and plantations were destroyed; churches and many houses thrown down; and several thousand persons lost their lives.

"So great was the consternation of all the inhabitants, that the large church of Bridgetown was, on this awful day, so crowded, as hardly to contain the people, who, with lanterns in their hands, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, took refuge in the house of prayer. The fall of dust lay about three or four inches thick on even ground, and we have been troubled with clouds of it, raised by the high winds, which have prevailed since that day. We have as yet had no rain, so that every thing is dried up; the poor cattle have nothing to eat, and to all appearance both man and beast will have much to suffer. All kinds of provisions are extremely dear.

"May 6th a member of assembly from St. Vincent arrived here applying for succour. Our legislature met, and resolved to send a vessel with provisions, to the amount of two thousand pounds, which, considering the lamentable state in which this island is now left, was a noble proof of their humanity and fellow-feeling. May the Lord grant these remarkable events to be productive of good fruit in our hearts, that we may not only be alarmed at his judgments, but be in truth converted to him, in whom, though earth and heaven be dissolved, his children shall have eternal rest and peace."

By the protecting hand of God the missionaries were preserved from harm during the insurrection of the slaves, which broke out in April 1816, but was suppressed by a strong military force. They had the satisfaction to find that none of the Negroes belonging to their church had joined the rebels in their excesses and violence.

They experienced another merciful preservation during the hurricane, which in October 1817 raged with great violence in St. Lucia and other adjacent islands; for though several ships were stranded in the roads of Barbadoes, no damage was done in the island.

The conversion of the Negroes continued in general in the same gradual and less striking manner, which has all along characterized the progress of this mission.

SECTION V.

St. Kitts.

The missionaries of the Brethren in Antigua had received repeated invitations to extend their labours to the adjacent island of St. Kitt's.* Mr. Gardiner, who had a great number of Negroes on his estates, in a very urgent manner expressed his desire for their instruction in the truths of Christianity. In compliance with these wishes, the directors of the missions in 1777 dispatched the brethren Birkby and Gottwald, with their wives, to St. Kitts.

On their arrival they hired a house in the town of Basseterre. Here, and on one of Mr. Gardiner's estates, they regularly preached to the Negroes, who attended in considerable numbers, and by degrees several of them, becoming obedient to the doctrine of Christ, were added to the church by baptism. They also visited on some other plantations, and their testimony of Jesus did not remain unfruitful. Their undertaking was countenanced by most of the planters; and even during the attack and consequent capture of the island by the French in 1782, they neither received any personal injury, nor were molested in their missionary labours; on the contrary, the French commander assured them of his favour and protection.

The seed of the Word, sown in this island, was less rapid in its growth than in some other places, for in 1781 the converts scarcely exceeded forty; but the fruit was generally abiding, and exhibited a pleasing degree of maturity. The temporal condition of the Negroes was in many respects superior to the circumstances of the slaves in other islands. Among the converts were several free persons, and others were possessed of considerable property and very decent habitations.

In 1785 the missionaries purchased a small piece of ground, on which they erected the needful buildings. Hereby they were provided with greater conveniences for serving the Negroes with the word and ordinances of the gospel. The number of their hearers and converts increased. This gradually excited observation, and stimulated others to similar exertions. The clergymen in the town held lectures to the Negroes twice in the week, and the methodist preachers laboured with their accustomed activity. This, though it lessened the auditories of our missionaries, did not diminish the number of their converts. On the contrary, they increased so much in a few years, that it was found necessary to build a larger chapel. This was completed in 1789, the Christian Negroes not only assisting in the work by manual labour, but also aiding it by pecuniary contributions. On the day of the solemn opening of this new place of worship, eighteen persons were baptized, and three, who had belonged to other denominations, were admitted members of the Brethren's church. The baptized amounted to two hundred and seventy-nine, besides eighty catechumens.

A fire from the Lord was now kindled in this mission, which contined to burn in subsequent years, so that the number of those, who from the heart believed in our Saviour, was constantly increasing, and in a few years amounted to upwards of two thousand and five hundred. The chapel was crowded with attentive hearers, even on week days; and on the Lord's day, large companies were standing outside and devoutly listening to the words of eternal life. Many Negroes came from a considerable distance, and the overseers and managers encouraged the attendance of their slaves. The missionaries themselves diligently itinerated through the country, preaching on several estates; and this, no doubt, was one great cause of the success which rewarded their labours. The eagerness of the Negroes to be instructed was well accounted for by one of them in the following simple manner. His master asked him, why the Negroes went so often to the chapel of the Brethren, as their masters never attended divine service but on Sundays; the slave replied, "Aye, you, sir, have the Bible, which you may read as often as you please; we poor Negroes have not this treasure; and we have long led very wicked lives; but now God hath sent teachers to us, from whom we learn what our Saviour has suffered for sinners; and that he is willing to forgive our sins. Do you not think, sir, that this is a great benefit conferred on us, and that it ought to make our souls hunger after it!"

During the night preceding Easter Sunday, in 1792, the town of Basseterre was visited by a dreadful inundation. Many houses were swept away, and several lives lost. The missionaries were mercifully preserved, though their premises sustained considerable injury, and only two members of the congregation were drowned. Their chapel was the only place of worship fit for the performance of divine service.

A hurricane, which raged in August the following year, caused great destruction on their premises. It was next to a miracle that their dwelling-house was now totally demolished. The missionary family took refuge in the chapel, and, though all the spouts were blown down, and the building itself cracked several times, as if crushed by some immense weight falling upon it, they sustained no bodily injury.

Amidst these outward distresses the work of the Lord prospered. Divine service at Basseterre was often attended by very crowded auditories; and doors for preaching to the Negroes were opened to the missionaries on fifty plantations. At the close of 1794 the members of their congregation were one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight; and by the end of 1800 this number was increased to two thousand five hundred and sixty-nine.

In consequence of the contest between Great Britain and France provisions rose to an exorbitant price, which often reduced the Negroes to extreme want. And as the island was frequently threatened with hostile invasion, it was in 1803 found necessary to enrol a *black corps* to assist in its defence. The missionaries observed with deep regret, that the new mode of life, thus introduced among the Negroes, had an injurious influence on their spiritual course, and they neglected no seasonable opportunity for exhorting their converts to prayer and watchfulness, and steadfast reliance on God, their almighty Saviour.

The threatened invasion was mercifully averted for some time; but in March 1805 the enemy put his threats into execution. On the 5th of that month a French fleet, consisting of ten sail, hove in sight, and came into the road of Basseterre. This spread universal consternation through the town, and most of the inhabitants fled into the country. Our brethren however remained; and such was the confidence which their fellow citizens reposed in them, that many brought their most valuable property to them for security, and some even sought shelter for themselves in the church. The French General Balbot fixed his head-quarters in their neighbourhood, and stationed a guard of four men and a corporal at the entrance of the burying-ground.

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* St. Kitt's is the name given to this island in the Reports of the missionary; English geographers call it St. Christopher.

Finding resistance would be vain, the council deputed some gentlemen to the French admiral and general, in order to capitulate. The terms of capitulation were in a short time agreed upon, and the enemy left the island after levying a contribution, burning five ships and a sloop, spiking the cannons, and demolishing the powder-magazines. Thus, by the mercy of God, tranquillity was restored in a few days, and our brethren, without having suffered any injury, could resume their missionary employments without fear or interruption.* Towards the close of the year 1806, brother C. F. Richter and his wife, and brother Eusebius Williams, arrived in St. Kitt's, in order to strengthen the hands of the old missionaries. But the Lord was pleased to remove the latter into eternal rest before the termination of another year. He died rather suddenly on the 12th of December, 1807, having the day before been seized with a paralytic affection, which lamed his right arm and both feet, and deprived him of the power of speech. His fellow-missionaries severely lamented their loss of him, for his amiable and affectionate disposition had procured him the esteem and love of all who knew him; and during the short period in which he served this mission, he had manifested an earnest desire and an ever wakeful zeal to promote the conversion of the Negroes, and their true welfare for time and eternity.

In 1813 the mission sustained another loss by the removal of brother George Ch. Schneller to England. Being in his 73d year, increasing infirmities induced him to retire from active service. He had spent thirty years in labouring for the conversion of the Negroes; namely, five years in Antigua, and twenty-five in St. Kitt's. After his return to Europe, he resided at the Brethren's settlement at Fairfield, near Manchester, where he finished his earthly pilgrimage, and entered into the joy of his Lord on September 15th, 1814. His brethren delineate his qualifications as a missionary in the following terms: "His inoffensive, unblamable deportment, and amiable and upright character, procured for him the esteem of all ranks, from the president to the meanest slave. In all his transactions, it was evident that he had a single eye to the glory of God, and the prosperity of the important work in which he was employed. His diligence and faithful attention to every part of his charge were most exemplary; and while, by his affability and kindness, he gained the love and confidence of the Negroes, he maintained that respect among them which was due to his station, and gave weight to his admonitions and to the exercise of proper discipline in the church.

For some years no striking occurrences marked the progress of this mission: those who laboured in it attended with persevering zeal to the instruction of the Negroes in the faith and practice of Christianity; and the vacancies occasioned by the removal of some into the land of pure delights, were soon supplied by other devoted servants of God, who accounted it an honour "to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." Their testimony did not return unto them void. In every year some believed, and were added to the church by baptism; and others finished their earthly career in hope of the glory of God, a hope grounded on their having in truth embraced the doctrine of Christ and his atonement.

From the reports the missionaries give of later years, it appears that their congregation rather diminished in number; a circumstance which probably was, in part at least, owing to the increasing exertions of other Christian denominations in the same noble work, and cannot, therefore, be considered as a real declension of religion in this island.

CHAPTER VI.

MISSION IN RUSSIAN ASIA.

In 1761 the Empress of Russia, Catharine the Great, issued an edict in favour of the Brethren, and at the same time signified her wish that they would form a settlement on the banks of the Wolga. A general synod of the Brethren's church being that year assembled at Marienborn, a resolution was taken to accept this gracious offer of her imperial majesty. The synod was the more readily disposed to engage in this undertaking, as it induced the hope that an opportunity might thus be afforded for propagating the gospel in the East, especially among those pagan tribes who inhabit the confines of Russia and Tartary.

The following year, therefore, five brethren went from Germany to St. Petersburg; and then proceeded to the banks of the Wolga. Having taken possession of a suitable tract of land, they began, with the assistance of some Russians, to erect the necessary buildings, to cultivate the land, and work at their trades. To this place they gave the name of Sarepta. It furnishes a strong proof of their courage, and still more of God's protection, that at a time when travellers were frequently robbed in these parts, and when many thousand Calmucs were encamped in their immediate neighbourhood, five defenceless persons, with only a few Cossacks, given them now and then as a guard, resided a whole year in this desert without suffering the slightest injury.

Sarepta lies near Czarizin, about two thousand miles from Petersburg, on the high road leading, by way of Astrachan, to Persia and the East Indies. The arrival in subsequent years of several companies of brethren and sisters, not only increased the number of inhabitants, but in a short period rendered it a very flourishing place. Its situation on a rivulet called Sarpa, near its confluence with the Wolga, led to the erection of mills; and the fertility of the soil amply rewarded their industry in agriculture, and occasioned the building of a small village, called Schoenbrun, near the settlement, for the accommodation of those families, who were employed in farming and horticulture. The discovery of a mineral spring, at the distance of about five English miles from the boundaries of Sarepta, proved an additional source of prosperity. Joachim Wier, M. D., the practising physician in the settlement, having analyzed the water of this spring, and found it beneficial in various diseases, submitted a dissertation on it to the Imperial College of Physicians, which met with their entire approbation. Sarepta in consequence received a great many visitors who stayed a longer or shorter time, either in the settlement or at the spa, for the use of the water. In some years the number of patients amounted to two or three hundred, among whom were persons of different nations and of high rank, governors of provinces, generals, and even princes with their retinues. This concourse of visitors, the subsequent arrival of several German colonists of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Roman Catholic communions, who erected villages on the banks of the Wolga, and its situation on the high road, greatly promoted the commercial interests of the place: so that it is now a very flourishing settlement, enjoying the countenance and protection of the Russian government and exciting the admiration of travellers; the more so, as it lies in the midst of a vast and nearly uninhabited territory.

The establishment of a flourishing colony, however, was not the primary object the Brethren had in view, when building Sarepta. They never considered their intention, in erecting this settlement, would be fully attained, unless it should be the means of facilitating their endeavours to propagate the gospel among the heathen, and serve as a place of rendezvous to those who might feel disposed to devote themselves to this important service in the East. In order to effect this, they endeavoured to form an acquaintance with the Calmucs in their neighbourhood, and to cultivate their friendship.

The Calmucs lead a pastoral life, roving from place to place, in quest of pasturage for their numerous flocks of sheep, cows, horses and camels; for they never till the ground nor build any villages, but reside in movable tents, called Kibitke. They are divided into four *hordes* or clans, viz. the Kohots, Soongars, Derbets and Torgots; and, though they are subject to the crown of Russia, are allowed to regulate their internal government, both civil and ecclesiastical, according to established usage, and to choose their own sovereign, besides whom they have many hereditary lords, or princes. Their religion is rank polytheism. They venerate one Supreme Being; but, besides him, believe in a great many inferior gods, who, according to their ideas, govern the world in rotation. They likewise pay divine honours to many thousand deified heroes called Burchans, whose number is yearly augmented by the deaths of holy persons. Those who are ambitious to obtain this honour, must be well versed in their sacred writings, repeat many prayers, avoid the killing of any creature, be charitable to the poor, and perform other good works. None but the priests can lay claim to this distinction after death, and on this account they are treated with very great respect. They are of different ranks, some being called *gellons* and others *lamas*. To the latter they pay almost divine honours. The Delai Lama, or grand Lama of Tibet, is the high priest, or the head of their ecclesiastical government. He is said never to die; and his name is continually invoked by the devotees of this superstition. The common people know of no other means of salvation than the prayers of their priests, which they purchase with rich offerings. They believe in the transmigration of the soul; whoever, therefore, dies in an unholy state, has to pass through several stages for his purification, before he can indulge the hope of finally becoming a *burchan*. Their temples are nothing else than movable tents, hung with very costly silk tapestry, superbly decorated with gold, silver and precious stones, and ornamented with the most grotesque representations of their idols. In many of their religious opinions and rites they bear a strong resemblance to the Roman Catholics. For instance, in the use of the rosary in prayer, the celibacy of the clergy, the observance of fasts, the meritoriousness of good works, the masses for the dead, &c. Their sacred books contain many sound principles and moral instructions; but they are mixed with the most ridiculous stories. Many passages appear to have been borrowed from the Christian doctrines; but, to suit their own superstitious notions, they are greatly distorted. Our brethren frequently detected them in endeavours so to interpret the history, doctrine and miracles of Christ, as to make them coincide with their own legends and absurd mythology.

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* Per. Acct. Vol. III. p. 393—395.

On either side of the Wolga are extensive uninhabited plains, called steppes, overgrown with very long grass. In these steppes numerous hordes of Calmucs annually pitch their tents, for a longer or shorter period; and as many of them often fixed themselves near Sarepta, the inhabitants soon formed an acquaintance with them. They expressed much pleasure at the building of the settlement, frequently attended divine service with marks of respect and devotion, and behaved with great civility. At first they occasioned some trouble, by pitching their tents on the land belonging to Sarepta; but their princes, or *chans*, interfered, ordered justice to be done to the Brethren whenever they had sustained any damage, and issued a public mandate for regulating the conduct of their subjects, with respect to the land appertaining to the settlement.

The physician in Serepta soon got many patients. Among these was a prince of the Derbet horde, who, during the winter of 1767, encamped with his whole retinue on the Brethren's land. On his removal, in the following spring, he invited two brethren, who had frequently visited him, to accompany the horde, promising them his friendship and protection, and every assistance in his power for learning the language. They readily accepted this proposal, and cheerfully submitted to all the inconveniences of this novel mode of life, living in tents and moving with the horde from place to place. Every one treated them with kindness, not excepting the priests, who permitted them to be present at their religious exercises, and raised no objections against their preaching the gospel to the Calmucs. However, as no benefit appeared to result from this scheme, the Brethren relinquished their wanderings with the horde, and confined their endeavours for their instruction in Christianity to frequent visits among those who resided in the neighbourhood, and to friendly conversations with them on religious subjects when they came into the settlement, which was the case almost daily. But, though the Calmucs listened with apparent pleasure to their discourse, the impression made upon their minds was fleeting and evanescent.

While the inhabitants of Sarepta were still concerting measures, and using every exertion which their limited means allowed, for the instruction of the Calmucs and other pagan nations in that part of Asia, an event occurred which threatened the entire destruction of the settlement. A very powerful party of insurgents, headed by the celebrated Pugatschef, which had for some time spread terror and devastation over several provinces of the Russian empire in the summer of 1771, overran the government of Astrachan, and took the town of Saratof. A small party of Russian soldiers, sent to oppose the rebels, was completely routed at Praleika, not more than sixty miles from Sarepta. Some fugitives brought the first intelligence of this to the settlement on the 28th August. The commandant of Czarizin at the same time informed our brethren that it was out of his power to protect Sarepta, and advised immediate flight as the only mode of safety left to the inhabitants. In consequence of this communication, all the sisters and children, and many of the brethren, fled that night in two parties, the one sailing down the river Wolga, and the other travelling by land. Both companies, after enduring many hardships and dangers, reached Astrachan in safety on the 7th of September. Sixty-five brethren still remained in the settlement, in order to secure their most valuable property, and to see what turn affairs would take. In the evening of September 1st, they received the dreadful intelligence of the approach of the rebels. As soon, therefore, as the sun was set, they likewise betook themselves to flight, and on the 9th arrived at Ianaitefka. There they received the joyful tidings of the discomfiture of the insurgents by Colonel Michelson, a few miles behind Sarepta. In a few days all the fugitives returned, filled with gratitude to God, that not an individual had lost his life or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Through the active benevolence of the Brethren's congregations in Europe, the damage done in the settlement, and the losses sustained by the inhabitants, were gradually repaired; and, by the divine blessing on their own industry, Sarepta soon resumed its former flourishing appearance.

Amidst their external prosperity, the inhabitants did not lose sight of what they had always considered the primary object of their establishment in this country, and to the furtherance of which they had repeatedly and solemnly pledged themselves: the propagation of the gospel among their heathen neighbours. The distresses and trials to which they had been exposed during the rebellion, and the divine protection and help they had experienced, rather tended to unite them more closely in brotherly love, and qualify them for renewed and zealous co-operation in the cause of God. For several years, however, their labours still continued unproductive. They embraced every opportunity for renewing their acquaintance with the Calmucs and other pagans; but as yet the gospel found no entrance among them. It, however, served to revive their hope, when a blind Calmuc girl, who was given to the Brethren and educated at Sarepta, gave pleasing evidence of true conversion, and received holy baptism on January 6th, 1781. A few years after she died in confident reliance on the atonement of Christ.

Their ever wakeful zeal to extend by every means in their power the kingdom of Christ, joined by repeated invitations to form settlements in Georgia and Grusinia, induced the brethren Godfrey Grabsch and George Gruhl, to undertake a journey to mount Caucasus. Prior to this, the former of them had resided some months in Astrachan, for the purpose of acquiring a competent knowledge of the Tartar language. To this city he and his companion repaired in November, 1781. On their arrival they waited on the governor, who readily furnished them with the requisite passports for their journey. Early in December they went to Kislar, where they were detained till the 28th February, 1782, waiting for a convenient opportunity to proceed. Passing through several Tartar villages, they reached Beregn on the 7th of March. The inhabitants being strict Mahomedans, the travellers found great difficulty in procuring a lodging, till at length a man, out of courtesy to their guide, opened his house to them for the night. They soon announced their arrival to Uzmei-Chan, the sovereign of that country, who happened to be in Beregn, and to whom they had letters of recommendation. At first they met with considerable opposition. Uzmei-Chan seemed unwilling to believe the account brother Grabsch gave of himself and his friend, and of the object of their journey; but being at length satisfied of its truth, he took them with him in his retinue, consisting of several Tartar princes, to his residence at Bashlu; and on the next day, being the 12th of March, sent them forward to Kubasha, providing them with a guide, to conduct them to his friend Mahmud. This man received them with great kindness, and allotted them an apartment in the fifth story of his house.

One principal object of this journey being to ascertain, as far as possible, whether the report, that the inhabitants of Kubasha were descendants of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, was supported by any credible historical evidence, brother

Grabsch lost no time in making the necessary inquiry. For this purpose he first examined all the public edifices. He discovered the ruins of three churches; and over the door of one of them discerned an inscription, but it was so effaced that nothing remained legible except the number 1215. At no great distance from these ruins stood a large stately church, built of hewn stone, and decorated with a profusion of architectural ornaments; but which had been converted into dwellings five stories high. Brother Grabsch was conducted to the top of this building, and several inscriptions were pointed out to him, but they were graphed in characters which bore no resemblance to those of any language with which he was acquainted. His next step was to visit every house, being about five hundred in number, and to inquire into the origin, religion, language and books of the inhabitants. This investigation led to the following results: "They now have no books written in the characters formerly in use among them; they use the Arabic in writing not only their own language, but also the Turkish and Tartar." In a conference with ten men, convened for that purpose, he received from Mahmud, who was the principal speaker, this additional information: "That their ancestors had been Christians, but upwards of three hundred years ago had adopted the religion of Mahomed, and now they thanked God that he had directed them into the right way to heaven; that they did not wish to hear any thing about the Christian faith, that they could never acknowledge him as a brother, till he turned Mahomedan, and that they hoped his view in coming to Kubasha, was not to reform them." Brother Grabsch having, in reply, stated his sentiments, they seemed rather affected, expressed their friendship for him, and Mahmud declared, that whenever he came to Kubasha, he would always treat him as his brother. "What!" said Grabsch, "though I do not turn Mussulman." "O, all that goes for nothing!" replied Mahmud.

March 17th, brother Grabsch and his companion were safely conducted back to Bashlu by Mahmud's servant, and the same day proceeded to Derbent, where they were hospitably entertained by an Armenian, to whom they had letters of recommendation from a friend in Kislar. Having received a passport from the governor, in the absence of the Chan, they set out on the 19th for Tiflis. But Hashi Bek, a man superior to the Chan in riches and influence, ordered them to be arrested and kept prisoners, till a quantity of silk, confiscated in the Russian territory, was restored. They were, however, permitted to walk about the town without molestation; and through the interposition of their friends in Kislar, they, at length, on the 18th of April, obtained their liberty: three days after they left Derbent, travelling with a caravan. As both the drivers and the inhabitants of the country through which they passed were Mahomedans, they found it extremely difficult to procure even a cup of cold water. Having crossed the river Samur, they continued their route in a south-easterly direction, between the Caspian Sea and a ridge of lofty mountains. Apprehensions of an attack from the Lesgians, who were returning from a warlike expedition and committing depredations wherever they came, obliged them to take a very circuitous road. In the town of Samachia, called Shirvan by the Persians, they received information, that in the neighbouring village of Wartaschin there was a congregation of Christians, the supposed descendants of a foreign people; and it was reported, that they came originally from Grusina, and belonged partly to the Grusinian, and partly to the Armenian church; and notwithstanding the compulsory means used by the Chan, to induce them to become Mahomedans, had persisted in their attachment to the Christian religion. Our brethren exceedingly regretted that they could not make it practicable to visit these people. During their stay in Shirvan, brother Grabsch found frequent opportunities for preaching Jesus, both to Armenians and Persians, who heard him with pleasure and attention. After a tedious and troublesome journey, they at length reached Tiflis on the 26th of June.

The day after their arrival, brother Grabsch waited on the Czar (emperor) Heraclius, to whom he had a recommendatory letter from the commandant of Kislar. The czar being absent, the brethren were, by order of Prince George, provided with a good lodging, and entertained at the czar's expense. Agreeably to his orders, they went in a few days to a park, about seven miles from the town, where he and his retinue were encamped. A separate tent was set up for brother Grabsch, who was soon after admitted to an audience; during which he was seated on a chair close by the czar, and served with tea and coffee, and during his whole stay in the camp, was treated with great kindness. The politeness of the czar went even so far, that, on receiving three boxes of the choicest apricots from Prince Chey Kusrue, he immediately sent one of the boxes to brother Grabsch.

July 6th the czar went to Tiflis to use the warm baths, and requested brother Grabsch to attend him. About midnight he sent for him, conversed with him on the object of his journey, and the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren's church, the commandant and prince Paul Andronickof being present. These two noblemen represented the advantages the Brethren would reap by forming a settlement in the czar's territory; intimating to Grabsch, that it was expected he would apply, in the name of his Brethren, for leave to settle in the country. Brother Grabsch replied, that he was not authorized to make any such request, but would convey any message, with which the czar might be pleased to honour him, to the bishops and elders of the Brethren's church. Upon this the czar rose from his seat, and stepping up to the missionary, thus addressed him: "Fedor Twanisch, (thus he was called by the Russians), I am informed that the Brethren are an upright and intelligent people; and if I could get five, ten, an hundred, or a thousand of them to settle in my country, I should give praise to God. That would indeed be a crown upon my head even in hoary age." He further declared, that he would himself write to the directors, grant the Brethren every privilege they could desire, and, if they found their residence in the country unpleasant, send them back at his own expense. In a second audience, he offered to send brother Grabsch and his companions home, by way of Constantinople, under a proper escort, that an answer might be the sooner obtained. They were, however, obliged to decline this offer. Before they left Tiflis, he gave them a letter written with his own hand, in the Turkish language, to the bishops and elders of the Brethren's church; and though they were under the necessity of declining his gracious offer, his esteem for them was not thereby lessened.

The czar was then sixty-four years old, and wore a long black beard: he had a venerable and mild countenance, and was noted, as much for his humanity as for his military prowess. His manner of life was very regular, spending most of his time either in transacting the business of the state, or in religious exercises; devoting but a few hours to sleep. He had six sons and seven daughters.

Tiflis lies in a valley, wholly encircled by mountains, and is watered by the river Kur, which flows through it. When the missionaries visited it, it contained about twelve thousand families, the major part of whom were Armenians, and only about one hundred families Mahomedans. It contained seven Armenian and five Grusinian churches, besides three mosques. The Grusinians, who are the proper inhabitants of the country, and of the Greek church, respected the Lutherans, but the Roman Catholics had rendered themselves odious by their zeal in making proselytes. After spending a month at Tiflis, the travellers found themselves compelled to relinquish their design of visiting the Tschegemzes, inhabiting the banks of the Tschegem, and supposed to be descended from the ancient Bohemian Brethren. From information received in Tiflis, however, it was pretty evident that this conjecture was unfounded. Having thus, as far as circumstances allowed, executed their commission, they left Tiflis on the 2d of August, being provided by the czar with an escort, and every thing necessary for their safety. Travelling by way of Mosdock, Achmet, Kislar and Astrachan, they arrived at Sarepta on the 16th of September, after an absence of ten months.

Two or three years prior to this journey, four brethren in Sarepta renewed the attempts made by others, who had since fallen asleep in Jesus, to convey the glad tidings of salvation to the Calmucs. As the first and most indispensable step for effecting this purpose, they devoted some hours every day to learn the language, and were joined in this by the Rev. C. Fred. Gregor, then minister of that congregation. The difficulties they had to encounter were neither few nor trifling. The only helps they could procure consisted in a very imperfect vocabulary, compiled by their predecessors; for the priests showed great unwillingness to give any of their sacred books into the hands of persons who did not esteem them of divine authority. Finding that they could make very little progress without a master, they engaged a gadsull (a priest of inferior rank), to be their instructor, who attended them some hours every day.

To proceed a step farther in their endeavours for introducing the gospel among the Calmucs, brother Neiz, who was the greatest proficient in the language, and likewise possessed some knowledge of medicine, offered to practise in this line among the Calmucs, under the direction of brother Wier, the physician of Sarepta, conceiving that this would be the likeliest way of cultivating an acquaintance with them. In order to carry this design into effect, a house was taken in the settlement, and provided with every requisite accommodation, to which the Calmucs might resort for medical advice and assistance. He soon obtained an extensive practice, which he faithfully improved, whenever a suitable opportunity offered, for directing their attention to the truths of the gospel, but apparently without any permanent benefit: for though they would sometimes remark, that the doctrines of the Bible were important sayings, they resisted the conviction by referring to their own fabulous mythology, which they pretended, not only bore a strong resemblance to the Christian system, but was superior to it.

Having hitherto found no entrance among the adult Calmucs, the brethren directed their attention to the children. In 1801, a Calmuc prince sent his son, called Makush, to Sarepta, for the purpose of learning the German language; and the following year several other children came to the settlement for the same purpose. With these, brother Valen Wendling commenced a school; and though he found it extremely difficult to fix their attention to any subject, yet a good impression appeared to be now and then made on their minds, while he interrogated them on the scripture lessons they were reading. Makush, in particular, gave occasional proofs of serious reflection, if not of an incipient work of the Spirit of God in his soul. Having learned a verse, treating of the necessity of faith, he remarked, "that he had prayed to our Saviour that he would give him faith, and the blessings connected with it: upon which one petition after another had occurred to his mind, so that he found it difficult to give over praying." Another time, after reading the history of our Saviour's temptations, he related, that feeling disposed to absent himself from divine service, he had recollected that this was a temptation of the devil, and prayed our Saviour to deliver him from it. "Now," added he, "I am glad I went to the preaching, and as the subject of temptations was introduced into the sermon, my pleasure was the greater, that I had not followed my own evil inclination." Being once asked whether he thought it was right to pray for our fellowmen, he replied: "I have often prayed that our Saviour would lead my mother and relations hither, that they might have an opportunity of hearing how they may be saved; or that he would send a messenger to them with this good news."

In 1808, the Brethren ransomed four girls of the Kirgese nation, between eleven and twelve years of age, and brought them to Sarepta. After a residence there of sixteen months, during which time they gave encouraging evidences of a work of the Spirit of God in their souls, they were at Easter, 1810, admitted to holy baptism.

Two years before the baptism of these girls the brethren were encouraged to take another and most important step towards the attainment of their ultimate object in settling in this country. The Rev. Dr. Steinkopff had addressed several queries to the minister of Sarepta, relative to the Calmucs, and the practicability of translating the Bible into their language, and circulating it among them; at the same time offering to the brethren, if they would undertake the work, the most liberal aid from the British and Foreign Bible Society. The queries having been answered to the satisfaction of this excellent institution, the committee placed a sum of money at the disposal of the brethren at Sarepta, for the purchase of a set of types in the Calmuc language, (the characters of which amount to one hundred and fifty-two,) and accompanied this grant with the promise of further aid, if the translators proceeded in their labours. Animated by the cheering prospect thus opened to them, for extending the knowledge of the Word of God among their numerous heathen neighbours, the brethren entered with zeal on the important work of translating the New Testament. Previous correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society, the casting of the types, and various other circumstances, for a time retarded the work, so that the manuscript of the gospel of St. Matthew could not be forwarded for printing to Moscow till in the year 1812.[*]

A translation of the Scriptures into the Calmuc language may justly be regarded as an object of great importance. According to the most authentic information, the Calmucs in the Steppe amount to upwards of sixty thousand souls. Beyond the limits of the Steppe, on the banks of the Wolga, there are about ten thousand of this tribe, who have nominally embraced Christianity, and belong to the Greek church. Besides these, sixty-five thousand families, speaking the Calmuc language, migrated from Russia, in 1791, and now live under the protection of China. The Calmucs are represented as constituting only one of the three tribes into which the nation of the Mongols is divided, who all employ nearly the same written language, and use the same alphabets. Hence it appears that, next to the Turkish, the Calmuc is the language most extensively spoken in Western and Eastern Tartary. And what promised greatly to promote the object of the Bible Society, and of our brethren in translating and circulating the sacred volume, is, that all the clergy and the higher orders of the Calmucs can read and write.

The desire of the brethren in Sarepta, to extend the knowledge of the Word of God, having received a fresh impulse by their engagements in translating the Bible, they once more directed their attention to the heathen in the neighbourhood; and being most generously assisted by a grant of three hundred pounds from the London Missionary Society, recommenced a regular mission among the Calmucs, directing their endeavours, in the first instance, to the Torgots horde, living at a greater distance from Sarepta than the Derbets.

Every preparatory arrangement having been completed, and the two brethren, J. Gottfried Schill and Christ. Huebner appointed for this service, they left Sarepta on the 20th of May, 1815. Their journey was long, and attended with great difficulties; some of which they could not have surmounted, if they had not been countenanced by the Russian government, and recommended by Prince Galitzin. After passing through several Cossack villages, they arrived on the 29th at the residence of the Calmuc prince, thirty-five versts from Astrachan. They were introduced to him in his kibitke, or tent, where he was sitting on a rough skin on the ground, bare-footed, clad in black horse-fur, and a black silk cap on his head. He ordered chairs for them, but they declined the honour of sitting in his presence. Several dishes of food were set before them, served upon white plates, with silver knives, forks and spoons, much in the European manner. On Sunday they breakfasted with him, and had much conversation. On another occasion they had an opportunity of witnessing the religious worship of the Calmucs; twenty gellongs, or priests, were seated in two rows, each having a small bell in his hand; they observed a variety of ceremonies during their prayers; and their dresses were made of rich silks and coloured stuffs. Afterwards the missionaries paid a visit to the Lama in his kibitke, who received them in a friendly manner, but spoke little. They were then introduced to another prince, who had lost the greater part of his subjects. He and others made many inquiries concerning the Christian religion, expressing their surprise at its being so widely spread. With the assistance of this prince, who had engaged to instruct them, they diligently applied themselves to the learning of the language, but found the acquisition of it a very difficult task.

Towards the latter end of July the horde broke up, and removed to another place, where there was plenty of grass; but which in other respects proved exceedingly uncomfortable, being very damp and unhealthy. "Here," say the missionaries, "we set up our kibitke, which was speedily filled with toads, frogs and other vermin, but we soon became accustomed to them. Provisions are very scarce and dear; milk and butter can scarcely be procured for money; our coffee is exhausted, and the water is hardly drinkable."[*]

A few extracts from their journals of 1816, shall conclude this chapter. The 22d of October they write: "On this and the following day the demand for the gospel of St. Matthew was so great, that we distributed thirty copies. What surprised us most was, that many, to whom we had formerly offered them in vain, now eagerly begged for them. This, as might be expected, excited the jealousy of the gellongs, and especially of an aged priest, who lives in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, and who is reputed very learned. He represented to the other gellongs or priests, that their craft would be endangered, if this book were generally read by the common people. The dread of incurring the displeasure of the gellongs, induced many to return their copies; but the alarm soon subsided, and in a few days numbers came, requesting to have the books back again. This, more than any thing, convinced us that they set some value upon the gospel, and gave us reason to hope, that it would not be read in vain by them. A young man who had received a copy, said, 'the gift of God is freely bestowed in this, for all may learn the way of salvation.' He then began to relate to all who were present, the contents of the gospel. We were astonished to find a Calmuc so well acquainted with the Word of God. The testimony he bore to the truth, in the presence of others, induced us to hope that the Lord would, ere long, open the hearts of this nation. It gives us pleasure to perceive, that they begin to be uneasy about themselves, and to inquire what they must do to be saved."*

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[*] The brethren had previously translated detached parts both of the Old and New Testaments; but as they had no version of an entire Gospel, the work had, in fact, to be commenced afresh.

[*] Per. Acct. Vol. VI. p. 255.

The Rev. Dr. Paterson, who transmitted the journal from which the preceding quotation is taken, adds in a letter of October 22d, 1817: "We have intelligence from our brethren of a much later date, from which it appears, that, notwithstanding the opposition of the gellongs, the demand for the gospel has been so great that not a copy of those we sent remains undisposed of, and we are now printing a new and much larger edition. The news from other hordes is equally interesting, and the demand for the gospel very urgent. The tract, drawn up by Mr. Schmidt, has been well received and read with avidity. We have heard of several instances of individuals, who have repeated it from beginning to end by heart. A letter lately received informs us, that one of the leading men in a horde, near Sarepta, died, professing his faith in Christ alone for salvation. Brother Loos, who was present at the time of his death, had his body decently interred, instead of leaving it to be devoured by the wild beasts, as is usual among them. Surely all these things are encouraging."

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

It would be foreign to the design of this work to enter into a detailed exposition of the Doctrine and Constitution of the Brethren's Church; yet a few notices on these subjects, as far as they affect the missions, will probably not be unacceptable to the reader.

With regard to the Doctrine, preached by the missionaries, little need be added to the information which the reader must have obtained by the perusal of the preceding sketches. Long experience has taught the Brethren, that the doctrine of *Christ crucified is the power and wisdom of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.* Without, therefore, first endeavouring to prepare the minds of the heathen for the reception of the gospel, by instructing them in natural religion, they at once declared unto them *the record that God gave of his Son.* This they have found, whenever received in faith, to be the most efficacious means of turning the gentiles from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. Yet, there is no part of revealed truth, whether of doctrine or practice, which the missionaries do not endeavour to inculcate on the minds and hearts of their hearers and converts. In a word, their constant aim is, to *humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour, and promote holiness.*

The internal regulations are the same in every mission. Besides preaching the gospel, the missionaries are diligently employed in visiting the heathen in their dwellings, or in receiving visits from them, for the purpose of discoursing with them, in a familiar manner, on spiritual subjects, or administering comfort, advice, or reproof, as the case may require. If any heathen are led to serious reflection, and desire their names to be put down for further instruction, they are called new people, and reckoned to the class of catechumens. If they remain steadfast in their resolution to forsake heathenism, and in their desire after baptism, they are considered as candidates for baptism; and, after previous instruction respecting this ordinance, are baptized. If their conduct afterwards proves that they have not received the grace of God in vain, they become candidates for the communion, and are admitted to be present as spectators at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; and finally become communicants. Those who have been baptized in infancy, and, on attaining to years of maturity, give satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their faith, are first solemnly received as members of the congregation, and then admitted to the Lord's Supper. Separate meetings are held with each of these divisions. This is likewise done with other divisions of the congregation, with the children, the single men, the single women, the married people, the widowers and widows. These meetings, besides affording the missionaries an opportunity of instructing them, in a practical manner, in those precepts of the gospel which have a more immediate reference to their circumstances, and in exhorting them to make their calling and election sure, have a pleasing tendency to cement the bond of brotherly love, and maintain the spirit of unity among all the members of the congregation.

In most missions, especially when the number of converts is very large, assistants are chosen, consisting of persons of both sexes, whose good understanding and exemplary conduct have made them respected by the whole congregation. In the discharge of their duty they have particular districts assigned them, in which they visit the people from house to house, attend to the poor, the sick, and infirm, endeavour to remove dissensions, and promote harmony, &c. They are occasionally employed to hold meetings on week-days, and to preach in the out-places; but hitherto the brethren have not ordained any of the natives for the regular ministry of the gospel. The assistants, at stated times, meet the missionaries in conference, to report the state of their districts to them, and receive their counsel. Servants are also appointed to have the care of the chapel, and attend to every thing relating to external order. A council, consisting of a number of persons, chosen by the whole congregation, meets occasionally to confer on all subjects, involving the general welfare of the congregation, or settlement.

The external regulations cannot be the same in all the missions. Among free heathen, as in Greenland, North America, South Africa, &c. most of the converts live together in regular settlements; and thus various regulations, tending to promote, not only their progress in spiritual knowledge, but also their improvement in civilization, and their enjoyment of its comforts, can be introduced in these villages, which are rendered impracticable in missions among Negro slaves. In the latter case, little can be done in keeping school; but in all the settlements, this important method of instruction is attended to with great regularity. In all the missions, social worship is performed every day, in the morning or evening, and on Sundays the missionaries are employed, from morning till night, in preaching, meeting the different divisions of the congregation, and in attending to their converts, or heathen visiters.

Church discipline is exercised without respect of persons, for the Brethren justly consider that the breach of any moral precept is as criminal in a slave as in a free man, and that no situation, or prevalence of custom, can sanction a pretext for disobedience to the rule of Christ, as contained in the Bible. The discipline admits of different degrees, according to the nature of the offence, and consists, either in exclusion from the meetings of the baptized, or in suspension from the Lord's Supper, or in total separation from the church. In performing this duty the missionaries endeavour to act in the spirit of meekness, exercising all possible forbearance and patience, and they never proceed to a public exposure of the offender, while there is any reasonable hope that he will be brought to repentance and change of conduct, by remonstrance and private exhortation. Even when the offence has been of such a nature as to render exclusion necessary, they do not treat the lapsed person as an enemy, but entreat him as a brother, endeavouring to convince him, that the very exercise of discipline is an act of kindness, intended, by the grace of God, to preserve him from the fatal self-deception of being a Christian, merely because he has the name, and associates with believers, while he is living in known sin, and a stranger to true conversion of heart. The readmission of such a person, therefore, is not granted till he has given satisfactory proofs of true repentance.

The general superintendence of the missions is properly vested in the synods of the Brethren's church, which consist in representatives from all the congregations. But, as a synod is only convened occasionally, it is necessary to provide for the due administration of the Brethren's church during the interval. And for this purpose the synod, before its dissolution, nominates several bishops and elders to constitute a Board, called the Elder's Conference of the Unity, to have the general superintendence and direction of all the congregations, missions and other establishments of the Brethren's church. This Board is, by the synod, invested with the sole right of beginning, or suspending missions, and appointing missionaries. The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, established in London, and similar societies formed in Holland and North America, act in subordination to the Elder's Conference of the Unity, whose sanction is requisite before any proposed measure for the beginning of a new mission, the appointment of missionaries, &c. can be carried into effect.

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* Dub. Christ. Inst. 1818. p. 41.

In the church of the Brethren the missionary service is, in the strictest sense, voluntary. No persuasions are used to induce any person to engage in it, who has not previously expressed, in a letter to the directors, his wish to be thus employed. After thus tendering his services, all the privations, difficulties and dangers, attending the life of a missionary, are fully and candidly represented to him. If, after maturely weighing all circumstances, his resolution remains fixed, he is considered as a candidate for the service; and in case he has expressed a predilection for any particular mission, or branch of the service, due attention is paid to his wishes. And after all, he is left at full liberty, either to accept or decline any proposal which may be made to him.

Besides the indispensable requisite of personal piety, and love for the service in which he engages, the qualifications deemed essential to a missionary of the Brethren's church, consists in a ready knowledge of the scriptures, and a good natural understanding, in some degree improved by education, combined with a kind and affable disposition, calculated to conciliate the affections of the heathen. No stress is laid on profound erudition. Long experience has taught the Brethren, that, in general, the habits of a student do not qualify a person for the laborious life of a missionary so well as those of a mechanic. Yet the superior talents of men of learning are justly appreciated, as having, in many instances, been of essential use, especially in those missions, where a new language was to be acquired, and translations of the holy scriptures were to be made.

The Brethren have no permanent fund for their missions. In the beginning Count Zinzendorf and his lady supported them almost entirely at their own expense; and even in subsequent years the count devoted nearly the whole of his property in undertaking, or aiding, measures for the diffusion of the gospel. Since the decease of the count and his lady the missions of the Brethren have been maintained wholly by voluntary contributions. Notwithstanding the utmost frugality is used, both by the directors and the missionaries, the annual expenditure is very considerable, having been greatly increased during the late war. Not only were all the expenses attending the equipment and voyages of missionaries, and the maintenance of the different settlements, more than doubled; but the disorganized and impoverished state of the continent of Europe occasioned a large diminution in the contributions of our brethren and friends from that quarter.

The preceding sketches supply ample proof of the self-denial, zeal, and diligence, with which the missionaries perform the important and arduous work in which they are engaged. Their duties are many and various. Besides the public ministry of the gospel and its ordinances, they are daily employed either in keeping school, and visiting their converts, or in attending to the temporal concerns of the settlement. In the former they are faithfully assisted by the sisters, as far as relates to their own sex, who also have the management of the domestic concerns. In every mission one of the brethren is generally chosen superintendent; yet he never acts without the concurrence of his fellow missionaries.

The number of missionaries, employed by the church of the Brethren at the close of 1817, amounted to eighty-six; and, including the sisters, one hundred and fifty-two persons were engaged in this service. They occupied thirty-four settlements, or stations, viz. three in Greenland, three in Labrador, three in North America, four in South America, seventeen in the West Indies, two in South Africa, where preparations were making for a third, and one station among the Calmucs in Tartary. About thirty thousand persons, formerly living in heathen ignorance and superstition, were then instructed in Christianity by the Brethren's missionaries; besides a great number of regular attendants on their public ministry, who had not yet made a decided profession of the gospel, or requested more special instruction.

To all, who from the heart long and pray for the extension of Christ's kingdom in the world, it must be a source of high gratification, and it calls for fervent thanksgivings to God, that he has preserved in the church of the Brethren the same zeal for the conversion of the heathen, which stimulated their first attempts, so that, notwithstanding all privations and difficulties, persons have never been wanting, who were ready to engage in the missionary service; and that the same spirit has, of late years, been poured out, in rich measure, upon many other Christian churches.

Above all, incessant praise is due to God, for the blessing from on high with which he has been pleased to crown the exertions of the various societies engaged in this glorious work. This is a sure presage, that, at the time decreed by unerring wisdom, he will verify his own word: "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

Note.—A chapter of the above History, treating of South Africa, has been omitted, as a full account of the Brethren's operations in that quarter has been given in a late number of the Library. A few other chapters have been slightly abridged.—*Ed. Ch. Lib.*

END OF VOL. I.